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THE BUDDHACARITA:

Or.

ACTS OF THE BUDDHA

PART I-Sanskrit Text

Edited

by

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GL

NIRVANA: the passing of the sage.

Enlightenment has come: after the pain Of countless births endured throughout the lapse Of immemorial time, I have at length Crossed to the farther shore of mundane life. Henceforth sorrow and joy touch me no more, Now love and hate are meaningless to me: My mind is tranquil like the forest pool Unruffled by the breeze. The potter's wheel, After the bowl is made, revolves awhile Without effect; so for a space have I Lived on, freed from the grip of Karma's bonds. For me the fruit of former deeds has ceased To ripen, nor can the acts now done by me Produce new fruit. The goal, for many an age So infinitely far, is reached at last. Slowly the gathering shades of night descend Upon mine eyes. The vital flame burns low And flickers out as I begin to sink Into the limitless eternal void, Enwrapped for ever in forgetfulness.

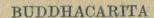
Sanohi, At sunset, March 21, 1908. A. A. M.





PREFACE.

Over forty years have passed since the late Professor E. B. Cowell brought out the editio princeps of Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita, followed by a translation in volume XLVI of the Sacred Books of the East. Though scholars in Europe were quick to accord it a high place among Sanskrit kāvya works and to appreciate the excellence of the editing, they did not fail to see that the materials from which the text was prepared were extremely faulty, and that much correction would be required to bring the poem approximately to the state in which it left its author's hands. Accordingly at the suggestion of the veteran von Böhtlingk, who himself led the way with a list of amendments, many of which undoubtedly hit the mark, a number of scholars set to work on improving the text by conjecture. The process has continued to the present time, but, though the alterations put forward were in general distinguished by knowledge and acumen, there is no such thing as a certain conjecture, and, if in the easier passages the right alternative was often found, no measure of agreement was possible in the more substantial difficulties. A new edition, talked of more than once, has however never appeared, presumably because a text, whose differences from that of Professor Cowell would be merely subjective, must necessarily be of too speculative a character to have real value. Of recent years the position has changed. Early in the century a MS., much older than those used for the first edition but covering only the same portion of the text, was acquired by the Nepal Durbar and described by MM. H. P. Sastri in JASB, 1909, 47. Since the beginning of the century the use of Tibetan translations for the correction of faulty Sanskrit originals has also come to be much better understood, and lately the translation of the Buddhacarita has been made accessible to students in an edition by Dr. Friedrich Weller, constant use of which has convinced me of the high standard of excellence it attains. Further the Chinese transla-





tions have now been made easier to consult for those who are not Chinese scholars by the appearance of the Taishō Issaikyō edition. And finally the publication of many Buddhist texts and of Sanskrit works, not far removed in date from Aśvaghoṣa, not to speak of a long and important work by the poet himself, the Saundarananda, has provided us with further means for the critical examination of his language and ideas.

The availability of so much fresh material makes a new edition both possible and highly desirable, but its very mass has as a consequence that much time and labour must be devoted to its collection and sifting, so that it is now more than ten years since, at the suggestion of the late Professor A. A. Macdonell, the present editor set his hand to the task. While well aware of the many respects in which my attainments fall short of those of the ideal editor of the Buddhacarita, I have endeavoured to cover the ground, both by reading with one eye on Asvaghosa's works everything published in Sanskrit or Pali that might throw any light on obscure passages and by acquiring that smattering of Tibetan and Chinese which is requisite for comparing the translations in those languages with the Sanskrit original. The fruit of this labour I now present to Orientalists. with the earnest hope that they may find, not finality it is true, but at least a substantial advance in the restitution and interpretation of the extant fragments of a famous poem.

This edition consists of two volumes; the first contains the Sanskrit text and the apparatus criticus, and the second the translation of the first fourteen cantos, filling up the lacunæ in the Sanskrit from the Tibetan, together with an introduction dealing with various aspects of the poet's works, with notes which discuss the many difficulties of text and translation, and with an index. The arrangement is such that with the two volumes open before him at the same point the reader can see at a glance what help I can give him.

The chief authority for the text is the old MS. in the Kathmandu Library, which I call A. It was sent over to England by the Nepal Durbar in 1924 at the request of the late







Professor Macdonell to be rotographed and the reproduction, unfortunately far from perfect, belongs to the Trustees of the Max Müller Fund and is described in Mr. Gambier Parry's catalogue of the collection. The MS. consisted originally of 55 palm leaves, of which numbers one, three, seven, and eight are no longer in existence, covering verses i, 1 to 8b, i, 24d to 40c, and ii, 1 to 35. It ends abruptly in the middle of the second line of leaf 55b at verse xiv, 31, of this edition, and has no colophon, repeating simply the last line of the last verse in a late Newari hand. The handwriting is an early form of Bengali, having the Bengali pa and tending to write ga and śa in accordance with that alphabet. To judge from the dated MSS. in the Cambridge University Library, particularly Addl. MSS. no. 1699 of 1199 A.D. and 1364 of 1446 A.D., the margin of error should not exceed 50 years on one side or the other, if the date of 1300 A.D. is assigned to it. While the handwriting is good, mistakes abound and a number of passages are so rubbed as to be barely legible. Palæographically it is important to note that ba and va are written alike, though distinguished by me for clearness' sake in the variants, and that as the second members of compound characters these two letters are indistinguishable from dha, that ca and va are often so much alike that the reading can only be settled by examining the pen strokes under a magnifying glass (the loop of ca is written with two strokes, of va with one), that ra often resembles ca and va, that rnna and lla are practically identical in shape, that rtha, vva and cca are liable to confusion, and that ta and bha; tu and tta, sa and ma, pa and ya, su and sva, are hard to separate. Occasionally sa and ya are much alike. In countless places I suspected anusvāra of having been added by a later hand,1 and avagraha is inserted 20 times in all, at times marking not an elision but the fusion of \bar{a} and \bar{a} . The collation of the MS. therefore demanded unusual care to determine with precision the intention of the copvist.

¹ On the leaves which have been cleaned, as mentioned below, it is probable that many anusvāras were omitted in reinking and added later.



BUDDHACARITA

SL

The relationship of A to the three MSS, used by Cowell is easily deduced. For subject to the loss of leaves 7 and 8 in A and to its containing two passages in cantos ix and xii which are missing in the editio princeps, it gives all the verses in Cowell's MSS. which are shown by the Chinese and Tibetan translations to be either part of the original or old interpolations and it ends at the same point, xiv. 31 here, xiv. 32 in Cowell's edition. The three MSS. used by the latter constantly repeat A's minor errors and are almost invariably faulty where A is corrupt or difficult to read. Finally four lines of A's leaf 37 are eaten away at one end and the gaps in it (ix. 26 to 37) coincide exactly with the hiatuses in Cowell's MSS. at this point. Evidently therefore the three modern MSS. in Europe descend from A. Greater precision is however possible. For these MSS, give the text as copied out by Amrtananda, the Residency pandit in Hodgson's days, with the additions he made, and were clearly taken from his transcript of A.1 For instance, certain letters in i. 15b, and i. 83d, are so rubbed as to be almost illegible; the solution I finally arrived at after prolonged scrutiny proved on comparison with the Tibetan to be correct, but Cowell's MSS. all agree in the same misreadings, so that they must have been made from one and the same copy of A. It was in fact treated in a peculiar way by the pandit. The earlier leaves are all much rubbed and often hard to read, and the margins are covered with trivial glosses in a late hand. For the first canto and apparently for leaves 7 and 8 in the second canto Amrtananda filled up the lacunæ with his own words and guessed at the readings where he had not the patience to decipher them. Once at least he altered a word he did not understand, avāpya in i. 56b, to apāsya. did not continue this process throughout, but was content later on to leave gaps for illegible or torn places, giving the reading he understood the MS. to have. Leaf 55 is torn at one

¹ Another copy of his transcript exists in Tokyo; see the frontispiece to T. Kimura and T. Byödö's Butsden bungaku no kenkyo.









end, so as to lose one or two characters in each line, but apparently it was intact in his time, as the Tibetan shows that the letters now missing were correctly supplied in his copies. In one much rubbed passage, ix. 17d, I found it quite impossible to fix A's reading, but to my surprise Cowell's text corresponded exactly to the Tibetan. It seems that Amrtananda wetted the leaf in order to read it and, though he succeeded in this, he so spoilt the characters as to make them illegible for his successors. I have mentioned that the earlier leaves are much rubbed and covered with marginal glosses, but from the verso of leaf 9 onwards the majority of leaves are extraordinarily clean and clear, showing in places very faint traces of marginal glosses; such leaves usually have also a number of minor errors which do not occur in Cowell's MSS., as may be seen by comparing the variants for iii. 6-60, on the clean leaves 10, 11, 12, and 13a, as against verses 61-65 on 13b, which is in its original state and much rubbed. I infer that, after Amrtananda had made his transcript with additions and alterations of his own, many of the leaves were cleaned and reinked, a process which would naturally lead to mistakes and which may perhaps have been responsible for the loss of leaves 7 and 8. This would also account for a fact which puzzled me not a little, the remarkable fluctuations in the forms of certain letters, notably ga, la, ha, and pha, the alternative shapes often appearing on the same page, so that the hypothesis of several copyists having been at work or of dilapidated leaves having been replaced by new ones did not afford an adequate explanation. The loss of the marginal glosses on the leaves so treated is of small account, but, to judge from the later copies, we have also lost a few marginal corrections, supplying omitted characters or correcting wrong ones. While the general procedure is clear to me, I cannot determine in all cases whether reinking has taken place or not, but it is typical of the vicissitudes the MS. has been through that the numbering of the cantos should be in far more modern figures than that of the pages. Enough at least has been said to show how fortunate it is that A has been X

BUDDHACARITA

GL

recovered and that, in view of its existence, Cowell's MSS. have no subsisting value for settling the text except for verses ii. 1-35, where A is now wanting, and occasionally perhaps for those cases where it has been wrongly reinked.

Next in importance comes the Tibetan translation, here styled T. My transcript was prepared from the India Office copy, but scholars now have available Dr. Weller's admirable edition, which has progressed to the end of the seventeenth canto, that is, beyond the point where A and this edition stop. For a few troublesome passages I have consulted the Peking edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale, not used by Dr. Weller, and which sometimes has better readings. As a rule I would accept Dr. Weller's text, but have not thought it necessary to indicate those passages where I would not follow his conjectural amendments, except when the divergence of my view has some bearing on the Sanskrit original. These differences in the main either are based on the Peking edition or restore the original reading in place of suggested amendments. Besides the liability to confusion of certain letters, notably da and na, and pa, pha, and ba, the monosyllabic nature of the Tibetan language not merely makes the entrance of corruptions easy but also renders their correction a matter of far greater uncertainty than in Sanskrit. There is curiously little variance between the different editions and all of them have the same lacunæ. The translator clearly had at his command a MS. that belonged to the same textual tradition as A but in general was superior, despite a certain proportion of inferior readings.1 As usual he made a word for word rendering, paving the greatest respect to his text and never wilfully altering it, when it did not give a good sense. Thus in xii. 113d, he found the word śaśākārnavadvayor, but, instead of making the trivial and obvious correction to śaśānkā°, he

¹ It may be surmised from the fact that the spurious verse in canto ix appears in different places in A and T, that their common ancestor had this verse added in the margin and that subsequent copyists incorporated it at different points in the text.



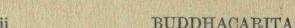
PREFACE



xi

translates śaśāka-arṇavadvayor. But his command of Sanskrit was peculiar, at times showing a knowledge of the meaning of rare words, at times making a hash of simple phrases, e.g. translating mṛgāś calākṣā in vii. 5d, as mṛgāś ca lākṣā, and dividing tatrāsa at xiii. 1, into tatra-āsa. We may be sure then that, if we can be certain of the equivalents for the Tibetan, we know what stood in his MS. and it is precisely here that the difficulty lies.

The method I have used must therefore be exactly described. Of recent years the use of Tibetan translations has grown greatly and it is often supposed to be a perfectly simple matter to turn them back into Sanskrit. This delusion has given rise to some work of doubtful value and students, who do not know Tibetan, should be chary of accepting amendments to Sanskrit texts on this basis, till they are quite satisfied that those who propose them have followed critical and scholarly methods. The Tibetan translations cover a considerable period of time and different translators naturally differ in their ways. so that each text should be carefully studied by itself as a whole to grasp the peculiarities of its author's style, instead of relying on dictionaries which often fail to give the right word. For the present work I indexed the equivalent in the Sanskrit text of every Tibetan word; when a passage occurs in which A is faulty or A and T disagree, the various possible equivalents of the Tibetan have to be considered, and, in order to select the right one, weight must be given to metrical and palæographical requirements, to the characteristics of Aśvaghosa's language and style, and to the possibility that a small correction in T may bring it and A into accord. In the majority of cases this leads to conclusions that I would hold to be certain about the reading of T's original, but in some passages certainty is not possible and my inability to reach a definite result is indicated in the critical apparatus dealing with those places. T is not entirely word for word in fact; in particular it often omits particles and conjunctions (except api) or alters their arrangement, and it sometimes gives and sometimes leaves out





prepositions.¹ It often uses the same word for more than one Sanskrit preposition and has more than one equivalent for some of them. Further the rules of Tibetan metre do not allow sufficient space for the accurate reproduction of the case-endings in all cases, and in addition the text frequently confuses the endings in -s with the similar ones without s (e.g. kyis and kyi, las and la). Subject to these limitations T is an invaluable authority, without which it would not have been possible to give a satisfying text.

In the apparatus criticus I have borne in mind that many readers of this volume will be ignorant of the elements of Tibetan. When the text reproduces T exactly and disagrees with A or the Chinese, I give the Tibetan without comment, but, where T's reading has not been adopted or is doubtful. I give the Tibetan with the Sanskrit equivalent if I can determine it, or else with a literal Sanskrit translation in brackets. appearance therefore of the Sanskrit equivalent of T in any passage shows that it has not been followed there or only followed in part. For the English translation T is of less use and, as Dr. Weller's version shows, is frequently misleading. when construed literally in accordance with the principles of Tibetan style. For many terms purely mechanical equivalents are given and the construction of the Sanskrit often cannot be deduced from it. For this reason any attempt to restore Aśvaghosa's text from a translation of T, instead of from the original Tibetan, can only lead to the darkening of counsel.

The third authority for the text, the Chinese translation, which I denote by the letter C, is far less useful. It was made early in the fifth century A.D. by an Indian monk, the first portion of whose name was Dharma, the second half containing the letter ks; the forms favoured at various times have been

¹ It may for instance be noted that the Nyāyabindu uses pratibhāsa and ābhāsa to render different conceptions, but that the Tibetan confounds the two by translating both alike with snan-ba.







Dharmaraksa, Dharmaksema and Dharmaksara. An English translation was made by Beal for volume XIX of the Sacred Books of the East, before the Sanskrit text was published; while it gives some idea of the original and is of use to any one working on the Chinese, it misses the sense so frequently that it cannot be relied on by itself. A much better rendering, despite a few mistakes, is to be found in Else Wohlgemuth's translation of the first two cantos into German in 1915. I have used the version printed in the Taishō Issaikyō edition of the Chinese Tripitaka, which, though not critical, is pleasant to read and has useful variants. In some cases a better reading is relegated to the latter and occasionally two words of the same pronunciation have been confused, as at ix. 52a, where, if we replace shên, 'deep', by shên, = ātman, we get the exact reproduction of the Sanskrit. The author had no doubt an excellent text at his disposal, but, in addition to some misunderstandings of the original, he has paraphrased rather than translated the poem. All passages of real kāvya style are either abridged or omitted altogether, and other verses are cut down or expanded according as they appealed to the translator, who was evidently a pious Buddhist, keen on matters of legend or moral, but with little taste for literature. legendary details he sometimes makes additions to the text, and, as he evades textual niceties, contenting himself with giving the general sense, his work has to be used with caution. Only very rarely have I thought the Sanskrit equivalent of his text sufficiently certain to justify me in following it against the indications of A and T. Two of these cases (vi. 36, and xi. 31) are proper names, where it undoubtedly offers an improved reading. For the English translation I have often found it helpful. As so few Sanskrit scholars can read Chinese and as the reproduction of the Chinese characters would add greatly to the cost of this book, I have thought it better only to give

¹ See P. C. Bagchi, Le Canon bouddhique en Chine (Paris, 1927), 212ff., for his life and works. The author supports the form Dharmaksema; Hobogirin, fasicule annexe, gives Dharmaraksa at one place and Dharmaksema at another.



BUDDHACARITA



in the apparatus criticus a fairly literal English translation of those passages, which I conceive to have any bearing on the constitution of the Sanskrit text. Unlike T, it is the meaning, not the actual wording, which is of value, and C is easily available to those who, knowing Chinese better than I do, might hope to extract more from it than I have been able to find there.

In addition to C. I have also examined another work, only extant in Chinese, the Fo pen hsing chi ching, quoted in the footnotes under the letters FP. This is a verbose life of the Buddha, attempting, as the name implies, to give all the legends in full detail and quoting liberally from other works. It has been translated in an abridgement by Beal under the name of the Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, where the effect of the original (except for proper names) is given far more accurately than in his translation of C, the fact being that it is written in better Chinese.1 It consists of prose interspersed with gathas, the latter being mainly quotations, and the author has borrowed largely from the Buddhacarita for details, especially from cantos iv to ix inclusive and canto xi. The prose part at times follows Aśvaghosa, but so diffusely as never to be of any help, as far as I could see, for the constitution or understanding of the original, but it also quotes as gathas over 90 verses from the poem, a list of which with references will be found in the appendix to this volume. Though it follows the original more closely than C, it equally shirks difficulties and is seldom of much assistance. The author was possibly not competent to deal with kāvya, to judge from his gross misunderstanding of xiii. 63c. Like C, I quote it only in my own English translation.

Such are the materials at my disposal and the textual problem of the *Buddhacarita* thereby differs toto caelo from that set by the *Saundarananda*, for which my only authorities were

¹ This work is also the chief source for H. Doré's Vie illustrée du Bouddha Çakyamouni (Shanghai, 1929), but the passages in question are so abbreviated in translation, that I have derived no help from it.



PREFACE

two MSS.1 One was much damaged and covered only about two-thirds of the text, but was so good that it was not to be departed from without the strongest of reasons; the other which contained the whole poem was so full of corruptions and mistakes that by nothing but extensive amendment could one reach a readable text for those parts which depended on it alone. As editor, I had to admit many conjectures to the text, whether I liked it or no, but the proceeding is deprived of half its objectionableness when the MSS, variants are fully given, and I would claim that my edition of it should be judged, not by the number of conjectures accepted, but by the skill or the reverse with which I selected them from among the possible alternatives. For the Buddhacarita we have three independent text traditions, and for ten per cent. of the poem four, none of them adequate in themselves to providing a good text, but between them affording reasonable solutions of most cruces. To proceed by way of conjecture in these circumstances would be improper, and I have only amended the text against my authorities, when I saw no other way out, my reasons in such cases being given in the notes. A naturally forms the basis of the text, but, where T differs from it, I have as a rule chosen that reading which C suggests or appears to favour. Where C denies help, I have exercised my own judgement, which has, I hope, been sharpened by so many years devoted to one author's works. In a few cases I have accepted the indications of C against A and T, but only when I was fully satisfied of its reading. In some cases I have not accepted either A or T entirely, but have combined the two. In other words I have followed no fixed rule but have been guided by the circumstances of each case.

Certain special points require a few words. For canto ii. 1-35, I have had to take Cowell's text as my basis, but, as it is clear that the two leaves of A concerned were much rubbed

¹ Excellent reproductions of these MSS, are now in the India Office Library, where they may be consulted by scholars who wish to check my collation of them.

xvi

BUDDHACARITA

SL

and had lacunæ of several characters in verses 24b, 25d, and 27a, I have introduced T's readings with greater readiness than in the rest of the text. Where verses are incomplete in A, such as i. 8, 24 and 40, and in ix. 26–37, I have filled in the gaps from T, so far as I was certain of the original. Verse xii. 91, which is missing in A, I have been able to restore in part only. In iv. 87, where A's second line is shown by C and T to be a late falsification, I have given instead the probable restoration of T.

In two passages C raises the question whether our text is in the right order. In canto ix it transposes verses 19-22 to the order 22, 20, 19, 21; this is hardly an improvement in the sequence of the argument. In canto viii its rearrangement is more drastic. As A's and T's text stands, the order is open to the charge of being disjointed. Suddhodana is mentioned in verse 15 and ignored thereafter till verse 72. Yaśodharā's lamentations, 61-69, would follow more suitably on Chandaka's defence of himself, and Mahāprajāpati Gautamī's speech, 52-58, would come better after the description of her fall on the ground in verse 24, thus giving her the prominence which a Buddhist would feel was due to her. According to C the order after verse 14 is 16-24, 51-59, 25-50, 60-71, 15, 72-end, and FP, which is unhappily not authoritative on such a point, follows the same order. I should have preferred to reconstruct the canto on these lines, but have felt that so great a change might fail to win general approval, as well as being harassing to those brought up on the editio princeps.

The way in which obviously or probably interpolated verses should be dealt with has also caused me much anxious thought. Finally I have decided to exclude from the text only a spurious verse in the passage at canto ix, which was wanting in Cowell's MSS., the verse at the end of canto xiii, which, though its lack of authenticity was detected long ago by Lüders, has been quoted of recent years as typical of Aśvaghoṣa's style in a standard history of Sanskrit literature, and the verse numbered xiv. 21, in Cowell's edition; not one of these can possibly be









genuine. For other doubtful verses I regard C as peculiarly deserving of attention; while omitting much descriptive matter, it never fails to take up anything of legendary or moral interest and any such verse omitted from it is on that score alone subject to grave suspicion. The following verses I regard for the reasons given in the notes on the translation of each as meriting consideration in this connexion, some being almost certain interpolations, others merely doubtful, viz., i. 81, ii. 15, iii. 21 and 65, iv. 17 and 48, v. 65, viii. 47, 48 and 54, xi. 57, and xiii. 23.

The text, as constituted by me, differs in the numbering of certain cantos from Cowell's and it may be found useful to give here a table of the variations:—

Present edition.

Omitted.

i. 8.

i. 9.

Omitted.

i. 10-24.

Omitted.

i. 40.

i. 41-89.

ix. 1-41.

ix. 42-51.

ix. 52-82.

xi. 29.

xi. 30.

xii. 1-71ab.

xii. 71cd-73ab.

xii. 73cd-90.

xii. 91.

xii. 92-121.

Omitted.

xiv. 1-20.

Omitted.

Cowell's edition.

i. 1-24.

Omitted.

i. 25.

i. 26-28.

i. 29-43.

i. 44-45. Omitted.

.

i. 46-94.

ix. 1-41.

Omitted.

ix. 42-72.

xi. 30.

xi. 29.

xii. 1-71ab.

Omitted.

xii. 71cd-88.

Omitted.

xii. 89-118.

xiii. 73.

xiv. 1-20.

xiv. 21.



xviii

Present edition.

xiv. 21-28.

xiv. 29.

xiv. 30.

xiv. 31.

BUDDHACARITA

Cowell's edition.

xiv. 22-29.

xiv. 31.

xiv. 30.

xiv. 32.

The manner in which T and C have been dealt with in the apparatus criticus has already been stated. A complete collation of A is also given, and I have normalised the spelling in the text, but not in the apparatus. The question whether to include all conjectures by other scholars had also to be considered and I finally decided to mention them only in the few cases where I have accepted them without authority from A, T or C, and in certain passages where the text I give remains doubtful and the attempts of others to find the correct reading might prove of help to future workers. It was not only the bulk of the additional matter that weighed with me. A conjecture remains a conjecture, however good, and in the many cases where my text coincides with previous conjectures the conclusive evidence for such readings is to be found in A. T or C. not in the fact that such and such scholars, however eminent. have put them forward, while very few of the remainder have any subsisting interest in the light of the material given here. Those who wish to ascertain quickly what conjectures have been made regarding particular verses will find all the earlier ones discussed in the notes to Formichi's translation, while I have mentioned those which A and T confirmed in two articles in the JRAS (1927, 209ff., and 1929, 537ff.) and others are referred to in the notes to Weller's translation of T. In brief I do not think that mention of all the conjectures would have been of any value towards the constitution and interpretation of the text. The same reasoning applies still more strongly to the four Indian editions of the first five cantos, published for the use of students at Bombay University in 1911. Some of these

¹ These articles, quite apart from one or two mistakes, do not give my final views, but only a preliminary account of the material to be found in A and T for settling the text.





claim to be based on independent MSS., but internal evidence showed that, if such MSS. were not veritable khapuspas, they were merely copies of Cowell's text with such alterations as modern taste would suggest. One editor professed to find in his MS. the verses missing in Cowell's canto ix, but in printing them in an appendix he reproduced the seven mistakes which MM. H. P. Sastri had made in his version of A's text of them, published a couple of years earlier. Could any two persons make exactly the same mistakes in copying a passage independently of each other? Any variants found in these editions are in fact nothing more than conjectures. While their notes have been found useful at times for the translation, textually they are devoid of all authority.

A list of all the editions, translations and special articles of which the *Buddhacarita* is the main subject, so far as known to me, will be found at the beginning of the second volume, and I reserve for the foreword to it the few remarks that are necessary to explain my methods of translation and annotation.

For a task that has been spread out over many years it is but in accordance with the kindly ways of Sanskrit scholars that I should have received help on special points from many quarters, only a portion of which can be acknowledged here. The work owes its inception to the generous and enlightened policy of the Nepal Durbar, which, by sending the MS. A to the Bodleian Library, enabled me to appreciate its importance and exploit its contents; and by the publication of these volumes the University of the Panjab, and its Vice-Chancellor, Professor A. C. Woolner, C.I.E., have earned my heart-felt gratitude, all the more so in that, having no claim to the funds at their disposal, I am entitled to feel assured that they have been actuated solely by a desire to advance Sanskrit learning. Among those who have helped me with answers to queries the Librarians of the India Office, particularly Dr. H. N. Randle, take the first place, and of other scholars I would tender special thanks, in England, to Professor Soothill and Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, and, on the Continent, to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Professor P.



BUDDHACARITA

GL

Demiéville, Mr. Lin Li-Kouang, who undertook a particularly troublesome piece of work at my request, M. Jean Buhot, and Mademoiselle M. Lalou, who collated part of canto xiv for me in the Peking edition of the Tanjore, while correspondence with others, such as Professors de la Vallée Poussin, Konow and Charpentier, has influenced me for good in ways that are not always obvious from the text. To the late Professor Macdonell's daughters I am indebted for permission to publish the lines placed at the beginning of this volume; any virtues my work may possess are ultimately due to the ideals and exact methods of scholarship which that great teacher never wearied of impressing on his pupils.

ADDERBURY, December, 1934. E. H. JOHNSTON.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A			MS. of the Buddhacarita in the Library of the Nepal Durbar at Kathmandu.
C			Chinese translation of the <i>Buddhacarita</i> , ed. Taishō Issaikyō, volume IV, no. 192; translated by S. Beal, Sacred Books of the East, volume XIX.
Co.	•		The Buddhakarita of Asvaghosha, edited by E. B. Cowell, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Oxford, 1893.
e.c.			ex conjectura.
FP	**	••	Fo pen hsing chi ching, ed. Taishō Issaikyō, volume III, no. 190. Abridged translation by S. Beal, The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, London, 1875.
T	••	••	Tibetan translation of the Buddhacarita, edited and translated by Friedrich Weller, Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghosa, Leipzig; Part I, 1926; Part II, 1928.





CONTENTS.

					AGE.
Preface			• •		 V
Abbreviations	4.0	A			 xx
Contents					xxi
Text, Cantos I-X	IV	1		Mark the	1
Appendix-The	Buddhacarita	and the F	o pen hsing	chi ching	163





THE BUDDHACARITA

CANTO I

तिसम्बने श्रीमित राजपत्नी प्रस्तिकालं समवेश्वमाणा।

ग्रय्यां वितानीपहितां प्रपेदे नारीसहसैरिभनन्द्यमाना॥ ८॥

ततः प्रसन्नश्च वभूव पुष्यस्तस्याश्च देव्या व्रतसंस्कृतायाः।

पार्श्वात्मुतो लोकहिताय जन्ने निर्वेदनं चैव निरामयं च॥ ८॥

जरोर्यथीर्वस्य पृथोश्च हस्तान्मान्धातुरिन्द्रप्रतिमस्य मूर्भः।

कश्चीवतश्चैव भुजांसदेशात्त्रयाविधं तस्य वभूव जन्म॥ १०॥

क्रमेण गर्भादिभिनिःसृतः सन् वभौ च्युतः खादिव योग्यजातः।

कस्येष्ठनेकेषु च भावितात्मा यः संप्रजाननसुषुवे न मृदः॥ ११॥

- 8. ab. Fol. 2 of A begins with the last syllables māṇā; dpal-dan-ldan-paḥi nags der rgyal-poḥi bdag-ldan-ma rab-tu-bltams-paḥi dus ni yaṅ-dag mnon-gzigs-śin, T; 'in that grove then the queen of herself knew that the time of delivery had come ', C.
 - 9. a. rab-ldan-par (prasannas?), T.
- 10. a. yathorvvasya, A. c. lag-paḥi cha-śas gsaṅ-ba-nas (bhujāṁśa-guhyāt), T; 'armpit', C.
- 11. a. gzugs mdzes-te (rūpeņa babhau), T; 'gradually', C. ab. 'srtasya (?ssa?) babhau (all rewritten), A. c. anekeşv iva, A; T omits iva; 'having practised virtue for countless ages', C.



दीया च धेर्येण च यो रराज बालो रिवर्भूमिमिवावतीर्णः।
तयातिदीतोऽपि निरीक्ष्यमाणो जहार चक्ष्रंपि यथा ग्रणाकः॥१२॥
स हि खगाचप्रभयोज्जलन्या दीपप्रभां भास्तरवन्तुमोष।
महाईजाम्बूनद्वार्वणी विद्योतयामास दिग्रस्थ सर्वाः॥१३॥
स्थानुलान्युक्तसमुद्रतानि निष्येषवद्यायतिवक्तमाणि।
तथैव धीराणि पदानि सप्त सप्तर्षितारासहग्रो जगाम॥१४॥
बोधाय जातोऽसि जगिद्दतार्थमन्त्या भवोत्पत्तिरियं ममेति।
चतुर्दिशं सिंहगतिर्विलोक्य वाणीं च भव्यार्थकरीमुवाच॥१५॥
खात्मसुते चन्द्रमरीचिग्रुसे दे वारिधारे ग्रिग्रिरोष्णवीर्ये।
ग्रीरसंस्पर्भसुखान्तराय निपेततुर्मूर्धनि तस्य सौम्ये॥१६॥
श्रीमदिताने कनकोज्जलाक्ते वैद्ध्यपादे ग्रथने ग्रयानम्।
यद्गीरवात्काच्चनपद्महत्ता यस्राधिपाः संपरिवार्थ तस्यः॥१७॥
* स्र दिवौक्तसः खे यस्य प्रभावात्मणतैः ग्रिग्रीभः।
स्राधारयन् पाग्रहरमातप्चं बोधाय जेपुः परमाशिषस्र॥१८॥

- 12. a. dhairyena * (character defaced) yā, A; brtan-pas gań-zhig, T.
- 13. a. °prabhayā jvalantyā, A; hod rab-hbar-ba-yis, T.
- 14. a. °nyubja° (corrected to °ny abja°), A; yon-pohi skyon-dag rab-bsal-zhin (==?), T. b. nispeṣavanty āyata°, A; sin-tu-brtan-pa rnam-par-yans-paḥi hgros, T. c. de-ltar mi-gyo rab-tu-brtan-paḥi gom-pa (==tathā-calāny atidhīrāni padāni), T.
- 16. c. śarīra (four characters torn and illegible) khantarāya, A; lus-la yan-dag reg-pas bde-ba bskyed-paḥi phyir, T; 'caused his body pleasure', C.
- 17. a. gser-kyis hbar-zhin mtshan (kanakojjvalänke), T. c. yam gauravāt, Lüders.
- 18. a. First eight syllables illegible in A; mi-mnon gyur-paḥi lha-rnams-kyis (=adṛśyabhāvāś ca divaukasaḥ), T. c. adhārayan, Böhtlingk.



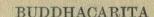
महोरगा धर्मविशेषतर्षां दुवेषतीतेषु क्रताधिकाराः।
यमव्यजन् भिक्तविशिष्टनेचा मन्दारपुष्यैः समवाकिरंश्र॥ १८॥
तथागतोत्पादगुणेन तुष्टाः शुडाधिवासाश्र विश्वडसत्त्वाः।
देवा ननन्दुर्विगतेऽपि रागे मग्नस्य दुःखे जगतो हिताय॥ २०॥
यस्य प्रस्ततौ गिरिराजकीला वाताहता नौरिव भृश्वचाल।
सचन्दना चोत्पलपद्मगर्भा पपात दृष्टिगगनादनश्चात्॥ २१॥

वाता ववुः स्पर्भसुखा मनोज्ञा दिव्यानि वासांस्यवपातयन्तः। स्र्यः स एवाभ्यधिकं चकाश्रे जञ्चाल सौम्यार्चिरनौरितोऽग्निः॥ २२॥

प्रागुत्तरे चावसथप्रदेशे क्र्याः स्वयं प्रादुरभृत्मिताम्बुः। श्रन्तःपुराख्यागतविस्मयानि यस्मिन् क्रियास्तीर्थं दव प्रचकुः॥२३॥ धर्माधिभिर्भृतगरीश्र दिव्यस्तदर्भनार्थं वनमापुपूरे। कौतूहलेमैव च पादपेभ्यः पुष्पाख्यंकालेऽपि * * * * ॥ २४॥

* निदर्भनान्यच च नो निबोध ॥ ४०॥

- 20. b. śuddhāddhivāsāś, A. d. hitoya, A; phan-paḥi phyir, T.
- 21. a. yasya prasūto, A; gan-gi rab-tu-bltams tshe, T.
- 22. c. sūrya, A.
- 23. b. bsil-baḥi chu-yi (śītāmbuḥ), T.
- 24. a. dharmarthibhi bhūta°, A. b. vanam āprapūrai, A; nags-tsha rab-gan-ste, T. cd. Fol. 2 of A ends with the tenth syllable of c; śin-las kyan me-tog-rnams ni dus-ma-yin-par nes-par-brul, T.
- 40. d. Fol. 4 of A begins traiva ca no nibodha; hdir yan bdag-gis dperbrjod-dag ni mkhyen-par-mdzod, T; 'now I should mention the examples; let the king now too investigate and listen', C.





यद्राजशास्त्रं स्गुरिक्तरा वा न चक्रतुर्वशकराष्ट्रषी ती।
तयोः सुती सीम्य ससर्जनुस्तकालेन सुक्रस्य वहस्यितस्य ॥ ४१ ॥
सारस्वतस्यापि जगाद नष्टं वेदं पुनर्यं दहसुर्न पूर्वे।
व्यासस्तर्थेनं बहुधा चकार न यं विसष्टः क्षतवानशिकः ॥ ४२ ॥
वाल्गीिकरादी च ससर्ज पद्यं जग्रन्य यन्न व्यवनो महर्षिः।
चिकित्सितं यच चकार नाचिः पस्रात्तदाचेय च्हिष्ठगाद ॥ ४३ ॥
यच दिज्ञत्वं कुशिको न लेभे तद्राधिनः स्तनुरवाप राजन्।
वेलां समुद्रे सगरस्र दभ्रे नेस्वाकवो यां प्रथमं वबन्धः ॥ ४४ ॥
श्राचार्यकं योगिवधौ दिजानामप्राप्तमन्थैर्जनको जगाम।
व्यातानि कर्माणि च यानि शौरेः श्ररादयस्तेषवला वस्तृः॥४५॥
तस्मात्रमाणं न वयो न वंशः कश्चित्कचिच्छैद्यमुपैति लोके।
राज्ञान्त्रषीणां च हि तानि तानि क्षतानि पुचैरक्षतानि पूर्वैः॥४६॥
एवं न्दपः प्रत्यितिर्दिजैस्तैराश्वासितश्वाप्यभिनन्दितश्व।
राज्ञान्तिष्टां विजन्दो मनस्तः प्रहर्षमेवाधिकमारुरोह ॥ ४९ ॥

^{42.} a. Sāraśvataś, A. b. cedam, A; rig-byed, T. d. vaśisthah, A. kṛtavān śaktiḥ (virāma under n a later addition?), A; nus-med...byas-gyur-pa, T.

^{43.} c. nātri, A. mthoń-ba (dadarśa), T. d. byas (cakāra), T.

^{44.} b. rājam, A; rgyal-po-la (rājñe?), T; 'king Gādhina'(?), C.

^{45.} c. saureh, A; khyab-hjug-gi (=viṣṇoḥ), T.

^{46.} a. na vayo na kālaḥ, A; laṅ-tsho daṅ ni rigs-dag, T; 'in the case of imperial kings and divine rṣis one certainly does not hold family to be the basis', C. b. upeti, A.

^{47.} a. pratyayitai(?to?), A; gñis-skyes de-rnams-kyis ni yid-ches-te (=pratyāyito dvijais taiḥ), T. c. saṅkām, A.



प्रीतश्च तेथ्यं दिजसत्तमेथ्यः सत्कार्पूर्वं प्रद्दौ धनानि ।
भ्यादयं भूमिपतिर्थयोत्तो यायाज्ञरामेत्य वनानि चेति ॥ ४८ ॥
श्रयो निमित्तेश्व तपोवलाच तज्जका जन्मान्तकरस्य बुद्धा ।
शाक्येश्वरस्यालयमाजगाम सद्धमितर्घाद्दसितो महर्षिः ॥ ४८ ॥
तं ब्रह्मविद्वह्मविदं ज्वलन्तं ब्राह्म्या श्रिया चैव तपःश्रिया च ।
राज्ञो गुरुगौरवसित्त्रयाभ्यां प्रवेश्ययामास नरेन्द्रसद्म ॥ ५० ॥
स पार्थिवान्तःपुरसंनिकर्षं कुमारजन्मागतहर्षवेगः ।
विवेश धीरो वनसंज्ञयेव तपःप्रकर्षाच जराश्रयाच ॥ ५१ ॥
ततो द्यस्तं सुनिमासनस्यं पाद्यार्थपूर्वं प्रतिपूज्य सम्यक् ।
निमन्त्रयामास यथोपचारं पुरा विसष्ठं स द्रवान्तिदेवः ॥ ५२ ॥

धन्योऽस्यनुया ह्यासिदं कुलं मे

यन्मां दिहसुर्भगवानु पेतः।

श्राचाप्यतां किं करवाणि सौम्य

श्रिष्योऽस्मि विश्रास्मितुमईसीति॥ ५३॥

^{48.} c. yathoktau, A.

^{49.} b. tajjanya, A; bltams-pa de ni, T. cd. dam-paḥi chos-la gus-paḥi (?pas?) śākyaḥi dban-phyug-gi (Śākyeśvarasya . . . saddharmabhaktasya, or °bhakter?), T.

^{50.} a. brahmavidbrahmavidām, A; hbar-baḥi tshans-rig-rnams-kyi tshans-rig de-la ni (i.e. brahmavidbrahmavidam as a compound), T. c. °śatkriyābhyām, A.

^{51.} c. °samjñayaiva, A; hdu-śes-kyis ltar, T; 'despite all the women as if he were in an empty fenced grove', C. d. jara(?corrected to rā?)śrayāc ca, A.

^{52.} d. vasistham, A.



एवं च्येगोपमन्त्रितः सन्तर्वेण भावेन मुनिर्यथावत्। स विस्मयोत्फुल्लविशालदृष्टिर्गस्भीर्धीराणि वचांस्युवाच ॥ ५४ ॥

> महात्मनि त्वय्युपपन्नमेत-त्रियातियौ त्यागिनि धर्मकामे। सत्त्वान्वयज्ञानवयोऽनुरूपा

सिग्धा यदेवं मिय ते मितः स्यात्॥ ५५॥
एतच तचेन चपर्धयस्ते धर्मेण स्रक्षेण धनान्यवाप्य।
नित्यं त्यजन्तो विधिवदभ्वस्तपोभिराच्या विभवेदिरिद्राः॥ ५६॥
प्रयोजनं यत्तु ममोपयाने तन्ने ऋणु प्रौतिमुपेहि च त्वम्।
दिव्या मयादित्यपये ऋता वाग्बोधाय जातस्तनयस्तवेति॥ ५०॥
ऋता वचस्तच मनस्र युक्ता ज्ञात्वा निमित्तेश्च ततोऽस्स्युपेतः।
दिदृश्चया शाक्यकुचध्वजस्य शक्रध्वजस्येव समुच्छितस्य॥ ५८॥
दत्येतदेवं वचनं निश्म्य प्रदर्षसंख्यान्तगितर्नरेन्द्रः।
ऋतादाय धाच्यक्तगतं कुमारं संदर्शयामास तपोधनाय॥ ५८॥
चक्राक्षपादं स ततो महर्षिजीखावनद्याङ्गिखपाणिपादम्।
सोर्णेश्वं वारणवस्तिकोशं सविस्मयं राजसुतं ददर्श॥ ६०॥

^{54.} a. nrpenopa°, A.

^{56.} b. sūkṣmāṇi, A; phra-moḥi chos-kyis, T. c. mchod-sbyin-byas (yajanto), T. d. tapobhir ādyā, A; dkaḥ-thub-rnams-kyis phyug-cin, T.

^{57.} b. upaihi, A. c. mayā divyapathe, A; bdag-gis ñi-maḥi lam-du, T; 'I came, following the path of the sun', C.

^{59.} a. etad aivam, A. c. yum-gyi pan-du (mātryanke), T.

^{60.} a. tathā, A ; de-nas, T. b. jālāvanaddhāvanguli°, A. c. svarņņabhuvam, A ; smin-ma mdzod-spur-beas, T.



धाच्यक्तसंविष्टमवेद्य चैनं देव्यक्तसंविष्टमिवाग्निस्तुम्।
बभूव पद्मान्तिविच्चतात्रुनिश्वस्य चैव चिदिवोन्मुखोऽभूत्॥ ई१॥
हष्ट्वासितं त्वश्रुपरिक्षुताक्षं खेद्वात्तनूजस्य न्यप्यकम्पे।
सगद्गदं वाष्पकषायकण्डः पप्रच्छ स प्राच्चित्ताक्षः॥ ६२॥
श्राल्पान्तरं यस्य वपुः सुरेभ्यो वच्चद्गुतं यस्य च जन्म दीतम्।
यस्योत्तमं भाविनमात्य चार्थं तं प्रेक्ष्य कस्मात्तव धीर वाष्पः॥६३॥
श्रापि स्थिरायुर्भगवन् कुमारः कच्चिन्न ग्रोकाय मम प्रस्ततः।
खव्या कर्यचित्सखिलाच्चिलमें न खिल्वमं पातुमुपैति कालः॥६४॥
श्राप्यक्षयं मे यश्रसो निधानं कच्चिद्ववो मे कुलहस्तसारः।
श्रापि प्रयास्यामि सुखं परच सुत्तोऽपि पुचेऽनिमिष्वैकच्छः॥ ६५॥।

कचिन्न मे जातमपुद्धमेव
कुचप्रवासं परिशोषभागि।
स्तिप्रं विभो ब्रूहि न मेऽस्ति शान्तिः
स्नेहं सुते वेत्सि हि बान्धवानाम्॥ ६६॥
द्रायागतावेगमनिष्टबुद्धा बुद्धा नरेन्द्रं स सुनिर्वभाषे।
मा भून्मतिस्ते न्दप काचिदन्या निःसंश्र्यं तद्यद्वोचमस्मि॥ ६७॥

61. d. e.c. Böhtlingk; caivam, A; T omits. dbugs-med gyur-nas (= niḥśvāso bhūtvā, for niḥśvasya?), T.

62. a. tv asru°, A. d. prānjali c(?)ānatāngaḥ, A.

63. b. no-mtshar man-pohi sgron-ma-ste (bahvadbhuto...dipo), T. d. preksa, A.

64. b. kaścin, A; nam-ci, T. d. yätum upeti, A; hthun-phyir ne-bar-

hons, T (omitting khalu).

65. d. e.e. Lévi and Formichi; supto pi putro, A; gñid-par-gyur kyan bu ni (supto 'pi putro ?), T; for C see note in translation.

66. c. me stih (mark over visarga to show error), A.

67. b. budhvā, A.



नास्यान्यथात्वं प्रति विक्रिया में स्वां वच्चनां तु प्रति विक्रवोऽस्मि । कालो हि में यातुमयं च जातो जातिस्रयस्यासुलभस्य बोद्या ॥ ६८ ॥

विद्याय राज्यं विषयेष्ठनास्यस्तीकेः प्रयत्नेरिधगम्य तत्त्वम् ।
जगत्ययं मोद्यतमो निद्दनुं ज्वलिष्यित ज्ञानमयो दि स्वर्थः ॥ ई८ ॥
दुःखार्णवाद्याधिविकीर्णफेनाज्जरातरङ्गान्तरणोग्रवेगात् ।
उत्तारियष्यत्ययमुद्यमानमार्तं जगज्ज्ञानमद्याक्षवेन ॥ ७० ॥
प्रज्ञाम्बुवेगां स्थिरणीलवप्रां समाधिणीतां व्रतचक्रवाकाम् ।
श्रस्योत्तमां धर्मनदीं प्रद्रन्तां तृष्णादितः पास्यित जीवलोकः ॥७१॥
दुःखादितेभ्यो विषयाद्यतेभ्यः संसारकान्तारपथस्थितेभ्यः ।
श्राख्यास्यित द्येष विमोक्षमार्गं मार्गप्रनृष्टेभ्य द्वाध्वगेभ्यः ॥ ७२ ॥
विद्य्यमानाय जनाय लोके रागाधिनायं विषयेभ्यनेन ।
प्रद्धादमाधास्यित धर्मदृष्ट्या दृष्ट्या मद्द्यानेष्य द्वातपान्ते ॥ ७३ ॥
तृष्णार्गलं मोद्दतमःकपाटं द्वारं प्रजानामपयानदेतोः ।
विपारियष्यत्ययमुत्तमेन सद्दर्भतादेन दुरासदेन ॥ ७४ ॥

68. b. vā(?va?)ñcanān tu, A.

69. c. mun-pa rnam-hjoms-phyir (°tamo vihantum), T.

70. b. °tarangāt, A. d. jagata jñāna°, A.

71. a. °vaprā, A. c. rab-bskor-la (pravṛtāṁ), T.

72. a. visayāvṛttebhyaḥ, A; yul-gyis bsgribs-rnams, T. b. ḥbrog-dgon ḥjigs-par gnas-pa-rnams-la (°kāntārabhayasthitebhyaḥ), T.

73. c. prahlāyam (glossed sukha), A; rab-tu-sim, T.

74. a. tṛṣṇārggaḍam, A; sred-paḥi sgo-gtan ma-rig mun-paḥi sgo-glegscan (=tṛṣṇārgalāvidyātamaḥkapāṭaṁ), T. d. dam-paḥi chos-kyi sgras (=saddharmaśabdena), T.



स्वैमी हपार्यः परिवेष्टितस्य दुःखाभिभूतस्य निराश्रयस्य । खोकस्य संबुध्य च धर्मराजः करिष्यते बन्धनमोक्षमेषः ॥ ७५ ॥

तन्मा कथाः शोकिममं प्रति त्व
मिस्मिन्त शोच्चोऽस्ति मनुष्यक्षेति ।

मोद्देन वा कामसुर्वैर्मदाद्वा

यो नैष्ठिकं श्रोष्यित नास्य धर्मम् ॥ ७६ ॥

स्रष्टस्य तस्माच गुणादतो मे

ध्यानानि सन्धाप्यक्ततार्थतैव ।

धर्मस्य तस्याश्रवणाददं हि

मन्ये विपत्तिं चिदिवेऽपि वासम् ॥ ७७ ॥

दति श्रुतार्थः ससुहृत्सदार
स्यक्ता विषादं सुसुदे नरेन्द्रः ।

ग्वंविधोऽयं तनयो ममेति

मेने स हि स्वामिप सारवत्ताम् ॥ ७८ ॥

गर्भेण तु यास्यतीति चिन्ताविधेयं हृदयं चकार ।

त्रार्षेण मार्गेण तु यास्यतीति चिन्ताविधेयं हृद्यं चकार । न खल्बसी न प्रियधर्मपक्षः संताननाशात्तु भयं ददर्श ॥ ७९ ॥

^{75.} a. ran-gi las-kyi zhags-pa-rnams-kyis (svakarmapāśaiḥ), T; 'self-entangled in the nets of moha', C.

^{76.} b. tat saumya śocya (corrected to cye) ha (written over a double letter) manusyaloke, A; mi-yi hjig-rten hdir de mya-nan bya-bahi gnas, T; 'you ought to grieve over all those beings', C. d. neṣṭhikam, A.

^{77.} a. yon-tan rgya-mtsho hdi-las hkhrul-gyur bdağ-gi ni (asmāc ca bhraṣṭasya guṇārṇavān me), T. b. ladhvāpy, A.

^{78.} d. e.c. Böhtlingk; sāramattām, A.

^{79.} a. āryeņa mārggeņa, A; ḥphags-paḥi chos-rnams-kyis (=āryair dharmaiḥ), T; 'cultivating the path of the rsis', C.



त्रय मुनिर्सितो निवेद्य तत्त्वं सुतनियतं सुतविक्कवाय राज्ञे। सबहुमतसुदौद्यमाण्डूपः पवनपथेन यथागतं जगाम॥ ८०॥

> क्रतमितिरनुजासुतं च हष्ट्वा मुनिवचनश्रवणे च तन्मतौ च। बहुविधमनुकम्पया स साधुः

प्रियसुतविद्दिनियोजयांचकार ॥ ८१ ॥
नर्पतिर्पि पुचजकातुष्टो विषयगतानि विमुच्च बन्धनानि ।
कुलसङ्ग्रमचौकरद्ययाविद्ययतनयस्तनयस्य जातकर्म ॥ ८२ ॥
दशसु परिणतेष्वहःसु चैव प्रयतमनाः पर्या मुदा परौतः ।
ऋकुरुत जपहोममङ्गलाद्याः पर्मभवाय सुतस्य देवतेज्याः ॥८३॥
ऋषि च ग्रतसहस्वपूर्णसंख्याः स्थिरबलवत्तनयाः सहेमऋङौः ।
ऋषुपगतजराः पयस्वनीर्गाः स्वयमददात्मुतष्टद्वये दिजेभ्यः ॥८४॥
बहुविधविषयास्ततो यतात्मा स्वहृदयतोषकरौः क्रिया विधाय ।
गुणवित नियते ग्रिवे मुह्नर्ते मितमकरोन्मुदितः पुर्मवेशे ॥८५॥

दिरद्रदमयीमथी महार्ही सितसितपुष्पस्तां मणिप्रदीपाम्। अभजत शिविकां शिवाय देवी तनयवती प्रणिपत्य देवताभ्यः॥ ८६॥

80. c. udīkṣamāṇa°, A.

82. b. bandhavāni A; ḥchiń-ba-rnams, T. c. kulaśadṛśam, A.

84. a. satasahasra°, A.

86. a. marhārhām, A.

^{81.} C omits this verse. a. blo-gros byas-paḥi sriń-moḥi bu (kṛtamatim anujāsutaṁ), T.

^{85.} c. guṇavati divase, A; yon-tan-ldan-śiń (for zhiń) dge-baḥi yud-tsam ńes-pa-na, T; ' by divination selecting a favourable time ', C.





पुरमय पुरतः प्रवेश्य पत्नीं खविरजनानुगतामपत्यनायाम्। न्टपतिरपि जगाम पौरसंघैदिवममरैर्मघवानिवार्च्यमानः॥ ८०॥ भवनमय विगास्य शाक्यराजो भव दव पण्मुखजन्मना प्रतीतः। ददिमदिमिति इर्षपूर्णविको बहुविधपुष्टियशस्त्ररं व्यथत्त॥ ८८॥

> इति नरपतिपुचजन्मरुद्धा सजनपदं कपिलाह्मयं पुरं तत्। धनदपुरमिवास्परसोऽवकीर्णं मुदितमसृत्रलक्कबरप्रस्ततौ॥ ८९॥

द्ति बुद्धचरिते महाकाच्ये भगवत्रास्त्रतिनीम प्रथमः सर्गः ॥ १ ॥

89. a. de-nas (atha), T.



CANTO II

का जन्मनो जन्मजरान्तगस्य तस्यात्मजस्यात्मिकाः स राजा।

बहन्यहन्यर्थगजाश्वमिनैर्दृष्टिं ययौ सिन्ध्रिरवाम्बुवेगैः॥१॥

धनस्य रत्मस्य च तस्य तस्य इताइतस्यैव च काच्चनस्य।

तदा हि नैकान्त निधीनवाप मनोर्यस्याप्यतिभारस्तान्॥२॥

ये पद्मकल्पैरिप च दिपेन्द्रैनं मण्डलं श्रव्यमिहाभिनेतुम्।

मदोत्कटा हैमवता गजात्ते विनापि यत्नादुपतस्युरेनम्॥३॥

नानाङ्गचिद्धैनेवहेमभाग्डैविंस्वितिर्ज्ञन्वसटैस्तयान्यैः।

संपृष्ठभे चास्य पुरं तुरङ्गवेजेन मैच्या च धनेन चाप्तैः॥४॥

पृष्टाश्व तुष्टाश्व तथास्य राज्ये साध्योऽरजस्का गुणवत्ययस्काः।

उद्यवत्सेः सहिता वस्युर्वेद्यो बहुश्वीरदुह्य गावः॥५॥

मध्यस्थतां तस्य रिपुर्जगाम मध्यस्थभावः प्रयथौ सुहृत्वम्।

विश्वेषतो दार्ळामियाय मिचं दावस्य पश्चावपरस्तु नास॥६॥

1. a. \bar{a} janme, A; fol. 6 of A ends here. °jarāntakasya, Co; rga-ba mthar son, \bar{T} .

2. b. kṛtasyākṛtasyeva, Co.'s MSS.; byas dan ma-byas-pa ñid, T. c. e.c. Kern; tadā hi naikātmanidhīn avāpi, Co.; de-la geig-tu phan-paḥi cha-śas gter rñed-gyur (tadā hitaikāmśanidhīn avāpa), T.

3. b. ñe-bar-hon-bar (upanetum?), T.

4. b. abhüşitair, Co.; ābhüşitair, Kern; brgyan-byas (=bhüşitair), T. d. cāptiḥ, Co.'s MSS.; thob-pa-yi...mgyogs-ḥgro-rnams, T.

5. a. tadāsya, Co.; de-bzhin ḥdi-yi, T. c. udagravatsāsahitā, Co.'s MSS.; rab-mchog beḥu-rnams-dan-bcas, T.

6. b. madhyasvabhāvaḥ, Co.; dbus-gnas gyur-pa, T. d. aparas tu nāśam, Co.; dgra yaṅ yod-ma-yin, T.



तथास्य मन्दानिलमेघशब्दः सीदामिनीकुग्डलमग्डिताथः। विनायमवर्षाम्निपातदोषैः काले च देशे प्रववर्ष देवः॥ ७॥ हरोइ सस्यं फलवद्यवर्त् तदाक्षतेनापि क्षषिश्रमेण। ता एव चास्यौषधयो रसेन सारेण चैवाभ्यधिका वसूवः॥ ८॥ ग्ररीरसंदेचकरेऽपि काले संग्रामसंमर्द इव प्रवत्ते। खिखाः सुखं चैव निरामयं च प्रजित्तरे कालविशेन नार्यः ॥ १ ॥ पृथम्बतिभ्यो विभवेऽपि गर्ह्ये न प्रार्थयन्ति स्म नराः परेभ्यः। अभ्यर्थितः स्रक्षधनोऽपि चार्यस्तदा न कश्चिद्रिमुखो बभूव ॥ १०॥ नागौरवी बन्ध्यु नाप्यदाता नैवावतो नान्द्रतिको न हिंसः। श्वासीत्तदा कश्चन तस्य राज्ये राज्ञो ययातेरिव नाहुषस्य॥११॥ उद्यानदेवायतनाश्रमाणां क्रपप्रपापुष्करिणीवनानाम्। चकुः कियास्तच च धर्मकामाः प्रत्यक्षतः स्वर्गमिवोपलभ्य ॥ १२॥ मुक्तञ्च द्रभिष्ठभयामयेभ्यो हृष्टो जनः स्वर्ग द्रवाभिरेमे। पत्नीं पतिर्वा महिषी पतिं वा परस्परं न व्यभिचेरतुश्र ॥ १३ ॥ कश्चित्सिषेवे रतये न कामं कामार्थमर्थं न जुगोप कश्चित्। कश्चिद्वनार्धे न चचार धर्मे धर्माय कश्चित्व चकार हिंसाम्॥ १४॥

7. b. °maṇḍitāṅgaḥ, Co.; brgyan-paḥi sprin, T.

9. d. garbhadharāś ca, Co. ; dus-kyi dban-gyis, T.

11. a. nāśo vadho, Co.; gñen-la zhe-sa med min, T.

12. c. rab-tu-mdzad (=pracakruh), T.

^{8.} a. ruroha samyak, Co.; ḥbru . . . skyes-te, T. b. zhin-gi las-kyi naldub byed-pa ñun-nus kyan (svalpam kṛtenāpi kṛṣiśrameṇa ?), T. c. tā eva caivauṣadhayo, Co; de-rnams ñid kyan ḥdi-yi sman-du byun-gyur-la, T.

^{10.} a. yac ca pratibhvo(bhyo, MSS.) vibhave 'pi śakye, Co.; brtulzhugs-ldan-rnams ma-gtogs nor-rdzas dman-na yań, T. c. 'pi cāyam, Co.; hphags-pa...yań, T.



सीयादिभिश्वाप्यरिभिश्व नष्टं ख्वस्यं खचकं परचक्रमुक्तम्। क्षेमं सुभिष्टं च बसूव तस्य पुरानर्ण्यस्य यथैव राष्ट्रे॥ १५॥ तदा हि तज्जन्मनि तस्य राज्ञो मनोरिवादित्यसुतस्य राज्ये। चचार हर्षः प्रणनाश पामा जञ्चाल धर्मः कल्षः श्रशाम ॥ १६॥ एवंविधा राजकुलस्य संपत्सर्वार्थसिडिश्च यतो वभूव। ततो न्टपस्तस्य सुतस्य नाम सर्वार्थसिङ्घोऽयमिति प्रचक्रे ॥ १७ ॥ देवी तु माया विबुधिषक्षे हृष्टा विशालं तनयप्रभावम्। जातं प्रहर्षे न शशाक सोढं ततो निवासाय दिवं जगाम ॥ १८॥ ततः कुमारं सुरगर्भकल्पं खेद्देन भावेन च निर्विधिषम्। मातृषसा मातृसमप्रभावा संवर्धयामात्मजवदभूव॥ १८॥ ततः स बालार्क इवोदयस्यः समीरितो विह्निरिवानिलेन। क्रमेण सम्यग्वरुधे कुमारस्ताराधिपः पश्च इवातमस्के ॥ २०॥ ततो महाहांणि च चन्दनानि रत्नावलीश्वीषधिभिः सगर्भाः। मगप्रयुक्तान्वयकां स्र हैमानाचिकिरेऽसी सुहृदालयेभ्यः॥ २१॥ वयोऽनुरूपाणि च भूषणानि हिर्एसयान् हस्तिस्गाश्वकांश्व। रथां य गोपुचकसंप्रयुक्तान् पुची ख चामीकर रूप्यचिचाः ॥ २२ ॥

15. a. cāpy abhitas ca naṣtam, Co.; dan dgra yan ñams-par, T. d. e.c. Gawroński and Sovani; purāny aranyāni, Co.; purāny aranyasya, Co.'s MS. C; phya-rol mya-nan med-pa ji-lta-ba ñid bzhin . . . rgyal-po de-la (=tasya parasyāsokasya yathaiva rājnāh?), T.

17. a. evamvidhā rājasutasya tasya, Co.; rgyal-poḥi rigs-kyi phun-sum-tshogs-pa byun-gyur-te, T; 'thus in the king's palace all things were exceedingly prosperous', FP.

18. d. tato 'vināśāya, Co.; de-nas gnas-paḥi phyed-du, T.

22. b. hiranmayā hastimṛgāśvakāś ca, Co. cd. rathāś ca gāvo vasanaprayuktā gantrīś ca, Co.; tantrīś ca, Co.'s MSS. D and P; mi chuṅ gzugs-rnams daṅ śiṅ-rta ba-glaṅ phyuṅ-ṅus (byuṅ dus, Weller) yaṅ-dag sbyarnams, T.





यवं स तैस्तैविषयोपचारैवयोऽनुरूपैरुपचर्यमाणः।
वालोऽप्यवालप्रतिमो वभूव ध्रत्या च शौचेन धिया श्रिया च ॥२३॥
वयश्च कौमारमतीत्य सम्यक् संप्राप्य काले प्रतिपत्तिकर्मः।
श्रत्योरहोभिर्वहुवर्षगम्या जग्राह विद्याः स्वकुलानुरूपाः॥ २४॥
नैःश्रेयसं तस्य तु भव्यमर्थं श्रुत्वा पुरस्तादिसतान्महर्षः।
कामेषु सङ्गं जनयांवभूव वनानि यायादिति शाक्यराजः॥ २५॥
कुलात्ततोऽसी स्थिरशीलयुक्तात्माध्यीं वपुहीविनयोपपचाम्।
यशोधरां नाम यशोविशालां वामाभिधानां श्रियमाजुहाव॥२६॥
विद्योतमानी वपुषा परेण सनत्वुमारप्रतिमः कुमारः।
सार्धे तथा शाक्यनरेन्द्रवध्या शच्या सहसाक्ष द्रवाभिरेमे॥ २०॥
किंचिन्मनःशोभकरं प्रतीपं कथं न पश्चेदिति सोऽनुचिन्य।
वासं न्यपो व्यादिशति स्न तसी हर्म्योदरेष्वेव न भूप्रचारम्॥ २८॥
ततः श्ररत्तोयदपाण्डरेषु भूमौ विमानेष्विव रिक्जतेषु।
हर्म्येषु सर्वतृसुखाश्रयेषु स्त्रीणासुदारैविजहार तृर्यैः॥ २८॥

24. ab. madhyam samprāpya bālah sa hi rājasūnuh (two MSS. omit b), Co.; yan-dag-par hdu-byed las ni rab-tu-thob-nas dus-su ni, T.

25. ab. don-gyi skal-ba thos-nas (bhāgyam artham śrutvā), T. d. vṛddhir bhavac chākyakulasya rājñaḥ (two MSS. omit d), Co.; nags-su gśegs-par hgyur zhes śākyaḥi rgyal-po-yis, T.

26. a. °šīlasamyutāt, Co.; tshul-khrims spyod-pa spyan-gyi (read sbyar-gyi ?), T. d. tulyābhidhānām (tāmābhidhānām, two MSS.), Co.; btsun-mor

mnon-par-brjod-pahi, T.

27. a. athāparam bhūmipateh priyo yam (one MS. only in margin, all MSS. have in text pūyāpareṇa, six syllables short), Co.; mchog-gi lus-kyis shan-zhin gsal-ba, T. b. de ñid (sa eva for kumārah), T.

28. b. katham ca pasyed, Co.; gan-gis mthon mi-hgyur, T. c. hy

ādiśati, Co.; rnam-par-bstan, T.



वली हिं चामी कर वह कक्षेनीरी कराया भिहते र्छंद कें। वरापारोन्द्रत्यसमेख नृत्यैः केलासवत्तद्भवनं रराज ॥ ३०॥ वाग्भिः कलाभिर्ललितैय हावैर्मदैः सखेलैर्मध्रैय हासैः। तं तच नार्यो रमयांबस्व्रभूविचितैरर्धनिरीसितैश्व॥ ३१॥ ततः स कामाश्रयपिडताभिः स्त्रीभिर्यहौतो रितकर्कशाभिः। विमानपृष्ठाच महीं जगाम विमानपृष्ठादिव पुरायकर्मा॥ ३२॥ न्दपस्तु तस्यैव विदृद्धिहेतोस्तद्भाविनार्थेन च चोद्यमानः। शमेऽभिरेमे विर्राम पापाद्वेजे दमं संविवभाज साधून्॥ ३३॥ नाधीरवत्नामसुखे ससच्चे न संर्रच्चे विषमं जनन्याम्। भ्रत्येन्द्रियाश्वांश्वपनान्विजिग्ये बन्धूंश्व पौरांश्व गुणैर्जिगाय ॥ ३४ ॥ नाध्येष्ट दःखाय परस्य विद्यां ज्ञानं शिवं यत्तु तद्ध्यगीष्ट । स्वाभ्यः प्रजाभ्यो हि यथा तथैव सर्वप्रजाभ्यः शिवमाश्रशंसे ॥ ३५ ॥ भं भासुरं चाक्तिरसाधिदेवं यथावदानर्च तदायुषे सः। जुहाव हव्यान्यक्षे क्रशानी ददौ दिनेभ्यः क्रशनं च गाश्व॥ ३६॥ सस्ती गरीरं पवितुं मनय तीर्थाम्ब्भियव ग्णाम्ब्भिय। वेदोपदिष्टं सममाताजं च सोमं पपौ शान्तिसुखं च हार्दम्॥ ३०॥ मान्वं बभाषे न च नार्थवद्यज्जजल्य तत्त्वं न च विप्रियं यत्। सान्वं द्यातच्यं पर्वं च तच्यं हियाशकनात्मन एव वक्तुम्॥ ३८॥

^{31.} a. hārair (corrected in one MS. to hāvair), Co.; T uncertain.

^{32.} a. tatas ca, Co.; de-nas de ni, T.

^{36.} Fol. 9 of A begins with this verse. a. bhāṣ(?)ura cāṅgir(?)asādhidai-(?de?)vaṁ, A (much rubbed). d. kṛṣanañ ca, A.

^{37.} c. ātmanjan ca, A; zhi-ba bdag-skyes (śamam ātmajam), T.

^{38.} c. atatva, A. d. hriyāsakan, A.



द्रष्टेवनिष्टेषु च कार्यवत्मु न रागदोवाश्रयतां प्रपेदे ।

श्रिवं सिषेवे व्यवहारशुद्धं यश्चं हि मेने न तथा यथा तत् ॥ ३८ ॥

श्राशावते चामिगताय सद्यो देयाम्बुमिस्तर्पमचेखिदिष्ट ।

युद्धाहते वस्तपरश्रधेन दिद्दर्पमुहस्तमवेभिदिष्ट ॥ ४० ॥

एकं विनिन्धे स जुगोप सप्त सप्तैव तत्याज ररक्ष पच्च ।

प्राप चिवर्गं बुबुधे चिवर्गं जन्ने दिवर्गं प्रजही दिवर्गम् ॥ ४१ ॥

कतागसोऽपि प्रतिपाद्य वध्यानाजीधनन्नापि रुवा दद्र्शं ।

वबन्ध सान्त्वेन फलेन चैतांस्थागोऽपि तथां ह्यन्याय दृष्टः ॥ ४२ ॥

श्रावांख्यचारीत्परमव्यानि वैराख्यहासीचिरसंस्थानि ।

यशांसि चापहुणगन्धवन्ति रजांस्थहासीचिरसंस्थानि ॥ ४३ ॥

न चाजिहीधीदिलमप्रवन्तं न चाचिकीधीत्परवस्त्वभिध्याम् ।

न चाविवश्रीद्विषतामधर्मे न चाविवश्रीद्वृदयेन मन्धुम् ॥ ४४ ॥

तिस्रांस्तथा भूमिपती प्रवन्ते स्त्याश्च पौराश्च तथैव चेहः ।

श्रमात्मके चेतिस विप्रसन्ने प्रयुक्तयोगस्य यथेन्द्रियाणि ॥ ४५ ॥

^{39.} c. vyavahāralabdham, A; dge-baḥi tha-sñad gtsan-ma-la, T. d. e.c. Formichi; yathāvat, A; ji-ltar bzhin (yathāvat, yatheva?), T; for C see note in translation.

^{40.} c. °paraśvavena, A; ye-śes-kyi ni sta-re-yis (jñānaparaśvadhena?), T. d. dvidarppam, A; dgra-bo-rnams-kyi na-rgyal, T.

^{41.} c. bubudhe t(?)ivarggam, A.

^{42.} a. rab-tu-bskyabs-nas (pratipālya), T. b. nājīghanat nāpi, A. cd. caitām tyāgo, A.

^{43.} b. vairāny ahāsīms cira°, A. c. guņavāndhavanti, A. d. rajāmsv, A. rnam-par-dor (vyahāsīn, vyahārṣīn?), T.

^{44.} b. na cācikīṣīt, A. d. e.c. Finot; na cāvidhakṣīd, A; bzun-ba ma-yin-no (from dhṛ or grah), T; na cādidhakṣīd, Co.; na cābibhakṣīd, Kielhorn.

^{45.} b. byas (cakruḥ), T. c. samātmake, A; zhi-baḥi bdag-ñid, T.



वाले तत्यारपयोधरायां यशोधरायां स्वयशोधरायाम्।
श्रीबोदने राहुसपत्नवक्षो जन्ने सुतो राहुल एव नामा ॥ ४६ ॥
श्रथेष्टपुनः परमप्रतीतः कुलस्य दृद्धं प्रति भूमिपालः।
यथैव पुनप्रसवे ननन्द तथैव पौनप्रसवे ननन्द ॥ ४७ ॥
पुनस्य मे पुनगतो ममेव सेहः कथं स्वादिति जातहर्षः।
काले स तं तं विधिमासलम्बे पुनप्रियः स्वर्गमिवारुरश्चन् ॥ ४८ ॥
स्थिता पिथ प्राथमकल्यिकानां राजर्षभाणां यशसान्वितानाम्।
श्रुक्तान्यमुक्तापि तपांस्यतप्त यज्ञैश्व हिंसारहितैरयष्ट ॥ ४८ ॥
श्रजाञ्चलिष्टाथ स पुग्यकर्मा न्याश्रिया नैव तपःश्रिया न ।
कुलेन द्यतेन धिया न दीप्तस्तेजः सहस्रांश्वरिवोत्सिस्दश्चः॥ ५० ॥

जजाप पुचिखितये स्थितश्रीः।
चकार कर्माणि च दुष्कराणि
प्रजाः सिस्टश्रुः क द्वादिकाले॥ ५१॥
तत्याज श्रद्धं विसमर्श शास्त्रं श्रमं सिषेवे नियमं विषेदे।
वश्रीव कंचिदिषयं न भेजे पितेव सर्वान्विषयान्ददर्श॥ ५२॥

46. b. yaśodharāyā, A. c. sauddhodane, A.

स्वायंभवं चार्चिकमर्चियता

47. a. athentaputrah, A; de-nas hdod-pahi bu-mhah, T.

48. a. puta(?tra?)sya, A; bu-yi, T. mamaiva, A; bdag bzhin, T. d. hdzegs-par-gyur (āruroha?), T.

49. b. rājarsabhānām, A. yasasānvitānām, A; grags dan sñan-pas

mtshan-rnams-kyi (yaśasäńkitänäm), T. d. ayastah, A.

50. a. ajajvalistātha, A.

51. b. jajāya putrahsthitaye (mark over visarga to show error), A. brtan-paḥi dpal-gyis (sthiraśriḥ?), T.

52. a. vimamarşa, A. b. samam, A; ñe-bar zhi-la, T.





बभार राज्यं स हि पुचहेतोः पुचं कुलार्थं यश्रसे कुलं तु। स्वर्गाय शब्दं दिवमात्महेतोर्धर्मार्थमात्मस्थितिमाचकाङ्कः ॥ ५३॥ एवं स धर्मं विविधं चकार सिद्धिर्निपातं श्रुतितश्च सिद्धम्। हिष्ठा कथं पुचसुखं सुतो मे वनं न यायादिति नाथमानः ॥ ५४॥ रिरिक्षियन्तः श्रियमात्मसंस्थां रक्षन्ति पुचान् सुवि सूमिपालाः। पुचं नरेन्द्रः स तु धर्मकामो ररक्ष धर्मादिषयेषु सुच्चन्॥ ५५॥

वनमनुपमसत्त्वा बोधिसत्त्वास्तु सर्वे विषयसुखरसन्ना जग्मुरुत्यन्नपुचाः। ज्ञत उपचितकर्मा रूढमूबेऽपि हेतौ स रतिसुपसिषेवे बोधिमापन यावत्॥ ५.६॥

इति बुद्धचिरिते महाकाचेऽन्तःपुरविहारो नाम दितीयः सर्गः ॥ २ ॥

^{53.} d. ācakāmksam, A.

^{54.} b. niyātām, A; nes-thob-paḥi, T. c. katha, A.

^{55.} a. ātmasamsthā, A; bdag-la yan-dag gnas-paḥi dpal, T. d. viṣa-yeṣv amuñcan, A; yul-mams hdor-pa med-par (=A), T; viṣayeṣv amuñcat, Co.; 'the king now, having begotten a son, in accordance with his feelings let him throw off all bounds in the five passions; he only wished him to take pleasure in worldly glory', C.

^{56.} c. de-phyir (tata?), T. d. zhi-ba ma-thob (śāntim āpan na ?), T.



GL

CANTO III

ततः कदाचिन्धृदुशादलानि पुंकोिकलोन्नादितपादपानि ।

शुश्राव पद्माकरमण्डितानि गौतैनिवद्धानि स काननानि ॥ १ ॥

श्रुत्वा ततः स्त्रीजनवस्त्रभानां मनोन्नभावं पुरकाननानाम् ।

विद्यायाणाय चकार वृद्धिमन्तर्यहे नाग दवावरुद्धः ॥ २ ॥

ततो न्यपस्तस्य निश्मय भावं पुचाभिधानस्य मनोर्थस्य ।

स्रेहस्य लच्च्या वयस्य योग्यामान्नापयामास विद्यारपाचाम् ॥ ३ ॥

निवर्तयामास च राजमार्गे संपातमार्तस्य पृथग्जनस्य ।

मा भूत्कुमारः सुकुमारचित्तः संविग्नचेता द्रित मन्यमानः ॥ ४ ॥

प्रत्यक्रहीनान्विकलेन्द्रियां जौर्णातुरादीन् कपणां व्यव्हा ॥ ५ ॥

ततः समुत्सार्य परेण साम्ना शोभां परां राजपथस्य चकुः ॥ ५ ॥

ततः क्रते श्रीमित राजमार्गे श्रीमान्विनीतानुचरः कुमारः ।

प्रासादपृष्ठादवतीर्य काले क्रताभ्यनुन्नी न्यमभ्यगच्छत् ॥ ६ ॥

श्रथो नरेन्द्रः सुतमागताश्रः श्रिरस्थपाश्राय चिरं निरीक्य ।

गच्छेति चान्नापयित स्म वाचा सेद्यान्न चैनं मनसा मुमोच ॥ ७ ॥

2. d. antagrhe nāgam ivāvaruddhaḥ, A.

3. a. nṛpaṁ tasya, A.

4. d. iva manyamānah, A; zhes sems-śin, T.

5. b. dikşuh, A; phyogs-rnams-su, T.

^{1.} b. puskokilonnāditapādapāṇi, A. d. šīte nibaddhāni, A; glu-rnams dan ni nes-ldan, T. kānanī (corrected marginally to kānanāni), A.

^{7.} b. nirīkṣyaḥ, A; rnam-gzigs-nas (vilokya?), T. d. snehān(?) nu(?) cainam, A.



ततः स जाम्बनदभाग्डमद्विर्युत्तं चतुर्भिर्निस्तैस्तुरङ्गैः। अलीवविदक्विरिक्षधारं हिर्एसयं खन्दनमार्रोह ॥ ८॥ ततः प्रकीर्योज्यलपुष्पजालं विषक्तमान्यं प्रचलत्यताकम्। मार्गे प्रपेदे सहशानुयाचयन्द्रः सनस्रच इवान्तरीस्रम्॥ ८॥ कौतू इलात्स्फीततरैश्र नेवैनीलोत्पलार्धेरिव कीर्यमाणम्। श्नैः श्रनै राजपयं जगाहे पौरैः समन्ताद्भिवीक्यमागः॥ १०॥ तं तुष्ट्वः सौम्यग्रोन केचिदवन्दिरे दीप्ततया तथान्ये। सीमुखतस्तु त्रियमस्य केचिद्वैपुख्यमाश्रंसिषुरायुषय ॥ ११ ॥ निःस्त्य कुलाय महाकुलेभ्यो व्यूहाय कैरातकवामनानाम्। नार्यः क्रग्रेभ्यस्य निवेशनेभ्यो देवानुयानध्वजनतार्गेमुः॥ १२॥ ततः कुमारः खलु गच्छतीति श्रुत्वा स्त्रियः प्रेष्यजनात्प्रदत्तिम्। दिहस्या इम्प्रेतलानि जम्मुर्जनेन मान्येन इताभ्यनुजाः॥ १३॥ ताः सस्तकाञ्चीगुणविद्यिताञ्च सुप्तप्रबुद्धाकुललोचनाञ्च। रत्तान्तविन्यस्तविभूषणाञ्च कौतू इलेनानिस्ताः परौयुः॥ १४॥ प्रासादसीपानतलप्रणादैः काञ्चीरवेर्नूपुरनिस्वनैश्व। विचासयन्यो गृहपश्चिसङ्घानन्योन्यवेगांश्च समाश्चिपन्यः ॥ १५ ॥

^{8.} c. °rasmidhäram, A.

^{9.} a. hbras-spos (Peking ed., sbos) me-tog (°puspalājaḿ?), T. b. visakta°, A.

^{10.} b. e.c.; kīryamāṇaḥ, A. c. jagāhai, A. d. abhivīkṣamāṇaḥ, A; mnon-par-dgaḥ (abhinandyamāṇaḥ), T.

^{11.} d. āsasişur, A.

^{14.} a. śrastakāñcīguņavighnatāś, A.

^{15.} a. °sopāṇa°, A. d. °vegāś ca (on margin °vegāc ca), A ; śugs-rnamslas kyan (°vegaiś ca ?), T.



कासांचिदासां तु वराक्रनानां जातत्वराणामिष सोत्मुकानाम् ।
गितं गुरुत्वाज्ञयद्विशाखाः श्रोणीरयाः पीनपयोधराय ॥ १६ ॥
शीधं समर्थापि तु गन्तुमन्धा गितं निजग्राद्द ययौ न तूर्णम् ।
द्वियाप्रगरुभा विनिगृद्दमाना रद्दःप्रयुक्तानि विभूषणानि ॥ १० ॥
परस्परोत्पीडनिपण्डितानां संमर्दसंक्षोभितकुण्डिखानाम् ।
तासां तदा सस्वनभूषणानां वातायनेष्ठप्रश्रमो वभूव ॥ १८ ॥
वातायनेभ्यस्तु विनिःस्तानि परस्परायासितकुण्डिखानि ।
स्त्रीणां विरेजुर्मुखपक्षजानि सक्तानि दस्येषिव पक्षजानि ॥ १८ ॥
ततो विमानैर्युवतीकरालैः कीत्रूद्दखोद्दादितवातयानैः ।
श्रीमत्ममन्ताचगरं वभासे वियदिमानैरिव सास्परोभिः ॥ २० ॥
वातायनानामविश्वाखभावादन्योन्यगण्डापितकुण्डिखानाम् ।
सुखानि रेजुः प्रमदोत्तमानां वद्दाः कस्वापा दव पक्षजानाम् ॥२१॥
तं ताः कुमारं पिष्ठ वीद्यमाणाः स्त्रियो वभुगीमिव गन्तुकामाः ।
कथ्वीन्मुखाश्वेनमुदीद्यमाणा नरा वस्द्यीमिव गन्तुकामाः ॥ २२ ॥

16. c. garutvāj jagrhur viśālā, A.

17. b. nijajagrāha, A. c. ninigūhamānā, A; rnam-par-sbas-pa, T.

18. b. sankhobhita°, A; bskyod-gyur, T. d. aprasamo, A; rab-tu-zhi-bar (vātāyaneşu praśamo), T.

19. d. sakt $\frac{i}{a}$ ni, A.

20. a. vimāmo yu° (corrected to vimānau yu°), A. b. vātapānaiḥ, Kern. c. babhāṣe, A; mdzes-par-gyur, T.

21. b. °kuṇḍo(?a?)lānām, A. c. pamadottamānām, A. d. kapālā (corrected to kalāpā), A.

22. a. tebhyaḥ kumāraṁ pithi, A; gzhon-nu de-la lam-du...de-rnams, T. c. ūrdhonmukhāś cenam, A.



हृष्ट्वा च तं राजसुतं स्त्रियस्ता

जाञ्चल्यमानं वपुषा श्रिया च।
धन्यास्य भार्येति शनैरवोचअर्थुं केनोभिः खलु नान्यभावात्॥ २३॥
अर्थं किल व्यायतपीनवाहः
रूपेण साधादिव पुष्पकेतुः।
त्यक्ता श्रियं धर्ममुपेष्यतीति
तिस्तिन् हि ता गौरवमेव चकुः॥ २४॥
कौर्णं तथा राजपयं कुमारः पौरैर्विनौतैः श्रुचिधीरवेषैः।
तत्पूर्वमालोक्य जहर्ष किंचिक्येने पुनर्भावमिवासनञ्च॥ २५॥
पुरं तु तत्वर्गमिव प्रहृष्टं श्रुडाधिवासाः समवेष्ट्य देवाः।
जौर्णं नरं निर्ममिरे प्रयातुं संचोदनार्थं श्रितिपात्मजस्य॥ २६॥

भूसंरतासः शिथिलानताङ्गः किं विकियैषा प्रकृतिर्यहच्छा ॥२८॥

ततः कुमारो जर्याभिभूतं हृष्टा नरेभ्यः पृथगाक्षतिं तम्।

क एष भोः स्तत नरोऽभ्युपेतः केशैः सितैर्यष्टिविषक्तहस्तः।

उवाच संग्राइकमागतास्यस्तचैव निष्कम्यनिविष्टदृष्टिः॥ २०॥

^{23.} c. sanair avocan, A.

^{24.} d. sauravam (reinked), A.

^{25.} ab. kīrņņan tamthā rājapathām kumārah pauraih vinītaih śucidhīraceṣīh (corrected to °ṣaih), A. d. punabhāvam, A.

^{26.} a. suarggam iva prahṛṣṭa, A. b. samavekṣyā vevāḥ (written over devāḥ apparently), A.

^{27.} a. jarayā vibhūtam, A; rga-bas zil-non-zhin, T.

^{28.} b. sitai yaştiviśakta°, A. d. vikriyeşā, A.

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द्रायेवमुक्तः स र्थप्रणेता निवेदयामास न्यात्मजाय।
संरक्ष्यमध्ययंमदोषद्रभी तैरेव देवैः क्रतवृद्धिमोद्यः॥ २६॥
कृपस्य हन्ती व्यसनं बलस्य श्रोकस्य योनिर्निधनं रतीनाम्।
नाशः स्मृतीनां रिपुरिन्द्रियाणामेषा जरा नाम यथैष भगः॥३०॥
पीतं द्यानेनापि पयः शिशुत्वे कालेन भृयः परिस्त्रसमुर्व्याम्।
क्रमेण भृत्वा च युवा वपुष्पान् क्रमेण तेनैव जरामुपेतः॥ ३१॥
द्रायेवमुक्ते चिताः स किंचिद्राजात्मजः स्त्रतिमदं बभाषे।
क्रिमेष दोषो भविता ममापौत्यस्मै ततः सार्थिरभ्युवाच॥ ३२॥
आयुष्मतोऽध्येष वयःप्रकर्षो निःसंग्रयं कालविश्वेन भावी।
एवं जरां रूपविनाश्यिचौं जानाति चैवेच्छित चैव लोकः॥ ३३॥

ततः स पूर्वाशयगुडवृद्धि-विस्तीर्णकल्पाचितपुख्यकर्मा । श्रुत्वा जरां संविविजे महात्मा महाश्रनेर्घोषमिवान्तिके गौः ॥ ३४ ॥

- 29. b. sa-skyoń bdag-ñid skyes-la (bhūpātmajāya ?), T. d. tair aiva, A.
 - 30. d. jarā nama (corrected to nāma in margin), A.
- 31. b. e.c. Böhtlingk ; parisṛṣṭam, A ; dus-kyis sa-la gñid-log gyur-pa-ste (kālena bhūmau parisuptabhūtam, or bhūyaḥ misunderstood), T. bālena, Gawroński. c. vayuṣmān, A ; lus rab-ldan-paḥi, T.
- 32. a. evam uktaś, Cappeller; de skad ces smras (ambiguous), T. cakitaḥ, Speyer; ḥdar zhin (ambiguous), T. d. de-bzhin ḥdi-la (asmai tathā), T.
- 33. c. °vināsayitrīm, A. d. dan mthon-ba nid (caivekṣati?), T; 'the whole world knows this and seeks it', C.
- 34. a. tataḥ śa, A. c. gzhon-nu (kumāraḥ), T. d. mahāśane ghoṣam ivāntike śauḥ, A; ba-laṅ bzhin, T.



निःश्वस्य दीर्घं स्वित्ररः प्रकम्प्य तिसंश्व जीर्णं विनिवेश्य चक्षुः।
तां चैव दृष्टा जनतां सद्दर्धा वाक्यं स संविध दृदं जगाद ॥ ३५ ॥
एवं जरा हन्ति च निर्विश्रेषं स्मृतिं च रूपं च पराक्रमं च ।
न चैव संवेगमुपैति लोकः प्रत्यक्षतोऽपीदृश्मीक्षमाणः ॥ ३६ ॥
एवं गते स्त्त निवर्तयाश्वान् शीधं यहाण्येव भवान्प्रयातु ।
उद्यानभूमौ हि कुतो रितर्मे जराभये चेतिस वर्तमाने ॥ ३७ ॥
श्रव्याच्चया भर्तसुतस्य तस्य निवर्तयामास रथं नियन्ता ।
ततः कुमारो भवनं तदेव चिन्तावशः श्रूत्यमिव प्रपेदे ॥ ३८ ॥
यदा तु तचेव न शर्म लेभे जरा जरेति प्रपरीक्षमाणः ।
ततो नरेन्द्रानुमतः स भूयः क्रमेण तेनैव बह्विज्ञाम ॥ ३८ ॥
श्रव्यापरं व्याधिपरीतदेहं त एव देवाः सस्जुर्मनुष्यम् ।
हृष्ट्वा च तं सार्यमावभाषे शौद्वोदनिस्तद्गतहृष्टिरेव ॥ ४० ॥
स्थूलोद्रः श्वासचलच्छरीरः सस्तांसवाहः क्रश्रपाण्डुगाचः ।
श्रस्वेति वाचं कर्णं वृवाणः परं समाश्रित्य नरः क एषः॥ ४१ ॥

35. a. sa śiraḥ prakampya, A; raṅ-gi mgo bsgul-zhin, T. b. jīrnno, A. d. samam vignam idam, A; sems ni khon-du chud-pa de-yis tshig ḥdi smras, T.

36. c. upeti, A.

37. b. sīghra, A. bhavāt prayātu, A. c. kho-bo-la...bde-ba (sukham me?), T. d. jarābhave, A; rgas-paḥi hjigs-pa, T.

38. a. bhṛ(corrected to bha)rtṛsutasya, A; rgyal-poḥi sras-po (rāja-sutasya), T.

39. d. bahi jagāma, A.

40. b. manuşya, A.

41. b. e.c. Cowell; śrastāmśabāhuḥ, A; lag-pa cha-śas zha-zhiṅ (srastām-śabāhuḥ), T. c. kuruṇaṁ, A. d. samāsṛṭya, A; ṛṭen (for bṛṭen)-nas, T.





ततोऽज्ञवीत्सार्थिरस्य सौम्य धातुप्रकोपप्रभवः प्रदृद्धः । रोगाभिधानः सुमहाननर्थः श्रःतोऽपि येनैष सतोऽस्वतन्तः॥ ४२॥ इत्युचिवान् राजसुतः स भूयस्तं सानुकम्पो नर्मीश्रमाणः। अस्यैव जातो पृथगेष दोषः सामान्यतो रोगभयं प्रजानाम् ॥ ४३॥ ततो बभाषे स रथप्रणेता कुमार साधारण एव दोषः। एवं हि रोगैः परिपीद्यमानो रुजातुरो हर्षमुपैति लोकः॥ ४४॥ इति अतार्थः स विषसचिताः प्रावेपताम्बूर्मिगतः शशीव। द्दं च वाक्यं करुणायमानः प्रोवाच किंचिन्मृद्ना खरेण ॥ ४५ ॥ इदं च रोगव्यसनं प्रजानां पश्चंश्व विश्वसासुपैति लोकः। विस्तीर्णमज्ञानमहो नराणां हसन्ति ये रोगभयैरमुक्ताः॥ ४६॥ निवर्द्यतां स्तत विद्यायाणाचरेन्द्रसद्भैव रथः प्रयातु । श्रुत्वा च मे रोगभयं रितभ्यः प्रत्याइतं संकुचतीव चेतः ॥ ४७ ॥ ततो निरुक्तः स निरुक्तहर्षः प्रध्यानयुक्तः प्रविवेश वेशम । तं दिस्तया प्रेक्य च संनिष्टतं पर्येषणं भूमिपतिश्वकार् ॥ ४८॥ श्रुत्वा निमित्तं तु निवर्तनस्य संत्यक्तमात्मानमनेन मेने। मार्गस्य शौचाधिकताय चैव चुक्रोश रहोऽपि च नोयद्ग्डः॥ ४८॥

42. a. śaumya, A. c. romā(originally gā)bhidhānaḥ, A.

43. d. prajāņām, A.

44. c. rāgaih, A. d. nad thar phyin-na (rujāntago?), T. upeti, A.

45. a. śrutārtha, A. c. karunāyamāṇaḥ, A. d. kiñcit mṛdunā, A; cun-zhig dnar-baḥi dbyans-kyis (kimcin madhunā svareṇa ?), T.

46. a. vyasana, A. b. ran-bzhin gnas-śiń (svasthaś ca), T. visram-

bham upeti, A. d. nad-las rnam-par grol-rnams (=rogād vimuktāḥ), T. 47. ab. bahiḥprayāṇāṁ narendrasadmeva, A. d. saṁkuratīva, A.

48. c. prekṣa, A. d. pury āgamam, A; yons-su-gros, T; 'the king asked what was the cause', C.

49. b. sa tyaktam, A; yan-dag hdor, T.



27

भुगञ्च तसी विद्धे स्ताय विजीषयुक्तं विषयप्रचारम्। चलेन्द्रियत्वादपि नाम सत्तो नास्मान्विजद्यादिति नाथमानः ॥ ५०॥ यदा च शब्दादिभिरिन्द्रियार्थे-रन्तःपुरे नैव सतोऽस्य रेभे। ततो वहिर्वादिशति समयाचां रसान्तरं स्वादिति मन्यमानः ॥ ५१॥

खेदाच भावं तनयस्य बुद्धा स रागदोषानविचिनस्य कांश्चित्। योग्याः समाज्ञापयति सा तच कलास्वभिज्ञा इति वार्मुखाः ॥५२॥ ततो विश्रेषेण नरेन्द्रमार्गे खलंकते चैव परीक्षिते च। व्यत्यस्य स्ततं च रघं च राजा प्रस्थापयामास बहिः कुमारम् ॥५३॥ ततस्तथा गच्छति राजपुचे तैरेव देवैर्विहितो गतासुः। तं चैव मार्गे स्तमुद्धमानं स्ताः कुमार्श्व ददर्भ नान्यः ॥ ५४ ॥ अयाबवीद्राजसुतः स स्ततं नरैश्वतुभिद्धियते क एषः। दीनैर्मनुष्येरनुगम्यमानी * भृषितश्चाप्यवरद्यते च ॥ ५५ ॥

^{50.} b. vişayaprakāram, A; yul-la rab-tu-spyod-pa, T. c. śakto, A; chags-bsñams-te, T; 'rejoicing in worldly things', C.

^{51.} d. mänyamänah, A; sems-śin, T.

^{52.} b. e.c ; samvegadōṣān, A ; de-la chags-paḥi skyon-rnams (tadrāgadosān), T.

^{53.} b. parīksyate, A; yons-su-brtags-pa-la, T.

^{55.} a. atha bravid, A. b. caturbhi hriyate, A. d. yo bhūşitoś cāpy, A; rgyan-gyis brgyan-pa-yin yan (=bhūṣanena bhūṣitaś ca), T; 'magnificently adorned with streamers and all sorts of flowers', C; FP omits the phrase.



ततः स गुडात्मभिरेव देवैः गुडाधिवासैरभिभृतचेताः।
त्रवाच्यमप्यर्थिममं नियन्ता प्रव्याजहारार्थवदीश्वराय ॥ ५६ ॥
वुडीन्द्रियप्राणगुणैर्वियुक्तः सुतो विसंज्ञस्तृणकाष्ठभृतः।
संवर्ध्य संरक्ष्य च यत्नविद्धः प्रियप्रियैस्यज्यत एव कोऽपि ॥ ५७ ॥
दित प्रणेतुः स निशम्य वाक्यं संचुष्ठभे किंचिद्वाच चैनम्।
किं केवलोऽस्यैव जनस्य धर्मः सर्वप्रजानामयमीहशोऽन्तः॥ ५८ ॥

ततः प्रणेता वदति स्म तसी
सर्वप्रजानामिदमन्तकर्म ।
हीनस्य मध्यस्य महात्मनो वा
सर्वस्य खोके नियतो विनाशः ॥ ५८॥

ततः स धीरोऽपि नरेन्द्रह्नाः श्रुत्वैव स्त्युं विषसाद सदः। असेन संश्विष्य च क्रवरायं प्रोवाच निहादवता खरेण॥ ६०॥

इयं च निष्ठा नियता प्रजानां
प्रमाचिति त्यक्तभयश्च लोकः।
मनांसि एक्के कठिनानि नृणां
स्वस्थास्तथा स्रध्वनि वर्तमानाः॥ ई१॥

56. a. tataḥ sya, A.

57. d. priyas tyajyate (two syllables short), A; sdug-pa sdug-pa-rnamskyis (Weller amends to sdug ma-sdug-pa-rnams-kyis, =priyāpriyais), T.

58. a. niśāmya, A; thos-nas, T. c. chos ḥdi ñid ni skye-ba ḥdi ñid kyan gi ḥam (kim eṣa cāsyaiva janasya dharmaḥ?), T. d. mthar-gyur ḥdi-ḥdra...yin-nam-ci (athavedṛśo 'ntaḥ?), T.

59. b. antakarmah, A.

60. b. śrutveva, A. c. amśena, A; dpun-pas, T.

61. b. pamādyati, A.





तस्माद्रयः स्तत निवर्त्यतां नो विचारभ्रमेन चि देशकाचः। जानिवनाशं कथमार्तिकाले सचेतनः खादि इ हि प्रमत्तः ॥ ६२॥ इति बुवागेऽपि नराधिपात्मजे निवर्तयामास स नैव तं रथम्। विश्रेषयुक्तं तु नरेन्द्रशासनात्म पद्मवर्ष्डं वनमेव निर्ययौ ॥ ई३॥

> ततः भिवं कसमितवालपाटपं परिधमत्यसुदितमत्तकोिकलम्। विमानवत्स कमलचारदीर्घिकं ददर्भ तद्दनमिव नन्दनं वनम् ॥ ई४ ॥ वराङ्गनागणकलिलं न्यात्मज-स्ततो बलादनमतिनीयते सा तत। वरापारोहतमलकाधिपालयं नवब्रतो मुनिरिव विधकातरः ॥ ६५ ॥

इति बृद्धचरिते महाकाचे संवेगोत्यन्तिनीम हतीयः सर्गः ॥ ३ ॥

- 62. a. ratham, A. b. vihārabhumir nna, A; bdag-cag sa-la rnam-par rgyu-bahi yul dus min, (=text or A), T. c. śes-nas (jñātvā), T. vināśam kam rttikāle (two syllables short), A; ñam-thag dus-su rnam-par ñams-pa... gan hdra, T.
- 63. c. khyad-par ldan-pa-yin yan mi-dban bstan-pa-las (visesayuktāt tu narendraśāsanāt?), T.
 - 64. c. padma dan beas (sakamala°), T.
 - 65. c. varāpsarovṛttam, A; lha mehog-mas bskor, T.



GL

CANTO IV

ततस्तसात्प्रोद्यानात्तीतृ इलचलेक्षणाः।
प्रत्युज्जमुन्देपसुतं प्राप्तं वर्गिव स्त्रियः॥१॥
श्रामग्य च तास्तसी विस्मयोत्पुल्जलोचनाः।
चिक्ररे समुदाचारं पद्मकोशिनभैः करैः॥२॥
तस्युश्च परिवार्येनं मन्मद्याक्षिप्तचेतसः।
निश्चलैः प्रीतिविक्षचैः पिवन्य दव लोचनैः॥३॥
तं हि ता मेनिरे नार्यः कामी विश्वहवानिति।
श्रोभितं लक्षणैदींतैः सहजैर्भूषणैरिव॥४॥
सीम्यत्वाचैव धैर्याच काश्चिदेनं प्रजित्तरे।
श्रावतीणीं महीं साक्षाहृदांश्चित्रस्मा दित्॥५॥
तस्य ता वपुषाश्चिता विश्वहीतं जज्ञान्भरे।
श्रान्थोन्धं दृष्टिभिर्द्यता श्रानश्च विनिश्चसुसुः॥६॥

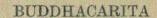
- 1. c. nrpasuta, A.
- 2. c. cak(?kr?)ire, A.
- 3. a. parivāryeņam, A.
- 5. a. naumyatvāc, A; zhi-ba-ñid phyir, T. b. kaścid ainam, A. d. candramā iva, A; zla-ba... bzhin (=A), T; 'saying the Moon-god had come', C.
- 6. c. anyonyān dṛṣṭibhir ggatvā, A ; phan-tshun mig-r
nams-kyis bsnunnas, T.





एवं ता दृष्टिमाचेण नार्थो दृष्ट्युरेव तम्।
न व्याज्ञहुर्न जहसुः प्रभावेणास्य यन्त्रिताः॥ ७॥
तास्त्रवा तु निरारमा दृष्ट्या प्रण्यविक्षवाः।
पुरोहितसुतो धीमानुदायी वाक्यमज्ञवीत्॥ ८॥
सर्वाः सर्वकलाच्चाः स्य भावयहणपण्डिताः।
रूपचातुर्यसंपन्नाः स्वगुणैर्मुस्थतां गताः॥ ८॥
ग्रोभयेत गुणैरेभिरिप तानुत्तरान् कुरून्।
कुवेरस्यापि चाक्रीडं प्रागेव वसुधामिमाम्॥ १०॥
श्रक्ताश्वालयितुं यूयं वीतरागान्द्यीनिप।
श्राम्योभिश्व कितान् यहीतुं विबुधानिप॥ ११॥
भावज्ञानेन हावेन रूपचातुर्यसंपदा।
स्वीणानेव च श्रक्ताः स्य संरागे किं पुनर्नृणाम्॥ १२॥
तासानेवंविधानां वो वियुक्तानां स्वगोचरे।
द्यमेवंविधा चेष्टा न तुष्टोऽस्यार्जवेन वः॥ १३॥

- 7. b. dadṛsur, A. c. dgaḥ-med-par (na jahṛṣuḥ), T. d. prabhāvenāsya, A.
 - 9. a. sarvvakalājñā, A. d. mukhyatan gatāh, A.
- 10. a. e.c. Kern; śobhayata, A; mdzes-te (śobhayatha?), T. c. ca krīḍam, A; skyed-tshal dan, T.
- 11. cd. apsarobhi kalitā grhītum (one syllable short), A; lha-mo-rnams-kyis šes-pa-yi...len-par-ro, T.
- 12. b. e.c.; cāturyārūpa°, A; mdzańs dań gzugs ni phun-tshogs-pas, T. c. strīņam, A. śaktā, A.
- 13. b. rab-sbyar-ba (prayuktānāṁ), T; niyuktānāṁ, Co. c. coṣtā, A. d. āryavena, A.





ददं नववधूनां वो ह्रोनिकुच्चितचसुषाम्।
सहस्रं चेष्टितं हि स्यादिप वा गोपयोषिताम्॥ १४॥
यदिप स्याद्यं धीरः श्रीप्रभावान्महानिति।
स्वीणामिप महत्तेज दतः कार्योऽच निश्चयः॥ १५॥
पुरा हि काश्रिसुन्दर्या वेश्रवध्वा महान्दिः।
ताडितोऽभृत्यदा व्यासो दुर्धवी देवतैरिप॥ १६॥
मन्यानगौतमो भिन्नुर्जह्वया वारमुख्यया।
पिप्रीषुश्च तदर्थार्थं व्यस्तिन्दरत्पुरा॥ १७॥
गौतमं दीर्घतपसं महर्षि दीर्घजीविनम्।
योषित्संतोषयामास वर्णस्थानावरा सती॥ १८॥
च्छाशृङ्गं मुनिसुतं तथैव स्वीष्ठपण्डितम्।
उपायैविविधः शान्ता जयाह च जहार च॥ १८॥
विश्वामिचो महर्षिश्च विगाढोऽपि महत्त्रपः।
दश्च वर्षास्यहर्भेने छताच्चास्यसा हृतः॥ २०॥

14. b. hrīvikuñcita°, Böhtlingk.

15. a. yady api, A ; gan-yan, T. dpah-ba (vīraḥ), T. d. iti kāryo, A ; de-phyir . . . bya, T.

16. a. puro hi, A. c. padā bhyā (?vyā?)so, A ; draň-sroň rgyas-pa rkaň-pas, T.

17. a. mānthala°, T. °gotamo, A. b. bhikşu janghayā, A.

18. a. gotamam, A. mun rin-min (dīrghatamasam), T; 'practising long penance', C. b. maharṣam, A.

19. a. rsyaśrnga, A. thub-pa mehog (munivaram), T; 'the muni's son', C.

20. b. e.c.; mahattapāḥ, A; brtul-zhugs chen-po bstan-pa yan (vigāḍho 'pi mahāvratam, or 'vrataḥ), T. c. aha mene, A; ñi-mar śes, T.





एवमादीन्द्रवींस्तांस्ताननयन्त्रिक्षयां स्त्रियः। सासितं. पूर्ववयसं विां पुनर्चपतेः सुतम् ॥ २१ ॥ तदेवं सति विश्रव्यं प्रयत्थं तथा यथा। इयं चपस्य वंशश्रीरितो न स्यात्पराङ्मखी ॥ २२ ॥ या हि काश्विद्वतयो हरन्ति सहर्भ जनम्। निक्षष्टोत्कृष्टयोभीवं या यह्णन्ति ता तु स्त्रियः॥ २३॥ इत्यदायिवचः श्रुत्वा ता विद्वा इव योषितः। समार्बहुरात्मानं कुमार्यहर्णं प्रति ॥ २४ ॥ ता युभिः प्रेक्षितै इवि इसितै र्चेडितै गेतैः। चक्राक्षेपिकाखेष्टा भीतभीता दवाङ्गनाः॥ २५ ॥ राच्चल्य विनियोगेन कुमारस्य च मार्दवात्। जहः श्रिप्रमविश्रकां मदेन मदनेन च ॥ २६ ॥ श्रय नारीजनरतः कुमारो व्यचरहनम्। वासितायुष्यसिहतः करीव हिमवदनम् ॥ २७ ॥ स तिस्मन् कानने रम्ये जञ्चाल स्वीपुरःसरः। श्राबीड इव विभाजे विवस्वानस्परीहतः॥ २८॥

^{21.} a. evam mayādīn (one syllable in excess), A; T omits evam. b. vikriyān(?yā?) striyaḥ, A. d. puna nṛpateḥ, A.

^{23.} a. yuvataye, A. b. śadrśań, A.

^{25.} a. prekṣate hāvair, A; lta dań sgeg, T. b. rol (lalitair), T.

^{27.} b. vyavacarad, A. c. väsitayūtha°, A; glin-moḥi tshogs, T.

^{28.} c. vaibhrāje, Kern. d. 'Just as Śakra, the king of the gods' (=Marutvān?), C.



महेनावर्जिता नाम तं काश्चित्तव योषितः।
काठिनैः परमृष्युः पीनैः संहतैवंलगुभिः स्तर्नैः॥ २६॥
सक्तांसकोमलालम्बस्टदुवाहुलतावला।
श्रवतं खिलतं काचित्कृत्वेनं सखे बलात्॥ ३०॥
काचित्तावाधरोष्ठेन मुखेनासवगित्यना।
विनिश्रश्वास कर्णेऽस्य रहस्यं श्रूयतामिति॥ ३१॥
काचिदान्नापयन्तीय प्रोवाचार्न्रानुलेपना।
इह भित्तं कुरुषेति हस्तसंश्लेषिलप्या॥ ३२॥
मुहुर्मुहुर्मद्व्याजस्त्तनीलांश्वकापरा।
श्राक्ष्यरश्वा रेजे स्पुर्दिद्युद्व श्रूपा॥ ३३॥
काश्चित्तनककाश्वीभिर्मुखराभिरितस्ततः।
वसमुर्दर्शयन्योऽस्य श्रोणीस्तन्वंश्वकादताः॥ ३४॥
चृतश्चालं कुसुमितां प्रयन्नान्या ललम्बरे।
सुवर्णकलश्चर्यान्दर्शयन्यः पयोधरान्॥ ३५॥

^{29.} ab. rnam-par sgeg-bcas gzhon-nu-ma rgyags-pas ma-yans (ma-gyens, Weller e.c.) de-rnams hgah (=savilāsā yoṣito madenānāyatās tāh kāścit), T. c. kathinai, A. d. e.c.; samghatair, A; lhan-oig-paḥi (sahitair), T.

^{30.} a. śrastāmśa°, A; dpuń-pa-las brul, T. c. khalitań, A. d. kṛtve-nam. A.

^{31.} b. āśavagandhinā, A. d. rahasya, A. stod-cig ces(stūyatām iti), T.

^{32.} d. e.c.; hastasamslişyalipsayā, A; rgod dan hkhyud dan hdod-pas ni (hāsasamsleşalipsayā), T.

^{33.} b. °śrasta°, A. c. °rasanā, A; ska-rags phan-tshun sdud-pa ni (raśanā . . .), T.

^{34.} a. °käñcībhi, A.

^{35.} d. darśayantya, A.



काचित्पद्मवनादेत्व सपद्मा पद्मलोचना। पद्मवक्तस्य पार्श्वऽस्य पद्मश्रीरिव तस्युषी ॥ ३ई ॥ मध्रं गीतमन्बर्धं काचित्साभिनयं जगी। तं खर्यं चोदयन्तीव विचतोऽसीत्यवेष्टितैः॥ ३७॥ ग्रुभेन वदनेनान्या ध्रुकार्सुकविकर्षिणा। प्रावत्यानुचकारास्य चेष्टितं धीरलीलया ॥ ३८ ॥ यीनवस्ण्रत्ननी काचिद्वासाधृर्णितकुण्डला। उचैरवजहासैनं समाप्नोतु भवानिति॥ ३८॥ अपयान्तं तघेवान्या ववस्थमि छिदामि । काश्चित्सास्त्रेपमधुरैर्जयहुर्वचनाङ्ग्र्यैः॥ ४०॥ प्रतियोगार्थिनी काचित्रहीत्वा चूतवसरीम्। इदं पुष्पं तु कखोति पप्रच्छ मदिवक्षवा ॥ ४१ ॥ काचित्पुरुषवक्तुत्वा गतिं संस्थानमेव च। उवाचैनं जितः स्वीभिर्जय भो पृधिवीमिमाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ त्रय लोखेसणा काचिज्ञिवन्ती नीलसूत्पलम्। किंचिकादक वैर्वाकोर्क्यात्म जमभाषत ॥ ४३॥

^{38.} c. bskor-nas . . . rjes-ḥdoń (?ḥdod?) byas (*vṛtyānucacāra?), T; prākṛtyā°, Böhtlingk; pranṛtyā°, Formichi; ākṛtyā°, Speyer; vyāvṛtyā°, Cappeller.

^{39.} c. avajahāsenam, A.

^{40.} a. tāthaivānyā, A.

^{41.} c. puspam nu, Cappeller.

^{42.} c. uväcenam, A.

^{43.} b. kācid jighrantī, A.





पग्रा भर्तिश्चतं चूतं कुसुमैर्मध्यान्धिभः। हेमपञ्चरहडो वा कोकिलो यच कुजति॥ ४४॥ अशोको हम्यतामेष कामिशोकविवर्धनः। रवन्ति धमरा यच दद्यमाना दवामिना ॥ ४५ ॥ चृतयध्या समास्त्रिष्टी दृष्यतां तिलकद्रमः। युक्तवासा दव नरः स्विया पौताङ्गरागया ॥ ४६ ॥ फ् हां कुरुवकं पश्च निर्भुत्ता खत्तकप्रभम्। यो नखप्रभया स्त्रीणां निर्भित्तित इवानतः॥ ४०॥ बालाशोकय निचितो द्रश्यतामेष पह्नवैः। योऽसाकं इस्तशोभाभिर्लज्जमान इव स्थितः ॥ ४८॥ दौर्घिकां प्राष्ट्रतां प्रध्य तीर्जेः सिन्द्वार्केः। पाएड्रां भुकसंवीतां शयानां प्रमदामिव ॥ ४८ ॥ दृश्यतां स्वीषु माचात्रयं चक्रवाको ह्यसी जले। पृष्ठतः प्रेष्यवद्वार्यामनुवर्त्यनुगच्छति ॥ ५०॥ मत्तस्य परपुष्टस्य हवतः श्रूयतां ध्वनिः। अपरः कोकिलोऽन्वशं प्रतिश्रुत्केव क्रूजित ॥ ५१॥

44. a. bhattas citam, A.

45. b. °vivaddhanah, A. d. dahyamānām ivā°, A.

46. a. samāšisto, A; yan-dag hkhyed, T.

47. d. nirbhatsita ivānabhaḥ, A ; rma-phab-gyur-te dud-pa ḥdra, T.

48. d. sthitih, A.

49. b. e.c. Cowell; sinduvārajaih, A.

b. cakravākā, A. d. anuvṛrttyānu°, A; rjes-ḥjug, T; anuvṛtyānu°,
 Co.

51. b. ruvata, A. dhaniḥ, A. c. kokilo nutkaḥ, A; khu-byug mnon-sum-du, T. d. kūjita, A.



अपि नाम विच्नानां वसलेनाहतो मदः। न तु चिन्तयतोऽचिन्त्यं जनस्य प्राज्ञमानिनः॥ ५२॥ इत्येवं ता युवतयो मन्त्रशोद्दामचेतसः। कुमारं विविधैस्तैस्तैरुपचक्रमिरे नयैः ॥ ५३ ॥ एवमाक्षिप्यमाणोऽपि स तु धैर्यावतेन्द्रियः। मर्तव्यमिति सोहेगो न जहर्ष न विव्यये॥ ५४॥ तासां तन्त्रेऽनवस्थानं दृष्टा स पुरुषोत्तमः। समं विग्नेन धीरेण चिन्तयामास चेतसा॥ ५५॥ किं विमा नावगच्छन्ति चपलं यौवनं स्तियः। यतो रूपेण संमत्तं जरा यनाश्यिष्यति ॥ ५६ ॥ नुनमेता न पर्यान्त कर्याचिद्रोगसंसवम्। तथा हृष्टा भयं त्यक्का जगित व्याधिधर्मिणि ॥ ५७॥ अनभिज्ञाय स्वातं ख्योः सर्वापहारियाः। ततः खस्या निरुदियाः क्रीडन्ति च इसन्ति च ॥ ५८॥ जरां व्याधिं च मृत्यं च को हि जानन्सचेतनः। खस्यस्तिष्ठे निषीदेदा शयेदा निं पुनर्हसेत्॥ ५८॥

^{52.} c. cintayataś cittam, A; bsams-pa-min sems, T.

^{54.} a. ākṣipyamāno, A. d. na jaharṣa na sismiye, A; dgaḥ daṅ ḥjigs-pa med-par-gyur, T; 'neither grieved nor rejoiced', C.

^{55.} a. bh(?)āsān tatve'nava°, A. c. sasamvignena, A; mñam-la skyo, T.

^{56.} c. rūpeņa sampannam, A; gzugs-kyis myos-pa ni, T. d. jareyan nāśa°, A; gan-zhig rga-bas, T.

^{57.} d. °dharmminih, A.

^{59.} a. jarā, A. c. svastha, A. d. suped vā, A; ñal-byed, T.



यस्त हड्डा परं जीर्या व्याधितं सतमेव च। खस्यो भवति नी दिम्रो यथाचेतास्तयैव सः ॥ ई०॥ वियज्यमाने हि तरी पुष्पैरपि फलैरपि। पतित च्छिद्यमाने वा तहर्ग्यो न शोचते ॥ ई१ ॥ इति ध्यानपरं हृष्ट्वा विषयेभ्यो गतस्पृहम्। उदायी नीतिशास्त्रज्ञस्तमुवाच सुहत्तया ॥ ई२ ॥ श्रहं त्रपतिना दत्तः सखा तुभ्यं क्षमः किल । यस्मास्वयि विवद्या मे तया प्रणयवत्तया ॥ ६३॥ श्राहितात्मितिषेधश्र हिते चानुप्रवर्तनम्। व्यसने चापरित्यागिस्तिविधं मिचलक्षणम् ॥ ई४ ॥ सोऽइं मैचीं प्रतिज्ञाय पुरुषार्थात्पराख्युखः। यदि त्वा समुपेक्षेय न भवेन्मिनता मयि॥ ६५॥ तद्भवीमि सुहङ्गत्वा तरुणस्य वपुषातः। इदं न प्रतिरूपं ते स्वीषदाशिख्यमीहणम् ॥ ईई ॥ अन्तेनापि नारीणां युक्तं समनुवर्तनम्। तद्वीडापरिचारार्थमात्मरत्यर्थमेव च॥ ई७॥

61. a. e.c. Gawroński; viyujyamāne pi, A; T omits api. d. mdzes-pa byed-ma-yin (na śobhate), T; 'does not know fear', C.

63. b. tubhyam ksah kilah (one syllable short), A; khyod-la... nus-pa

lo (amended by Weller to ho, unnecessarily), T.

64. c. vyasane vāpari°, A; sdug-pa-na yan, T. d. yons-rdzogs ses-kyi mtshan ñid-do (paryāptamitralakṣaṇam), T; 'a friend has three characteristics', C.

65. a. maitrī, A. b. parānmukham, A; T ambiguous; 'if I should renounce the duty of a *purusa*', C. d. na bhave mitratā, A; grogs-po-nid kyan ma-yin-no (na bhaven mitratām api!), T.

67. b. yukta, A. c. de-yi no-tshahi rgod don (tadvriđāparihāsār-

tham), T. d. °ratyandham (or °anvam), A; dgaḥ-baḥi don-ñid-du, T.



संनतियानुरित्य स्त्रीणां हृद्यवत्थनम्। स्रेड्स्य डि गुणा योनिर्मानकामाश्च योषितः॥ ६८॥ तदर्हित विश्वासाञ्च हृदयेऽपि पराङ्मेखे। रूपस्यास्यानुक्रपेण दाक्षिण्येनानुवर्तितुम्॥ ईट ॥ दाशिखमीषधं स्त्रीणां दाशिखं भूषणं परम्। दाक्षिण्यर्हितं रूपं निष्पृष्यमिव काननम् ॥ ७० ॥ किं वा दाक्षिण्यमाचेण भावेनास्तु परियदः। विषयान्दुर्जभाँ सन्धा न स्ववज्ञातुम इसि ॥ ७१ ॥ कामं परमिति ज्ञात्वा देवोऽपि हि पुरंदरः। गौतमस्य सुनेः पत्नीमहत्यां चनामे पुरा ॥ ७२ ॥ श्रगस्यः प्रार्थयामास सोमभार्यो च रोडिगीम्। तसात्तत्वहर्यों लेभे लोपामुद्रामिति श्रुतिः॥ ७३॥ उत्रथ्यस्य च भार्यायां ममतायां महातपः। मार्त्यां जनयामास भरदाजं रहस्पतिः॥ ७४॥ वृहस्यतेमीहिष्यां च ज्ञुह्नत्यां ज्ञुह्नतां वरः। ब्धं विब्धकर्माणं जनयामास चन्द्रमाः ॥ ७५ ॥

^{68.} b. striņā, A.

^{70.} a. osadham, A.

^{71.} a. mkhas-paḥi ran-bzhin-gyis (dākṣinyabhāvena, or °mayena?), T. c. durllabhāl, A.

^{72.} a. param ita, A; mchog ces, T. c. gotamasya mune, A.

^{74.} a. ūtasthyasya, A; ubhathya-yi, T. b. e.c. Cowell; samatäyām, A; mthun-ma-la (sammatāyām), T.

^{75.} c. vibudhadharmmāṇam, A; lha-yi las-byed, T.



वालीं चैव पूरा कन्यां जलप्रभवसंभवाम्। जगाम यमुनातीरे जातरागः पराधरः ॥ ७६ ॥ मात्रशामक्षमाचायां गर्हितायां रिरंसया। कपिञ्जलादं तनयं वसिष्ठोऽजनयन्त्रानः॥ ७७॥ ययातिश्चेव राजर्षिर्वयस्यपि विनिर्गते। विश्वाच्यापारसा सार्धे रेमे चैचर्ये वने ॥ ७८ ॥ स्त्रीसंसर्गे विनाशान्तं पाएड्ज्जीत्वापि कौरवः। माद्रीकृपग्णाक्षितः सिषेवे कामजं सुखम्॥ ७८॥ कराजनकश्चेव हत्वा ब्राह्मणकन्यकाम्। अवाप संशमधोवं न तु सेने न मनाथम्॥ ८०॥ एवमाद्या महात्मानी विषयान् गर्हितानपि। रतिहेतोर्बुभुजिरे प्रागेव गुणसंहितान् ॥ ८१ ॥ त्वं पुनर्चायतः प्राप्तान् बलवान्व्पवान्य्वा । विषयानवजानासि यच सक्तमिदं जगत्॥ ८२॥ इति श्रुत्वा वचस्तस्य स्रह्णमागमसंहितम्। मेघस्तनितनिर्घोषः कुमारः प्रत्यभाषत ॥ ८३ ॥

^{76.} c. yamunahi glin-du (yamunādvīpe?), T.

^{77.} a. gnod-sbyin hphren-ma (yakṣamālāyām), T. b. garhitāyā, A.

^{79.} a. °samsargga, A.

^{80.} c. bhramsam, A. ñid . . . kyan (apy eva), T.

^{81.} a. evamādīn, A; de-la sogs-pa bdag-ñid chen, T; 'thus all these many persons', C. b. marhitān api, A.

^{82.} a. puna, A. d. ida, A.

^{83.} b. °sahitam, A; bcas (=A), T. d. pratyabhāsatah, A.



GL

उपपन्नमिदं वाक्यं सीहार्दव्यञ्जनं त्विय। अव न त्वानुनेष्यामि यच मा दृष्टु मन्यसे ॥ ८४ ॥ नावजानामि विषयान् जाने लोकं तदात्मकम्। श्रानित्यं तु जगन्मत्वा नाच मे रमते मनः ॥ ८५ ॥ जरा व्याधिश्व मृत्युश्व यदि न स्यादिदं चयम्। ममापि हि मनोज्ञेषु विषयेषु रतिभवित्॥ ८६ ॥ नित्यं यद्यपि इ स्त्रीणामेतदेव वपुर्भवेत्। दोषवत्खपि कामेषु कामं रज्येत मे मनः॥ ८७॥ यदा तु जरयापीतं रूपमासां भविष्यति। श्रात्मनोऽप्यनिभग्रेतं मोहात्तच र्तिभवत् ॥ ८८॥ मृत्युव्याधिजराधर्मा मृत्युव्याधिजरात्मभिः। रममाणो च्रसंविग्नः समानो चगपहिभिः॥ ८८॥ यदप्यात्य महात्मानस्तेऽपि कामात्मका इति। संवेगीऽचैव कर्तव्यो यदा तेषामपि ख्यः ॥ १०॥ माहात्यं न च तन्मन्ये यच सामान्यतः श्र्यः। विषयेषु प्रसित्तवी यित्तवी नात्मवत्तया ॥ ६१ ॥

^{86.} d. rati bhavet, A.

^{87.} cd. sasamvitkasya kāmeşu tathāpi na ratiḥ kṣamā, A; skyon-ldan hdod-pa-rnams-la yan kho-boḥi sems ni hdod-la phyogs, T; 'though the lusts have their faults, still they might hold the feelings of man', C.

^{88.} d. mohā tatra, A.

^{89.} a. e.c. Cowell; °dharmmo, A. c. e.c. Lüders; ramamāno py, A; T omits api.

^{90.} c. samvego tra karttavyo (one syllable short), A; hdir ni skyo-bar bya-ba-ste, T; 'that also can cause samvega', C.

^{91.} a. na ca tan madhye, A; mi-sems-te (omitting ca tat), T. b. sāman-yatah, A; ci-las (=kutaścit?), T. c. praśaktir, A; chags-pa, T.



यद्पात्यान्द्रतेनापि स्त्रीजने वर्ष्यतामिति। अन्ततं नावगच्छामि दाक्षिखोनापि विंचन ॥ ८२ ॥ न चानुवर्तनं तन्त्रे रुचितं यच नार्जवम् । सर्वभावेन संपर्को यदि नास्ति धिगस्तु तत्॥ १३॥ अधितः अह्धानस्य सक्तस्यादोषदर्शिनः। किं डि वश्वयितव्यं स्याज्ञातरागस्य चेतसः ॥ ६४ ॥ वन्दयन्ति च यद्येवं जातरागाः परस्परम्। ननु नैव क्षमं द्रष्टुं नराः स्त्रीयां न्हयां स्त्रियः ॥ ८५ ॥ तदेवं सति दृःखार्तं जरामर्णभागिनम्। न मां कामेषनार्येषु प्रतार्यितुमईसि ॥ ८६ ॥ चहीऽतिधीरं बलवच ते मन-खलेषु कामेषु च सारदर्शिनः। भयेऽतितीवे विषयेषु सज्जसे निरीक्षमाणी मरणाधनि प्रजाः॥ १७॥ अहं पुनर्भी हरतीव विक्षवी जराविपद्याधिभयं विचिन्तयन्। लभे न शान्तिं न धृतिं कतो रतिं

निशामयन्दीत्रमिवाग्निना जगत् ॥ ८८ ॥ 92. d. kiñcan, A. mkhas-pa-yis dpe-brjod ciń (=dāksinyenāpy abhida-

dhat, udāharan), T.

94. a. anṛteḥ, A; mi-brtan-pa-yi, T. b. e.c. Cowell; śaktasyā°, A; skyon-du mthon-baḥi nus-pa-yi (śaktasya doṣadarśinaḥ), T.

95. a. yady eva, A; gal-te de-ltar, T. c. neva, A; ñid ma-yin, T.

96. a. śati, A. c. kāmeşu nāryesu, A; hphags-min hdod-pa-la, T.

97. c. bhaye pi tīvre, A ; śin-tu rno-zhiń ḥjigs-paḥi, T.

98. a. puna bhīrur, A. d. niśāmayam, A.



असंशयं खत्यरिति प्रजानतो नरस्य रागी हृदि यस्य जायते। त्रयोभयों तस्य परेमि चेतनां महामये रज्यति यो न रीदिति ॥ १९॥ अयो कमारख विनिखयातिमकां चकार कामाश्रयधातिनीं कथाम्। जनस्य चसुर्गमनीयमण्डली महीधरं चास्तमियाय भास्तरः॥ १००॥ ततो रयाधारितसूषणसजः कलाग्गीश्च प्रगयिश्व निष्फलेः। ख एव भावे विनिग्रह्य मन्मयं पुरं ययुर्भग्रमनीर्याः स्त्रियः ॥ १०१ ॥ ततः पुरोद्यानगतां जनश्रियं निरीक्य सायं प्रतिसंहतां पुनः। अनित्यतां सर्वगतां विचिन्तय-न्विवेश धिषायं सितिपालकात्मजः॥ १०२॥

^{99.} c. paremi, A. d. mahābhaye rakṣati yo na r(?c?)odati, A; ḥjigs-pa che-la chags-pa gan-zhig nu-ba-med, T.

^{101.} c. e.c.; sa eva bhāve viniguhya manmatham, A; ran-gi sems-la yid-dkrugs hdod-pa rnam-smad-nas (=sve bhāve vigarhya manmatham), T. d. yayu bhagna°, A.

^{102.} a. janastriyam, A; skye-boḥi dpal, T. b. sāye(?), A. d. slar yan mi-skyon bdag-skyes (kṣitipātmajaḥ punaḥ), T.

BUDDHACARITA

GL

ततः श्रुत्वा राजा विषयविसुषं तस्य तु मनी
न शिश्ये तां राचिं हृद्यगतश्रुत्यो गज इव।
त्रिश्ये तां मन्त्रे बहुविविधमार्गे ससचिवो
न सोऽन्यत्कामेग्यो नियमनमपश्यत्मुतमतेः॥१०३॥

इति बुद्धचरिते मधाकाच्ये खौविधातनो नाम चतुर्थः सर्गः ॥ ४ ॥

103. b. hṛdayaśatyo gaja (two syllables short), A; sñiṅ-la soṅ-baḥi zug-la glaṅ-chen, T. c. sṅags maṅ rnam-pa sna-tshogs lam-rnams-dag-gis (mantrair bahuvividhamārgaiḥ), T.

Colophon. Iti repeated at end of 103 and beginning of colophon.



GL

CANTO V

स तथा विषये विकाश्यमानः परमाईरिप शाकाराजस्तुः।
न जगाम धृतिं न शर्म लेभे हृद्ये सिंह द्वातिदिग्धविदः॥१॥
श्राय मन्त्रिसृतैः श्रमैः कदाचित्सिखिभिश्चिचकथैः कतानुयाचः।
वनस्त्रिमिदिहश्च्या श्रमेषुर्नर्देवानुमनो विद्यः प्रतस्थे॥२॥
नवस्त्राखलीनिकिक्षिणीकं प्रचलचामरचारहेमभाग्डम्।
श्राभिरुद्ध स कन्यकं सदश्चं प्रययो केतुमिव दुमाङ्गकेतुः॥३॥
स विक्षष्टतरां वनान्तस्र्मिं वनलोभाच ययौ महीगुणाच।
सिल्लोमिविकारसीरमार्गी वसुधां चैव ददर्श क्षष्टमाणाम्॥४॥
हल्लामन्त्रिकीर्णश्रष्यदर्भी हतस्त्रश्लाक्रिमिकीटअन्तुकीर्णाम्।
समवेश्य रसां तथाविधां तां स्वजनस्येव वधे सृशं श्रुशोच॥५॥

- 1. b. paramāhair, A ; dam-paḥi mehod-pa-rnams-kyis, T. c. na jagāma ratin (originally dhṛtin?), A ; brtan-par gśegs ma-gyur, T.
- 2. a. kṣamai, A. b. °kathai, A. cd. śamepsu nnara°, A; nags-kyi sala ḥgro-ḥdod lta-bar ḥdod-pa-yis (vanabhūmiṁ didṛkṣayā gamepsur?), T. d. bahi, A.
- 3. ab. °kińkinīkam pracalatcāmara°, A. c. stan-beas (sakambalam?), T. sadaśva, A.
- 4. a. vikṛṣṇatarām, A; rnam-par rgyań-rin, T; nikṛṣṭatarām, Co. b. °guṇāccha(?cca?), A; yon-tan-las, T. c. chu-gñer bzhin-du rnam-par-bkram-paḥi (salilormivikīrṇa°?), T. d. vasudhā, A.
 - 5. c. samavekşa raśān tathavidhān tā, A.



हावतः पुरुषांश्च वीश्वमाणः पवनाकां शुरजीविभिन्नवर्णान् ।
वहनक्कमविक्कवांश्च धुर्यान् परमार्थः परमां क्रपां चकार ॥ ६ ॥
श्ववतीर्यं ततस्तुरक्रपृष्ठाच्छनकेगीं व्यवरच्छुचा परीतः ।
जगती जननव्ययं विचिन्वन् क्रपणं खिल्वदिमित्युवाच चार्तः ॥ ७ ॥
मनसा च विविक्ततामभीषुः सुद्धदस्तानन्यायिनो निवार्य ।
श्वभितश्चलचारुपर्णवत्या विजने मूलमुपेयिवान् स जम्बाः ॥ ८ ॥
निवसाद स यच श्रीचवत्यां श्रुवि वेडूर्यनिकाशशादलायाम् ।
जगतः प्रभवव्ययौ विचिन्वन्मनसञ्च स्थितिमार्गमाललम्बे ॥ ८ ॥
समवातमनःस्थितिश्व सद्यो विषयेच्छादिभिराधिभिश्च मुक्तः ।
सवितर्कविचारमाप शान्तं प्रथमं ध्यानमनास्वप्रकारम् ॥ १० ॥
श्वधिगम्य ततो विवेकजं तु परमग्रीतिसुखं मनःसमाधिम् ।
इदमेव ततः परं प्रदध्यौ मनसा लोकगितं निशाम्य सम्यक् ॥११॥
क्रपणं वत यज्जनः स्वयं सन्ववशो व्याधिजराविनाश्यमां ।
जरयादितमातुरं सतं वा परमन्नो विजुगुस्ते मदान्यः ॥ १२ ॥

^{6.} a. viksyamāṇaḥ, A. b. rluṅ-gis gtor-baḥi rdul-gyis (pavanākṣi-ptarajo°), T.

^{7.} b. vyacarat kṣudhā, A; rnam-par-rgyu-zhiń mya-nan dan ldan-pa, T. c. e.c. Cowell; vicintan, A; rnam-sems-śiń (vicintayan?), T.

^{8.} b. phyir-bzlogs-nas (nivartya), T. c. abhitacala°, A; kun-nas mnon-par gyo-zhin, T. d. vijana, A. jamvāḥ, A.

^{9.} a. nişasāda ca yatra khocavatyām, A; gtsan-mar ldan-paḥi sa-gzhi der de ni zhugs-te (niṣasāda sa tatra śaucavatyām bhuvi), T.

^{10.} b. visacchādibhir (one syllable short), A; yul-la hdod sogs, T. d. zag-pa med-pahi rab-bskyod-pa (anāsravaprakampam?), T.

^{11.} c. e.c. Cowell; imam eva, A. d. rab-brtags-nas (pariksya?), T.

^{12.} b. avaso vyādhijarāvināsadharmmaḥ, A; dban ni yod-min... rnam-par-ñams-paḥi chos, T.





इइ चेदहमीहणः स्वयं सन्विज्गुपीय परं तथास्वभावम्। न भवेत्सहशं हि तत्स्रमं वा पर्मं धर्मिममं विजानतो मे ॥ १३॥ इति तस्य विप्रस्ततो ययावज्जगतो व्याधिजराविपत्तिदोषान्। वलयौवनजीवितप्रवृत्तो विजगामात्मगतो मदः स्रोन ॥ १४ ॥ न जहर्ष न चापि चानुतेपे विचिकित्सां न ययो न तन्द्रिनिद्रे। न च कामग्रोषु संररको न विद्देष परं न चावमेने ॥ १५॥ इति वृद्धिरियं च नीरजस्का वरुधे तस्य महात्मनो विश्वा। पुरुषेरपरेरदृश्यमानः पुरुषश्चोपससर्प भिक्षुवेषः ॥ १६ ॥ नरदेवसुतस्तमभ्यपृच्छद्वद कोऽसीति शशंस सीऽय तस्मै। नरपुंगव जन्मस्त्यभीतः श्रमणः प्रवजितोऽस्मि मोश्चहेतोः ॥ १७॥ जगित स्रयधर्मके मुमुक्षुर्मगयेऽहं शिवमस्यं पदं तत्। खजनेऽन्यजने च तुच्यबुिंबिंषयेभ्यो विनिष्टत्तरागदोषः ॥ १८॥ निवसन् क्वचिदेव द्रक्षमुखे विजने वायतने गिरी वने वा। विचराम्यपरियहो निराणः परमार्थाय यथोपपनभैष्ठः॥ १८॥ इति पश्चत एव राजस्त्नोरिदमुक्ता स नभः ससुत्पपात । स हि तद्वपुरन्यवुद्वदशी स्मृतये तस्य समेयिवान्दिवीकाः॥ २०॥

14. c. balayovanajivitapravrttau, A; rab-zhugs-paḥi . . . rgyags-pa, T.

15. d. na vividvesa, A; rnam-par-sdan-bar ma-gyur, T.

16. d. bhikşuveśah, A.

17. b. ko sī(written over ṣī)ti saśamsa, A. c. e.c. Cowell; navapungava, A; mi-yi skyes-mchog (narapungava?), T.

18. c. sujano (corrected to ajano) nyajane ca, A; 'with mind that is equal towards relation and foe', C and FP; T omits the pāda.

19. a. nivasat, A. d. yathepapannabhekṣaḥ (?bhikṣuḥ?), A; ji-ltar ñer-ldan sloṅ-mo-ba, T; °bhikṣaḥ, Kern.

20. c. anyabuddhidarśśi, A; sańs-rgyas gzhan gzigs-śiń, T; 'the former Buddhas', C.



गगनं खगवहते च तिस्मिन्वरः संजह्न विसिस्मिये च।
उपलभ्य तत्र धर्मसंज्ञामिमिनिर्याणिविधौ मितं चकार ॥ २१ ॥
तत इन्ह्रसमो जितेन्द्रियात्रः प्रविविद्यः पुरमत्रमाररोह ।
परिवारजनं त्ववेद्यमाणस्तत एवाभिमतं वनं न भेजे ॥ २२ ॥
स जरामरणस्रयं चिकौर्षुवेनवासाय मितं सृतौ निधाय ।
प्रविवेश पुनः पुरं न कामादनभूमेरिव मण्डलं दिपेन्द्रः ॥ २३ ॥
सुखिता वत निर्दता च सा स्त्रौ पितरौहस्र इहायतास्र यस्याः ।
इति तं समुदौद्य राजकन्या प्रविश्वन्तं पिष्य साम्मिलर्जगाद ॥२४॥
त्रुष्ठ घोषमिमं महास्रघोषः परिशुत्राव शमं परं च लेभे ।
त्रुतवान्स हि निर्दतिति शन्दं परिनिर्वाणिविधौ मितं चकार ॥२५॥
त्रुष्ठ काञ्चनश्रीलश्वन्यक्षां गजमेधर्षभवाहिनस्वनास्रः ।
स्र्यमस्रयधर्मजातरागः शिश्रसिंहाननिवक्रमः प्रपेदे ॥ २६ ॥
स्रगराजगितस्ततोऽभ्यगच्छन्वपितं मिन्त्रगणैरपास्यमानम् ।
समितौ मरुतामिव ज्वलनं मधवन्तं चिदिवे सनक्षमारः ॥ २० ॥

^{21.} c. dharmmasamjñam, A; chos-kyi hdu-ses, T; 'the idea of the good law', C. d. abhiniryāna°, A.

^{22.} b. param aśvam, A; groń-la . . . rta-la, T. c. parivartya janam tv avekṣamanas, A; ḥkhor-gyi skye-bo-dag kyan mnon-par hdod-pa-ste, T.

^{24.} a. nivṛtā, A. b. īdṛk tvām ihāyatākṣa, A; spyan-yaṅs . . . ḥdiḥdra ḥdir, T. c. samudīkṣa, A. śākyaḥi bu-mo zhig (śākyakanyā), T. d. rajñalir jjagāda, A; thal-mo sbyar-ba daṅ beas smras-so, T.

^{25.} c. śrutavāms ca, A ; thos-pa dan ldan des, T. d. °vidho, A ; chogar, T.

^{26.} d. śaśisihānanavikrama, A.

^{27.} a. °gati tato, A. b. °ganair upāsyamāṇam, A. c. śamitau, A; hdun-sa-ru, T.



प्रिणिपत्य च साम्बलिर्वभाषे दिश मद्यं नरदेव साध्वनु ज्ञाम्। परिविविजिषामि मोश्वहेतोर्नियतो द्यस्य जनस्य विप्रयोगः॥ २८॥ इति तस्य वची निशम्य राजा करिगोवाभिहतो द्रमञ्जचाल । कमलप्रतिमेऽज्जली ग्रहीत्वा वचनं चेद्रमुवाच बाष्पकराः॥ २८॥ प्रतिसंहर तात वृद्धिमेतां न हि कालस्तव धर्मसंश्रयस्य। वयसि प्रथमे मतौ चलायां बहुदोषां हि वदन्ति धर्मचर्याम् ॥३०॥ विषयेषु कृतृ इसेन्द्रियस्य वृतसेदेषसमर्थनिश्रयस्य । तर्णस्य मनश्रलत्यर्ण्यादनभिन्नस्य विशेषतो विवेके ॥ ३१ ॥ मम तु प्रियधर्म धर्मकालस्वयि लक्ष्मीमवस्त्र्य लक्ष्मभूते। स्थिर्विक्रम विक्रमेण धर्मस्तव हित्वा तु गुरुं भवेदधर्मः॥ ३२॥ तदिमं व्यवसायमुत्मुज त्वं भव ताविवर्तो ग्रहस्थधर्मे। पुरुषस्य वयः सुखानि भुक्ता रमणीयो हि तपीवनप्रवेशः॥ ३३॥ इति वाक्यमिदं निशस्य राज्ञः कलविक्सस्वर उत्तरं बभाषे। यदि मे प्रतिभूश्रतुर्ष राजन् भविस त्वं न तपीवनं श्रियिष्ये॥ ३४॥ न भवेत्प्रर्णाय जीवितं मे विहरेत्वास्थिमिदं च मे न रोगः। न च यौवनमाशिपेज्ञरा मे न च संपत्तिमिमां इरेदिपत्तिः ॥३५॥

^{28.} c. yońs-su rnam-par gśegs-par bgyi (parivivrajisyāmi?), T.

^{29.} a. nisamya, A.

^{30.} a. pratisahara, A. d. chos-kyi spyod-pa gsuńs-pa-rnams ni skyon mań-no (=bahudoṣā vadanto dharmacaryā), T.

^{31.} b. brtul-zhugs gyo-ba-rnams (equivalent uncertain), T. c. calaty araranyād, A.

^{32.} b. e.c.; lakṣabhūte (marginal gloss, sthānabhūte), A; mtshon-gyur, T; lakṣya°, Co.

^{33.} b. tāvat nirato, A.

^{34.} a. rnam-par gsan-nas (viśrutya, viśamya?), T.

^{35.} d. haret vipattih, A.



इति दुर्लभमधेमृचिवांसं तनयं वाक्यमुवाच ग्राक्यराजः।
त्यज वृद्धिममामितप्रदत्तामवद्यास्योऽतिमनोरघोऽक्रमञ्च॥ ३६॥
त्रञ्च मेरुगरुगृरं वभाषे यदि नास्ति क्रम एष नास्मि वार्यः।
ग्ररणाज्वलनेन दद्यमानाच दि निश्चिक्रमिषुः श्रमं ग्रहीतुम्॥३०॥
जगतञ्च यदा भ्रवो वियोगो ननु धर्माय वरं स्वयंवियोगः।
त्रवशं ननु विप्रयोजयेन्सामद्यतस्वार्थमद्यतमेव स्त्युः॥ ३८॥

द्ति भूमिपतिर्निश्ग्य तस्य व्यवसायं तनयस्य निर्मुसुद्धाः। श्रभिधाय न यास्यतीति भूयो विद्धे रक्षणमुक्तमांश्व कामान्॥ ३८॥ सचिवेस्तु निद्धितो यथावद् बहुमानात्मणयाच शास्त्रपूर्वम्। गुरुणा च निवारितोऽश्रुपातैः प्रविवेशावसथं ततः स शोचन्॥ ४०॥

- 36. c. imān gatipravṛttām (written over something else not legible), A; śin-tu rab-tu-zhugs-pahi blo ḥdi, T. d. e.c. Lüders; °manorathaḥ(?tha?) kramaś ca, A; yid-la re-ba... śa-than-hchad (°manorathaḥ śramaś ca), T; °manorathakramaś ca, Co.
- 37. a. ga(?gu?)rūm, A. d. niścikramişum, A; phyi-rol hbyun-bar hdod-pa...ma-yin (na bahiś cikramişuh ?), T.
- 38. For C and FP see note in translation. a. yathā, A; gan-gi tshe-na, T. b. e.c. Kielhorn; na tu, A; chos-phyir ma-yin hdi ni rnam-par-hbral-bar mchog (=dharmāya na varam ayam viyogaḥ), T. c. na tu, Kielhorn.
 - 39. a. niśāmya, A; nes-par-thos-nas, T.
- 40. b. zhi-ba snon-hgro (śāntipūrvam), T; 'instructed him fully in all the laws of propriety', C.



चलकुण्डलचुन्निताननाभिर्धननिश्वासविकस्पितस्तनीभिः। वनिताभिर्धीर्खोचनाभिर्दगणावाभिरिवाभ्यदौष्यमाणः॥ ४१॥ स हि काञ्चनपर्वतावदातो हृदयोन्सादकरो वराङ्गनानाम। अवणाङ्गविसोचनात्मभावान्वचनस्पर्भवपुर्ग्गौर्जहार ॥ ४२ ॥ विगते दिवसे ततो विमानं वपुषा स्वर्थ इव प्रदीप्यमानः। तिमिरं विजिधांसरात्मभासा र्विष्यित्व मेरुमार्रोइ ॥ ४३॥ कनको ज्वलदी प्रदीपरशं वरका लाग्रध्यपूर्णगर्भम्। अधिरुद्ध स वजभितिचिचं प्रवरं काञ्चनमासनं सिषेवे ॥ ४४ ॥ तत उत्तमसुत्तमाङ्गनास्तं निश्चि तूर्वैहपतस्य्रिन्द्रकल्पम्। हिमविच्छरसीव चन्द्रगौरे द्रविखेन्द्रात्मजमसरोगखौघाः॥ ४५॥ परमैरिप दिव्यतूर्यकल्पैः स तु तैर्नैव रितं यथी न इर्षम्। परमार्थसुखाय तस्य साधीरभिनिश्चिक्रमिषा यतो न रेमे ॥ ४६ ॥ श्रय तच सुरैस्तपोवरिष्ठेरकनिष्ठेर्व्यवसायमस्य बद्धा । युगपत्यमदाजनस्य निद्रा विहितासीदिकताश्च गाचचेष्टाः ॥ ४० ॥ अभवच्छियता हि तच काचिद्विनिवेश्य प्रचले करे कपोलम। द्यितामपि रुकापचिचां कुपितेवाङ्कगतां विहाय वीगाम् ॥४८॥

^{41.} d. udiksamānah, A.

^{42.} b. hṛdayotmāda°, A. c. śravanāṅga°, A. cd. °bhāvām(?s?) vacana°, A.

^{43.} a. divaše, A. b. bzhin-du mnon-par-gsal-ba (ivābhidīpyamānaḥ),

^{44.} c. mnon-par-hdzegs-nas (abhiruhya), T.

^{45.} c. himavadsirasīva, A. d. °gaņoghāḥ, A.

^{48.} b. prabale, A; gyo-ba, T. c. gser-gyi snod ni sna-tshogs-paḥi (rukmapātracitrām), T.



विवभी कर्लग्रवेणुरन्या स्तनविखस्तसितां भुका भयाना ।
चरज्ञषर्पदपङ्गिजृष्टपद्मा जलफेनप्रदसत्तरा नदीव ॥ ४६ ॥
नवपुष्करगर्भकोमलाभ्यां तपनीयोज्यलसंगताङ्गदाभ्याम् ।
स्विपिति स्न तथापरा भुजाभ्यां परिरभ्य प्रियवन्भृदङ्गमेव ॥ ५० ॥
नवहारकभृषणास्तथान्या वसनं पौतमनुत्तमं वसानाः ।
अवभा घननिद्रया निपेतुर्गजभग्ना इव कर्णिकारभाखाः ॥ ५१ ॥
अवल्य गवास्रपार्श्वमन्या भयिता चापविभुग्नगाचयिः ।
विरराज विलिम्बिचारहारा रिचता तोरणभालमिक्नकेव ॥ ५२ ॥
मणिकुग्डलदष्टपत्रलेखं मुखपद्मं विनतं तथापरस्याः ।
शतपत्तमिवार्धवक्रनाडं स्थितकारण्डवघितं चकाभे ॥ ५३ ॥
अपराः भयिता यथोपविष्टाः स्तनभारैरवनम्यमानगाचाः ।
उपगुद्ध परस्यरं विरेजुर्भुजपाभैस्तपनीयपारिहार्थेः ॥ ५४ ॥
महतौं परिवादिनौं च काचिदिनतालिङ्ग सखीमिव प्रसुप्ता ।
विज्ञुष्ये चलस्वर्णसूचा वदनेनाकुलयोक्नकेण ॥ ५५ ॥

49. b. °viśrastaśitämśukā, A. c. sgra-sgrog padma (°ghuştapadmä), T.

50. c. tathā purā, A; de-bzhin gzhan-rnams (tathāparāḥ), T.

51. c. e.c.; avašā vata nidrayā, A; dban-med-par ni sdug-ma (for stugs-ma or stugs-po) gnid-kyis (avašā ghanā nidrayā, or ghananidrayā), T.

52. b. de-bzhin...ñal-bar gyur-paḥi lus-kyi mchod-sdon rnam-hkhyog-pa (śayitaivam pravibhugnagātrayaṣṭiḥ?), T; 'with forms like a bow whose tips are bent together (or, suspended by the tips?)', C. d. toranasāla', A; rta-babs-la śālabhanjika, T (which omits racitā).

53. a. dasta*(?pe, ?ve, ?ne)tralekham, A; hgram-pahi logs-la....rmugs-pa (°dastagandalekham), T. b. rnam-rgyas-śiń (vitatam), T. d. gyos-par gyur (cakampe), T.

54. a. ji-ltar rnam-par-zhugs bzhin (for śiń?) (yathā vivṛttāḥ?), T. c. paraspara, A.

55. b. vanitāligya, A. d. °yoktrakena, A.



GL

पणवं युवितर्भुजांसदेशादविविधितत्वारुपाशमन्या।
सविवासरतान्ततान्तमूर्वोविवरे कान्तमिवाभिनीय शिश्ये॥५६॥
अपरा बभुनिमीलिताद्यो विपुलाद्योऽपि शुभसुवोऽपि सत्यः।
प्रतिसंकुचितार्विन्दकोशाः सवितर्यस्तमिते यथा निवन्यः॥५०॥
शिथिलाकुलमूर्थजा तथान्या जधनस्रस्तविभूषणांशुकान्ता।
अश्रियष्ट विकीर्णकण्ढस्वा गजभग्ना प्रतियातनाङ्गनेव॥५८॥

श्रपरास्त्वत्रश हिया वियुक्ता

धृतिमत्योऽपि वपुर्गृशैरुपेताः।
विनिश्रश्वसुरुवणं श्रयाना
विक्रताः शित्रभुजा जज्ञृस्थिरे च ॥ ५८ ॥
व्यपविद्वविभूषणस्रजोऽन्या
विस्तायन्यनवाससी विसंजाः।
श्रानिमीलितशुक्तिनश्रलाख्यो

न विरेजुः श्रयिता गतासुकल्पाः॥ ६० ॥

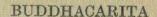
विवृतांस्यपुटा विवृद्धगाची प्रपतदक्षजला प्रकाशगुद्धा । अपरा सद्घूर्णितेव शिश्ये न बभासे विकृतं वपुः पुपोष ॥ ६१ ॥

^{56.} ab. bhujāmśadeśād avaviśramsita°, A. b. mdzes-paḥi logs-can (°cārupārśvam), T.

^{58.} b. °bhūṣaṇāśukā°, A; rgyan dan dar-rnams dpyi-la rnam-ñil dernams (jaghanavisrastabhūṣaṇāmśukās tāḥ), T. d. patiyātāṅganeva (one syllable short), A; yan-lag-ma-yi gzugs-brñan...bzhin, T.

^{60.} a. °śrajo nyā, A.

^{61.} a. lus-po rab-brgyan-zhiń (=pratatagātrā), T; vivṛttagātrā, Gawroński. c. ḥkhrul-bar gyur-pa ñid (°ghūrṇitaiva), T. d. na babhāṣe, A; mdzes-ma-gyur, T.





दित सत्तवुक्षान्वयानुरूपं विविधं स प्रमदाजनः श्रयानः।
सरसः सहशं नभार रूपं पवनाविजितस्यपुष्करस्य ॥ ६२ ॥
समवेद्य तथा तथा श्रयाना विक्रतास्ता युवतीरधीरचेष्टाः।
गुणवदपुषोऽपि वक्गुभाषा चपद्धनुः स विगर्द्रयांवस्त्र्व ॥ ६३ ॥
त्रंश्चितिक्षतत्र्य जीवकोके विनतानामयमीदशः स्वभावः।
वसनाभरणेस्तु वञ्चमानः पुरुषः स्वीविषयेषु रागमेति ॥ ६४ ॥
विस्त्रशेद्यदि योषितां मनुष्यः प्रक्षतिं स्वप्नविकारमीदृशं च ।
भुवमच न वर्धयेत्रमादं गुणसंकष्णचतस्तु रागमेति ॥ ६५ ॥
इति तस्य तदन्तरं विदित्वा निश्चि निश्चिक्रमिषा समुद्दस्त्व ।
त्रवगम्य मनस्ततोऽस्य देवैभवनद्वारमपाद्यतं वस्त्व ॥ ६६ ॥
त्रवगम्य मनस्ततोऽस्य देवैभवनद्वारमपाद्यतं वस्त्व ॥ ६६ ॥
त्रवनतेर्य तत्त्व निर्वश्चक्षेत्र यद्दक्ष्यां प्रवमां विनिर्जगाम ॥ ६० ॥
तुरगावचरं स बोधयित्वा जिवनं क्रन्दक्षमित्यमित्युवाच ।
इयमानय कम्यकं त्वरावानस्ततं प्राप्तमितोऽद्य ने यियासा ॥ ६८ ॥

^{62.} a. e.c.; satvakulānvarūpam (two syllables short), A; sems-pa dan ni rigs-kyi rjes-hgrohi gzugs (sattvakulānvayarūpam, one syllable short), T. c. mdzes-par gyur (babhāsa?), T. d. °puskarasya, A; gser-gyi padma-yi (°rukmapuṣkarasya), T.

^{63.} a. samavekṣya ta ta śayānā (two syllables short), A ; de-ltar \hat{n} al-baḥi . . . mthon-nas, T.

^{64.} a. hjig-rten-te (jivaloko?), T.

^{65.} Not in C. a. vimṛṣed, A; rnam-dpyad-na, T. d. 'certainly he obtains the holy (kung-te=puṇya, guṇa) body of liberation', FP.

^{67.} d. prathamam, A ; khan-pahi rim-pa dan-por, T.

^{68.} b. abhyuvāca, Gawroński. d. bdag skom (so Peking edition) mo (me pipāsā), T.





हृदि या मम तुष्टिरद्य जाता

व्यवसायश्व यथा मती निविष्टः।

विजनेऽपि च नायवानिवास्मि

श्रुवमर्थोऽभिसुखः समेत दृष्टः॥ ई८॥

हियमेव च संनतिं च हित्वा

श्रियता मत्रामुखे यथा युवत्यः।

विद्यते च यथा स्वयं कपाटे

नियतं यातुमतो ममाद्य कालः॥ ७०॥

प्रतिगृद्ध ततः स भर्तुराज्ञां विदितार्थोऽपि नरेन्द्रशासनस्य।
मनसीव परेण चोद्यमानस्तुरगस्यानयने मितं चकार॥ ७१॥
अथ हेमखलीनपूर्णवक्रां लघुश्रय्यास्तरणोपगृद्धपृष्ठम्।
बलसत्त्वजवान्वयोपपन्नं स वराश्रं तमुपानिनाय भर्ने॥ ७२॥
प्रततिचकपुच्छमूलपार्ष्णिं निम्दतहस्वतन्त्रजपुच्छकर्णम्।
विनतोन्नतपृष्ठकृष्टिपार्श्वं विपुलप्रोथललाटकयुरस्कम्॥ ७३॥

- 69. a. T omits yā (i.e. reading hṛdaye?). b. dhṛtau, A; blo-gros-la, T e. T omits iva; yathāsmi, Gawroński. d. sa me ya iṣtaḥ, A; ḥdod-paḥi don ni mnon-du phyogs ḥdu, T.
- 70. d. yātum anāmayāya kālaḥ, A; bdag ni ḥdi-nas de-rin ḥgro-baḥi dus, T.
 - 71. c. codyamāņas, A.
- 72. cd. °javānvalopapanna sa varāmsvan, A; mgyogs dan rjes-hgro ner-ldan-pa, T. d. der ni ne-bar-hons (upānināya tatra), T.
- 73. For C see note in translation. a. sňa-maḥi (for rňa-maḥi?) rtsa-ba rtsib-log gsum-ga (°trikapucchamūlapārśvaṁ, or °trikapūrvamūlapārśvaṁ), T. b. e.c.; nibhṛtaṁ hrasvatanūjapṛṣṭhakarṇṇaṁ, A; rgyab daṅ rna-ba lus-skyes spu ni thuṅ-zhiṅ dul (=A), T; nibhṛtahrasva°, Gawroński. e. rgyab-kyi rtsib-ma-dag ni dud-ciṅ rnam-rgyas-la (vitatonnatapṛṣṭhapārśvaṁ, or °pṛṣṭhakukṣipārśvaṁ?), T.



SL

उपगुद्ध स तं विशालवधाः कमलाभेन च सान्वयन् करेण।

मध्राध्यया गिरा श्रशास ध्वजिनीमध्यमिव प्रवेष्टुकामः॥ ७४॥

बहुशः किल श्रचनो निरस्ताः समरे त्वामधिरुद्ध पार्थिवेन।

श्रहमप्यस्तं पदं यथावन्तरगश्रेष्ठ लभेय तत्कुरुष ॥ ७५॥

सुलभाः खलु संयुगे सहाया विषयावात्तसुखे धनार्जने वा।

पुरुषस्य तु दुर्लभाः सहायाः पतितस्यापदि धर्मसंश्रये वा॥ ७६॥

इह चैव भवन्ति ये सहायाः

क जुषे कर्मणि धर्मसंश्रये वा।

नियतं तेऽपि जनास्तदंशभाजः॥ ७७॥
तदिदं परिगम्य धर्मयुक्तं मम निर्याणिमितो जगिवताय।
तुरगोत्तम वेगिवकमाभ्यां प्रयतस्वातमिति जगिवते च॥ ७८॥
इति सुद्धदिमवानुशिष्य कृत्ये तुरगवरं न्ववरो वनं यियासुः।
सितमसितगितद्युतिवेपुष्मान् रिवरिव शारदमस्रमाहरोद्ध॥ ७९॥
त्रथ स परिचरिवशीयचण्डं परिजनवीधकरं ध्वनिं सद्धः।
विगतचनुरवः प्रशान्तचेष्यकितिविसुक्तपदक्रमो जगाम॥ ८०॥

^{74.} a. °vakṣyāḥ, A. b. śāntvayat, A. d. rgyal-mtshan sde-la dmag-dpon rab-tu-ḥjug-pa bzhin (=dhvajinīm mukhya iva praviśamānaḥ), T.

^{75.} a. kila (corrected to kali), A; T omits. nirastā, A. b. mnon-parzhon-nas (abhiruhya), T. c. param, A; go-ḥphan, T. d. de-ltar mdzod (= tathā kuruṣva), T.

^{79.} a. T omits krtye.

^{80.} d. °kramo (corrected to °krame), A; hgros-kyis (°kramair or °kramo), T.



कनकवखयम् वितप्रकोष्ठः

कमलिभेः कमलानिव प्रविध्य।

श्रवनततनवस्ततोऽस्य यद्याश्रवकतगतैर्द्धिरे खुरान् कराग्रैः॥ ८१॥

गुरुपरिधकपाटसंद्यता या

न सुखमपि दिरदेरपान्नियन्ते।

वर्जात न्यसुते गतस्वनास्ताः

स्वयमभवन्विद्यताः पुरः प्रतोच्यः॥ ८२॥

पितरमभिमुखं सुतं च बाखं

जनमनुरक्तमनुत्तमां च खद्धीम्।

कतमितरपद्याय निर्व्यपेक्षः

पितृनगरात्म ततो विनिर्जगाम॥ ८३॥

श्रथ स विमलपञ्जायताश्रः पुरमवलोका ननाद सिंहनादम्। जननमर्णयोरदृष्ट्पारो न पुरमहं कपिलाह्ययं प्रवेष्टा ॥ ८४ ॥ इति वचनमिदं निश्मय तस्य द्रविणपतेः परिषद्गणा ननन्दुः। प्रमुदितमनसञ्च देवसङ्घा व्यवसितपारणमाश्रशंसिरेऽसी ॥ ८५ ॥

^{81.} b. pravidhyaḥ, A; kamala-rnams rnam-byas-nas (=kamalān vikṛtya), T. d. cakitagater, A.; tshim gyur lag-paḥi rtse-mos (cakitagatair...karā-graiḥ, or °gatāḥ), T.

^{82.} a. °kavāta°, A. b. dviradhair ayādhri(?vri?)yante, A. c. gataśvanās, A. d. abhavad, A.

^{84.} a. vikajapankajā°, A; rnam-rgyas (vikata°?), T; 'with eyes like the pure lotus flower that springs from the mud', C; vikaca°, Co. d. na punar aham, A; gron-khyer, T.

^{85.} a. niśāmya, A; thos-nas, T.

हुतवद्ववपुषो दिवीकसोऽन्धे व्यवसितमस्य सुद्ष्कारं विदित्वा। अञ्चयत तुहिने पथि प्रकाशं घनविवरप्रस्ता इवेन्द्पादाः॥ ८ई॥

> हरितुरगतुरङ्गवल्रङः स तु विचरनानसीव चोद्यमानः। श्रहणपरुषतारमन्तरिक्षं स च सबह्रनि जगाम योजनानि ॥ ८०॥

इति बृद्धचरिते महाकाचेऽभिनिष्क्मको नाम पञ्चमः सर्गः ॥ ५ ॥

86. a. divaukasau, A. b. asya ca duskaram, A; hdi-yi...śin-tu dkah-ba, T. c. e.c. Joglekar; akuruta, A; byas, T; adadhata, Böhtlingk, Kern; vyadadhata, Sovani.

87. b. manaśiva, A; yid-kyis sprul-ba (amend to skul-ba?) bzhin-du rnam-par-rgyu bzhin-du (vicaran manaseva . . . ?), T.



CANTO VI

ततो मुह्नर्ताभ्यदिते जगचशुषि भाकारे।
भागवस्याश्रमपदं स ददर्श न्यणां वरः॥१॥
सुप्तविश्वस्तहरिणं खस्यस्थितविहङ्गमम्।
विश्रान्त इव यद्दश्वा कतार्थ इव चाभवत्॥२॥
स विस्मयनिष्टच्यर्थं तपःपूजार्थमेव च।
खां चानुवर्तितां रक्षक्षश्रष्ठादवातरत्॥३॥
श्रवतीर्य च पस्पर्श निस्तीर्णिमिति वाजिनम्।
छन्दकं चाववीत्यीतः खापयन्तिव चक्षुषा॥४॥
इमं ताद्यीपमजवं तुरङ्गमनुगच्छता।
दर्शिता सौम्य मद्गत्तिर्विक्रमश्रायमात्मनः॥५॥
सर्वथास्यन्यकार्योऽपि यद्दीतो भवता हृदि।
भर्वखेदश्र यस्यायमीदृशः शक्तिरेव च॥६॥
श्रक्तिम्थोऽपि समर्थोऽस्ति निःसामर्थोऽपि भक्तिमान्।
भक्तिमांश्रव शक्तश्र दुर्लभस्वद्विधो भवि॥७॥

^{2.} c. yat dṛṣṭvā, A.

^{6.} a. thams-cad-nas...yin (sarvato 'smy?), T. c. bhatro, A. d. e.c.; īdršas sakta eva ca, A; de-hdra-dag-la ñid (īdršesv eva?), T; 'a devoted heart, a capable and diligent body, these two I now begin to see ', C; īdršī šaktir eva ca, Gawroński.

^{7.} b. nihsāmartho pi, A. c. bhaktimāś caiva, A.

BUDDHACABITA



तत्यीतोऽस्मि तवानेन सहाभागेन कर्मणा। यख ते मिय भावोऽयं फलेभ्योऽपि पराङ्मखः ॥ ८॥ को जनस्य फलस्यस्य न स्यादिभमुखो जनः। जनीभवति भूयिष्ठं खजनोऽपि विपर्यये ॥ १ ॥ कुलार्थं धार्यते पुनः पोषार्थं सेव्यते पिता। आशयाच्चिष्यति जगवास्ति निष्कार्णा स्वता ॥ १०॥ किसुका वह संक्षेपाल्त मे सुमहत्ययम्। निवर्तस्वाश्वमादाय संप्राप्तोऽस्नी स्थितं पदम्॥ ११॥ इत्युका स महाबाहुरनुशंसचिकीर्घया। भूषणान्यवसुच्यासी संतप्तमनसे ददी॥ १२॥ मुक्टा ही पकर्माणं मिणमादाय भास्वरम्। ब्रवन्वाक्यमिदं तस्थी सादित्य इव मन्दरः॥ १३॥ अनेन मिणना छन्द प्रण्य बहुशो नृपः। विज्ञाप्योऽमुक्तविश्रमां संतापविनिष्टत्तये॥ १४॥ जन्ममर्णनाशार्थं प्रविष्टोऽस्मि तपोवनम्। न खलु स्वर्गतर्षेण नासेहेन न मन्यना॥ १५॥

8. cd. drśyate mayi bhāvo yas phalebhyo pi parānmukhe, A; gań-zhig khyod-kyi bsam-pa hdi hbras-bu-las kyan gzhan-du phyogs (=text, omitting mayi), T; 'rejecting the profit of world glory, you come after me', and 'you alone follow me, turning your back on profit', C.

10. d. niskāraņāsvatā, Co.

11. b. svamahat, A; chen-legs, T. d. īpsitam vanam, A; hdod-paḥi gnas, T; 'I have now reached the place I sought', C.

12. b. ānṛśaṁsacikīrṣayā, A; rjes-su-bshags-pa byed-ḥdod-pas, T.

13. d. ñi-ma hbigs-byed-la bzhin des (so 'ditya iva mandare!) T.

14. c. °visrambham, A.

15. a. jarāmaraņa°, A ; skye dan hchi-ba, T ; 'birth, old age and death ', C.



तदेवमभिनिष्कान्तं न मां शोचितुमईसि। भूत्वापि हि चिरं श्लेषः कालेन न भविष्यति ॥ १६ ॥ अवी यस्माच विश्वेषस्तस्मान्नोद्याय मे मतिः। विप्रयोगः कथं न स्याद्भयोऽपि स्वजनादिति॥ १७॥ शोकत्यागाय निष्कुान्तं न मां शोचितुमईसि। शोकहेतुषु कामेषु सक्ताः शोच्यास्तु रागिणः॥ १८॥ श्रयं च किल पूर्वेषामस्मानं निश्चयः स्थिरः। इति दायाद्यभूतेन न शोच्योऽस्मि पथा वजन् ॥ १८ ॥ भवन्ति ह्यर्थदायादाः प्रवस्य विपर्यये। पृथियां धर्मदायादाः द्र्लभास्तु न सन्ति वा ॥ २० ॥ यदिप स्यादसमये यातो वनमसाविति। श्रकालो नास्ति धर्मस्य जीविते चञ्चले सति॥ २१॥ तस्मादद्यैव मे श्रेयश्वेतव्यमिति निश्चयः। जीविते को हि विश्वस्थो मृत्यौ प्रत्यर्थिनि स्थिते ॥ २२ ॥ एवमादि त्वया सौम्य विज्ञायो वस्धाधिपः। प्रयतेषास्तथा चैव यथा मां न सारेदपि॥ २३॥

17. c. viprayoga, A. cd. syāt bhūyo, A. d. e.c.; svajanādibhiḥ, A; raṅ-gi skye-bo-las (svajanāt), T.

^{18.} d. socyā'stu, A.

^{19.} b. asmāka, A. nes-par gnas (niścayaḥ sthitaḥ), T; 'firmly resolved',
C. c. dāyāda', A; ster-byar, T; 'I now have inherited', C. d. yathā,
A; lam-gyis, T.

^{20.} c. chos-kyi bdag-po (dharmapatayo?), T.

^{21.} b. vanasamāv iti, A. d. jivite, A.

^{22.} d. hchi-bahi dgra ni (mṛtyupratyarthini?), T.

अपि नैर्गुखमस्माकं वाच्यं नर्पती त्वया। नैर्ग्याच्यज्यते खेदः खेदत्यागाच शोच्यते ॥ २४॥ इति वाकामिदं श्रृत्वा छन्दः संतापविकवः। बाष्ययितया वाचा प्रत्युवाच क्रताञ्जलिः॥ २५॥ अनेन तव भावेन बान्धवायासदायिना। भर्तः सौदित मे चेतो नदीपङ्क इव दिपः ॥ २ई ॥ कस्य नोत्पादयेदाष्यं निश्चयक्तेऽयमीदृशः। अयोमयेऽपि हृदये किं पुनः सेहविक्षवे ॥ २७ ॥ विमानग्रयनाई हि सीकुमार्यमिदं क च। खरदर्भाङ्गरवती तपोवनमही क च॥ २८॥ श्रुत्वा तु व्यवसायं ते यदश्वीऽयं मयाहृतः। बलात्कारेग तनाथ दैवेनैवासि कारितः॥ २८॥ क्यं द्यात्मवशो जानन् व्यवसायमिमं तव। उपानयेयं तुर्गं शोकं कपिलवास्तुनः ॥ ३०॥ तनाईसि महाबाही विहातुं पुचलालसम्। क्षिग्धं वहां च राजानं सहर्मीमव नास्तिकः॥ ३१॥ संवर्धनपरिश्रान्तां दितीयां तां च मातरम्। देवीं नाईसि विसार्तुं क्रतघ इव सिक्रियाम् ॥ ३२ ॥

^{27.} c. ayasmaye (corrected on margin to ayomaye), A.

^{28.} a. gzhal-med khan-gi lam hos-pahi (vimānagamanārham?), T.

^{29.} d. lha-yis... hdra (daiveneva), T; 'a heavenly spirit, appearing, compelled me', C.

^{30.} a. katha, A. jānam, A. d. sokan, A.

^{31.} b. puttra°, A. c. snigdha(?dham?), A.

^{32.} b. dvitīyā, A. c. deva, A; ma de dan lha-mo, T.



बालपुचां ग्णवतीं कुलखाध्यां पतिव्रताम्। देवीमर्डसि न त्यत्तं स्तीवः प्राप्तामिव श्रियम् ॥ ३३ ॥ पुचं याशोधरं स्नाधं यशोधर्ममृतां वरम्। बाजमहीस न त्यत्रं व्यसनीवोत्तमं यशः॥ ३४॥ श्रय वर्थं च राज्यं च त्यक्तमेव कता मितिः। मां नाईसि विभो त्यतुं लत्यादी हि गतिर्मम ॥ ३५ ॥ नासि यातं परं शको दच्चमानेन चेतसा। त्वामर्ग्ये परित्यच्य सुमन्त इव राघवम् ॥ ३६ ॥ किं इ वस्थिति मां राजा त्वहते नगरं गतम्। वक्याम्य्चितद्रिंत्वात्विं तवान्तः पुराणि वा ॥ ३० ॥ यद्धात्यापि नैग्रेखं वाच्यं नर्पताविति। किं तदस्याग्यभूतं ते निर्दोषस्य सुनेरिव ॥ ३८ ॥ हृदयेन सल्जेन जिह्नया सजमानया। ऋहं यद्यपि वा ब्र्यां कस्तच्छ्रदातुमईति ॥ ३८ ॥ यो हि चन्द्रमससीय्यं कथयेक्ट्रहधीत वा। स दोषांस्तव दोषज्ञ कथयेच्छ इधीत वा ॥ ४०॥

^{33.} d. kliba, A.

^{34.} b. varaḥ, A; T ambiguous; 'Yaśodharā's son...who bears the good law', C. d. yasaḥ, A.

^{35.} c. tyaktu, A. d. khyod zhabs-na (tvatpāde?), T.

^{36.} c. tvām āranye, A. d. sumitra, A ; bšes-bzan (=A), T ; 'Sumantra ', C.

^{37.} c. vaksyāmy a(?u?)cita°, A.

^{39.} a. salajyena, A. d. kas tam śrado, A.

^{40.} a. taikṣṇam, A.

सानुकोश्य सततं नित्यं करुणवेदिनः।
स्विग्धत्यागो न सहशो निवर्तस्य प्रसीद मे ॥ ४१ ॥
इति शोकामिभृतस्य श्रुला छन्दस्य भाषितम्।
स्वस्यः परमया धृत्या जगाद वदतां वरः॥ ४२ ॥
मदियोगं प्रति च्छन्द संतापस्थज्यतामयम्।
नानाभावो हि नियतं पृथग्जातिषु देहिषु ॥ ४३ ॥
स्वजनं यद्यपि स्वेहान त्यजेयमहं स्वयम्।
स्त्या तृष्ण्या दुःवैर्गर्भेणास्मि यया धृतः।
तस्या निष्णलयत्वायाः काहं मातुः क सा मम ॥ ४५ ॥
वासप्रश्चे समागम्य विगच्छन्ति यथाण्डजाः।
नियतं विप्रयोगान्तस्तथा भृतसमागमः॥ ४६ ॥
समेत्य च यथा भूयो व्यपयान्ति वलाहकाः।
संयोगो विप्रयोगश्च तथा मे प्राण्नां मतः॥ ४० ॥

ग्रन्धेनान्यस्य विश्वेषः किं पुनर्न भविष्यति ॥ ४९ ॥

यसाद्याति च लोकोऽयं विप्रलभ्य परंपरम्।

सइजेन वियुच्यन्ते पर्गरागेण पादपाः।

ममत्वं न समं तस्मात्वप्रभूते समागमे ॥ ४८॥

^{43.} c. nes-pa yin (niyatah?), T.

^{44.} a. svajana, A. gań yań (yad api), T. b. tyajeyam mumuksayā, A; bdag-gis rań ni mi-hdor-te, T; 'even if to-day I did not leave my relations', C. d. asmāt, A.

^{45.} b. ggarbhenāsmi, A. c. nisphala°, A.

^{48.} b. e.c.; parasparam, A; gan-phyir phyir-na (Weller), gan-gis phyir-na (Peking edition), T (=yasmād . . . paramparam?).



तदेवं सित संतापं मा कार्षीः सीम्य गम्यताम्।
लम्बते यदि तु खंहो गत्वापि पुनरावज ॥ ५०॥
ब्रूयाश्वास्मत्कृतापेष्ठं जनं किपलवास्तुनि।
त्यज्यतां तद्गतः खंहः श्रूयतां चास्य निश्चयः॥ ५१॥
त्यज्यतां तद्गतः खंहः श्रूयतां चास्य निश्चयः॥ ५१॥
त्रिप्रमेष्यति वा कत्वा जन्मग्रत्युश्चयं किला।
श्रक्षतार्थो निरारम्भो निधनं यास्यतीति वा॥ ५२॥
दति तस्य प्रचः श्रुत्वा कन्यकस्तुरगोत्तमः।
जिह्नया लिलिहे पादौ वाष्यमुष्णं मुमोच च॥ ५३॥
जालिना स्वस्तिकाञ्चेन चक्रमध्येन पाणिना।
श्राममर्थ कुमारस्तं वभाषे च वयस्यवत्॥ ५४॥
मुख्य कन्यक मा वाष्यं दिश्वतेयं सदश्वता।
स्रष्यतां सफलः शीघं श्रमस्तेऽयं भविष्यति॥ ५५॥।

मिणित्सर्व छन्दकहरूतसंख्यं ततः स धीरो निश्चितं ग्रहीत्वा। कोशादिसं काञ्चनभिक्तिचिचं विचादिवाशीविषमुदवर्षः ॥ ५६ ॥ निष्कास्य तं चोत्पचपचनीचं चिच्छेद चिचं मुक्टं सकेशम्। विकीर्यमाणांश्वकमन्तरीक्षे चिक्षेप चैनं सरसीव इंसम्॥ ५७॥

^{51.} a. brūyāc cāsmāsv anākṣepam, A; kho-bo-cag-la ltos-byas-paḥi... smros, T; 'to those who think attentively on me, you should proclaim', C. b. 'vastuni, A.

^{52.} b. jarāmṛtyu°, A; rga dan hchi-ba (=A), T; 'if I pass over the ocean of birth and death', C. kilah, A.

^{53.} c. lilihe (corrected to lelihe), A.

^{54.} a. jalinā, A.

^{55.} b. darśiteya, A.

^{56.} b. tataḥ kumāro, A; de-nas...brtan-pa des, T. d. āsīrviṣam udbabarhaḥ, A.

^{57.} a. trişkāsya, A. b. makutam, A. c. atarīkse, A.



पुजाभिलावेस च बाहुमान्यादिवीकसस्तं जयहः प्रविद्यम्। यघावदेनं दिवि देवसङ्घा दिव्यैविंग्रेषेर्मह्यां च चक्रः॥ भूट॥ मुक्ता त्वलंकारकलचवत्तां श्रीविप्रवासं शिरसञ्च कत्वा। दृष्टां भुवं काञ्चन इंसचिहं वन्यं स धीरोऽभिचकाङ्क वासः ॥५८॥ ततो सगव्याधवपुर्दिवौका भावं विदित्वास्य विश्वह्वभाकः। काषायवस्त्रोर्जभययौ समीपं तं शाकाराजप्रभवोऽभ्यवाच ॥ ६०॥ शिवं च काषायगृषिध्वजस्ते न युज्यते हिंसमिदं धनुख। तत्सीम्य यद्यस्ति न सित्तरच मह्यं प्रयच्छेदिमिदं यहाण ॥ ६१ ॥ व्याधीं अवीत्कामद काममारादनेन विश्वास्य स्गामिहिना। अर्थस्तु शकोपम यद्यनेन इन्त प्रतीच्छानय शुक्रमेतत्॥ ई२॥ परेण चर्षेण ततः स वन्यं जयाच वासींऽश्वस्त्रसम्ज । व्याधस्तु दिखं वपुरेव विश्वत्तच्छ्क्षमादाय दिवं जगाम ॥ ६३॥ ततः कुमार्श्व स चाश्वगोपस्तिसंस्तथा याति विसिस्तियाते। श्रारण्यके वासिस चैव सूयस्तिस्रिचकाष्टी बहुमानमाश्र ॥ ई४॥ छन्दं ततः साश्रुसुखं विस्टच्य काषायसंग्रह्नतिकीर्तिग्रत्सः। येनात्रमस्तेन ययौ महात्मा संध्यास्रमंतीत इवोड्राजः ॥ ६५ ॥

- 58. a. püjäbhiläsena, A. d. višersai mahayāñ, A.
- 59. c. drstväšukam, A.
- 61. b. himśram, A. c. śaktir, A; chags, T. d. grhānam, A.
- 62. a. hdod-pa sñin-po-las (kāmasārāt), T. b. nihatya, A; gsod-do, T.
- 63. a. mchog-tu rab-tu-dgaḥ-ba-yis (parapraharṣeṇa), T.
- 34. b. tasmin tathā, A. ed. bhūya tasminn, A.
- 65. a. chanda, A. b. e.c.; kāṣāyasamvid dhṛti°, A; brtan ... nursmrig gyon-zhin (kāṣāya ... dhṛti°), T; 'he put on the kāṣāya robe', C. d. ivoḍurājaḥ (corrected in later hand to ivādrirājaḥ), A; skar-maḥi rgyal-pobzhin, T; 'like the orb of the sun or moon surrounded by a dark-red cloud', C.



67

तत्त्वा भर्तर राज्यनिःस्पृहे

तपोवनं याति विवर्णवासित ।

भुजो समुत्सिप्य ततः स वाजिन्धद्वृणं विचुकोण पपात च सितौ ॥ ६६ ॥

विखोक्य भूयस्य र्रोट सस्वरं हयं भुजाभ्यासुपगुद्ध कन्यकम् ।

ततो निराणो विखपन्मुहुर्मुहुर्ययौ ग्ररीरेण पुरं न चेतसा ॥ ६७॥

कचित्यद्ध्यौ विखलाप च कचित्

कचित्यच्खाल पपात च कचित्।

स्रतो वजन् भत्तिवयेन दुःखितस्रचार वह्नीरवसः पिथ क्रियाः ॥ ६८ ॥

रति बुद्धचरिते अहाकाचे छन्दकनिवर्तनो नाम षष्ठः सर्गः ॥ ६ ॥

^{66.} a. °nispṛhe, A. b. virnṇavāsasi (one syllable short), A; mdog ñams snaṅ-ba-na (vivarṇabhāsasi?), T.

^{67.} b. upagrjya, A; ñer-hkhyud-nas, T; 'clasping the white horse's neck', C. c. nirāso, A. d. T omits puram and adds kyan (for punar?); 'he returned along the road', C.

^{68.} c. vrajam, A. d. byas-pa-ho (cakāra?), T.



CANTO VII

ततो विस्च्याश्रमुखं रदन्तं बन्दं वनच्छन्दतया निरास्यः।
सर्वार्थिमिन्नो वपुषाभिभूय तमाश्रमं सिन्न द्रव प्रपेदे ॥ १ ॥
स राजस्तनुर्धगराजगामी स्गाजिरं तन्धृगवत्प्रविष्टः।
लक्ष्मीवियुक्तोऽिप श्रिरलच्च्या चस्त्रंषि सर्वाश्रमिणां जहार ॥ २ ॥
स्थिता हि इस्तस्ययुगास्तयेव कौतूह्रलाचक्रथराः सदाराः।
तिमन्द्रकत्यं दह्मुर्न जग्मुर्धुर्या द्रवार्धावनतैः श्रिरोभिः॥ ३ ॥
विप्राश्च गत्वा बहिरिधाहेतोः प्राप्ताः समित्युष्यपविचहस्ताः।
तपःप्रधानाः कतवुद्धयोऽिप तं द्रष्टुमीयुर्न मठानभीयुः॥ ४ ॥
हृष्टाश्च केका सुमुचुर्मयूरा हृद्धाम्बुदं नीलिमवोद्धमन्तः।
श्रष्याणि हित्वाभिमुखाश्च तस्युर्धगाश्चलास्रा स्गचारिणस्य ॥ ५ ॥
हृद्धा तिमस्त्राकुकुलप्रदीपं ज्वलन्तमुद्धन्तिमवाश्चमन्तम्।
कतेऽिप दोहे जिनतप्रमोदाः प्रमुसुवृहीमदुद्दश्च गावः॥ ६ ॥

^{1.} b. chanda vana°, A. nags-su ḥdun-paḥi dkaḥ-thub (vanacchan-datapā, or °tapo), T.

^{3.} a. lag-na gñaḥ-śin beas-par hgro-gyur (=gatāḥ sahastayugāḥ), T.

^{4.} a. sbyin-sreg bud-śiń (haviridhma°), T. b. me-tog lo-ḥdab thob-paḥi lag-pa gtsaṅ-rnams (= prāptapuspaparṇapavitrahastāḥ), T.

^{5.} b. unnamantam, A; rma-bya-rnams...gyen-du dud-ciń, T; 'the peacocks...rose in the air', C. d. mṛgā calākṣā, A; rgya-skyegs...dan ni ri-dags-rnams (mṛgāś ca lākṣā!), T.

^{6.} d. prasuśruvur, A.



SL

कचिद्दह्नामयम् ष्टमः स्वात्याद्धिनोर्ग्यतर प्रचुतो वा।
उच्चेर्रुचेरिति तच वाचस्तद्द्र्यनादिस्मयजा सुनीनाम्॥ ७॥
खेखर्षभस्येव वपुर्वितीयं धामेव खोकस्य चराचरस्य।
स द्योतयामास वनं दि क्रव्हं यहच्छ्या स्त्र्य द्वावतीर्णः॥ ८॥
ततः स तैराश्रमिभिर्यथावद्भ्यचितश्चोपनिमन्त्रतस्य।
प्रत्यच्यां धर्मस्तो वसूव खरेण साम्भोऽन्वुधरोपमेन॥ ८॥
कौर्णं तथा पुण्यक्षता जनेन स्वर्गाभिकामेन विमोधकामः।
तमाश्रमं सोऽनुचचार धीरस्तपांसि चिचाणि निरीधमाणः॥ १०॥
तपोविकारांश्व निरीध्य सौम्यस्तपोवने तच तपोधनानाम्।
तपस्विनं कंचिद्नुवजन्तं तक्त्वं विजिज्ञासुरिदं बभाषे॥ ११॥
तत्प्रवमद्याश्रमदर्शनं से यस्तादिमं धर्मविधं न जाने।
तस्ताद्भवान्त्रति भाषितुं से यो निश्चयो यत्रति वः प्रवृत्तः॥ १२॥
ततो दिजातिः स तपोविद्यारः शाव्यर्षभायर्षभविक्रमाय।
कमेण तस्त्रै कथ्यांचकार तपोविश्रेषांस्तपसः फलं च॥ १३॥

- 7. a. kaś (corrected to kac)cid vaśūnām, A; yin-nam-ci, T. b. cyuto tra, A; hphos-sam, T. c. uccairur, A.
- 8. a. leşarşabhasyeva, A; lha-yi khyu-mchog, T. cd. kṛsnam yadṛtsayā, A; gan hdod-pa-yis...mthah-dag, T.
- 9. d. e.c.; sāddhombudharo°, A; chu-beas chu-ḥdzin (sāmbho'-mbudharo°, or sāmbvambu°), T.
 - 10. d. nes-par-rnam-gzigs-śiń (nivîkṣamāṇaḥ?), T.
- 11. ab. nirīkṣa saumya tapo°, A ; nes (des, Weller) gsan-nas (nisamya?), T.
- 12. d. ya (corrected in later hand to yam) prati vah pravṛrttiḥ (corrected to °vṛrttaḥ), A; gan-la rab-tu-ḥjug-pa-ḥo, T.
- 13. d. dan ni dkaḥ-thub ḥbras-bu dan beas (satapaḥphalam ca, or phalāms ca?), T; 'and together with the fruits of tapas', C.



SL

अधाग्यमनं सिखले प्रकृष्टं पर्णानि तोयं प्रजमूलनेव।
यथागमं द्वत्तिरियं मुनीनां भिन्नास्तु ते ते तपसां विकल्पाः॥१४॥
उन्होन जीवन्ति खगा दवान्ये तृणानि केचिन्मृगवचरन्ति।
केचिद्रुजङ्गैः सह वर्तयन्ति वल्पीकसृता वनमारुतेन॥१५॥
अध्यप्रयत्नार्जितदृत्त्योऽन्ये केचित्वदन्तापहतान्त्रभद्धाः।
कत्वा परार्थं अपगं तथान्ये कुर्वन्ति कार्यं यदि भ्रेषमस्ति॥१६॥

नेचिञ्चलिन्जरानलापा

दिः पावकं जुद्धित मन्त्रपूर्वम् । मीनैः समं केचिट्पो विगाद्य

वसन्ति क्रमीक्षिवितैः शरीरैः ॥ १७ ॥

एवंविधैः काणचितैस्तपोभिः परैर्दिवं यान्यपरैर्च्छोकम् ।

दुःखेन मार्गेण सुखं द्युपैति सुखं हि धर्मस्य वदन्ति मूजम् ॥ १८ ॥

इत्येवमादि दिपेन्द्रवत्सः श्रुत्वा वचस्तस्य तपोधनस्य ।

श्रदृष्टतन्त्वोऽपि न संतुतोष श्रनैरिदं चात्मगतं बभाषे ॥ १८ ॥

14. a. e.c. Böhtlingk; salilam prarūḍham, A; chu-la rab-skyes-paḥi, T; salilaprarūḍham, Co. b. prarṇṇāni, A.

15. a. uñcena jīvati, A. b. tṛnāni kecit mṛga°, A. d. °bhūtā iva mārutena, A; gyur-pa-rnams nags-na rluń-gis-so, T.

16. a. 'They do not eat what is husked with wood or stone', C. b. ran-gi so-yis ne-bar-blans (svadantopahṛta'), T. c. śrapana, A.

17. d. kūrmmolikhitaiḥ, A; rus-sbal bzhin-du lus-rnams rab-tu-bskum-(skums, Weller)-pa-ḥo (hrasanti kūrmapratimaiḥ śarīraiḥ?), T.

18. a. evamvidhai, A. c. sukham upeti (corrected to sukham kṣu(?a?)-peti, A; bde-ba ñe-bar-thob phyir, T. d. dukham, A; bde-ba, T.

19. d. sanair, A.



दुःखात्मकं नैकविधं तयख स्वर्गप्रधानं तपसः फलं च। खोकाख सर्वे परिखामवन्तः

सब्ये अमः ख्रुव्यमा अमाणाम् ॥ २०॥

प्रियां व व्यक्ति चियां व दित्वा ये स्वर्ग हेतोर्नियमं चर्नित ।

ते विप्रयुक्ताः खलु गन्तुकामा महत्तरं बन्धनमेव भूयः ॥ २१॥

कायक्षमैर्यय तपोऽभिधानैः प्रवृत्तिमाकाङ्कृति कामहेतोः ।

संसारदोषानपरीक्षमाणो दुःखेन सोऽन्विच्छृति दुःखमेव ॥ २२॥

चासय नित्यं मरणात्प्रजानां यत्नेन चेच्छ्नित पुनःप्रसृतिम् ।

सत्यां प्रवृत्तो नियतय खत्युक्तचैव मग्ना यत एव भीताः ॥ २३॥

दहार्थमेके प्रविश्वनित खेदं स्वर्गार्थमन्ये अममाप्रवन्ति ।

सुखार्थमाश्राह्मपणोऽक्ततार्थः पतत्यनर्थे खलु जीवलोकः ॥ २४॥

न खल्वयं गर्हित एव यत्नो यो हीनसुत्सृच्य विश्वषगामी ।

प्राच्चैः समानेन परिश्रमेण कार्ये तु तद्यच पुनर्न कार्यम् ॥ २५॥

श्रीरपीडा तु यदीह धर्मः सुखं श्रीरस्य भवत्यधर्मः ।

धर्मेण चाप्नोति सुखं परच तस्नादधर्मं फलतीह धर्मः ॥ २६॥

^{20.} c. sarvvai, A.

^{21.} a. śriyań ca bandhūn, A; hphais-pa-rnams dan gñen dan, T; 'quitting relations, giving up excellent *viṣayas*', C; 'you give up your loved relations and the joys of the world', FP. d. 'You do not see that in the future you return again to prison' (anāgate bandhanam eva bhūyaḥ?), FP.

^{22.} a. kāyaklamai yas ca, A. b. pravrrttim, A.

^{23.} b. slar-yan rab-tu-ḥjug-par (punaḥpravṛttim), T; 'they seek to undergo birth', C. c. 'Having been born, then they must die' (satyām prasūtau?), C. d. bhītaḥ, A; ḥjigs-pa-rnams, T.

^{24.} c. āśākyapano, A; sred-paḥi bkren-pa, T.

^{25.} d. de hdir (tad atra), T.



यतः शरीरं मनसी वश्रेन प्रवर्तते चापि निवर्तते च। युक्ती दमश्रेतस एव तस्माचित्ताहते काष्ठसमं शरीरम्॥ २०॥

> श्राहारशुद्धा यदि पुर्खामष्टं तस्मान्धृगाणामपि पुर्ख्यमस्ति। ये चापि बाह्याः पुरुषाः फलेभ्यो भाग्यापराधेन पराङ्मुखार्थाः॥ २८॥

दुःखेऽभिसंधिस्वय पुण्यहेतुः सुखेऽपि कार्यो ननु सोऽभिसंधिः। अय प्रमाणं न सुखेऽभिसंधिर्दुःखे प्रमाणं ननु नाभिसंधिः॥ २८॥

तथैव ये कर्मविगुडिहेतोः
स्पृणन्यपस्तीर्थमिति प्रवृत्ताः।
तचापि तोषो हृदि केवलोऽयं
न पाविषयन्ति हि पापमापः॥ ३०॥

स्पृष्टं हि यद्यतुणविद्धरस्मस्तत्तत्पृथिक्यां यदि तीर्थमिष्टम्। तस्मातुणानेव परेमि तीर्थमापस्तु निःसंश्रयमाप एव॥ ३१॥ इति स्म तत्तदहुयुक्तियुक्तं जगाद चास्तं च ययौ विवस्वान्। ततो हिवर्धृमविवर्णेट्छं तपःप्रशान्तं स वनं विवेश्र॥ ३२॥

^{27.} a. vasena, A. b. pravartate vāpi nivartate vā, A; rab-tu-ḥjug-pa dan ni ldog-pa dan-no, T; 'the starting and extinction of bodily action are both', C.

^{28.} b. tasmāt mṛgāṇām, A.

^{30.} c. de-yi sñin-la tshim-pa tsam yin-te (toso hṛdi kevalo 'sya), T.

^{31.} c. guṇāṇ aiva paremi, A; yon-tan-ldan-rnams kho-na (=guṇina eva), T; 'one should honour this virtue', C.

^{32.} b. vivaśvān, A. d. khrus-sar (savanam), T.



GL

अध्युद्धृतप्रज्विताप्रिहोचं संताभिषेकिर्षिजनावकीर्णम्।
जाप्यस्वनाक्कितदेवकोष्ठं धर्मस्य कर्मान्तिमव प्रस्तम्॥ ३३॥ काश्चित्वियारः विशाकराभः परीक्षमाण्य तपांस्युवास। सर्वं परिश्वेष्य तपश्च मत्वा तस्मात्तपःश्चेचतलाज्जगाम॥ ३४॥ अन्ववज्वाश्वमिणस्ततस्तं तद्रूपमाहात्य्यगतैर्मनोभिः। देशादनार्थेरिभिभ्यमानान्महर्षयो धर्मिमवापयान्तम्॥ ३५॥ ततो जटावल्कलचीरखेलांस्तपोधनांश्चेव स तान्ददर्भ। तपांसि चैषामनुरुध्यमानस्तस्थो शिवे श्रीमित दक्षमूले॥ ३६॥ अश्चोपस्त्याश्रमवासिनस्तं मनुष्यवर्थं परिवार्थं तस्यः। ख्वश्च तेषां बहुमानपूर्वं कलेन साम्ना गिरमित्युवाच॥ ३७॥ त्वय्यागते पूर्णं दवाश्रमोऽभूत्संपद्यते श्रन्य दव प्रयाते। तस्मादिमं नाहिस तात हातुं जिजीवियोर्देहिमवेष्टमायुः॥ ३८॥ ब्रह्मार्षिस्रपिनुष्टः पुग्यः समीपे हिमवान् हि श्रीलः। तपांसि तान्येव तपोधनानां यत्संनिकर्षादहुलीभवन्ति॥ ३८॥

^{33.} d. chos-kyi lam-gyi las-kyi mthah (dharmādhvakarmāntam), T.

^{34.} c. dkaḥ-thub thams-cad yons-su-rtogs-śin mkhyen-gyur-nas (sarvam pari . . . ya tapaś ca matvā), T; 'he did not see the real truth in them (i.e. the austerities)', C; parijñāya, or paricchidya, Böhtlingk; parīkṣyātha, Kern; matyā, Cappeller.

^{35.} d. maharsayau, A.

^{36.} a. °cīracelāms, Hultzsch. d. śiń-gi rtsa-ba (vṛkṣamūle), T.

^{37.} a. °vāsinas, A. d. dus-kyi (for kyis?) zhi-bas (kālasya sāmnā, or kālena), T.

^{39.} b. himavām, A. d. yatsamnikaṣād, A.



तौर्यानि पुण्यान्यभितस्तयेव सोपानस्तानि नभस्तस्य ।
जृष्टानि धर्मात्मभिरात्मविद्वदेविधिभयेव महिधिभय ॥ ४० ॥
दत्तय भ्यः सममुत्तरैव दिक्सेवितुं धर्मविग्रेषहेतोः ।
न तु समं दिख्यतो वृधेन पदं भवेदेकमिप प्रयातुम् ॥ ४१ ॥
तपोवनेऽसिन्तय निष्त्र्यो वा संकौर्णधर्मापिततोऽमुचिर्वा ।
दृष्टस्वया येन न ते विवत्सा तद्वृहि यावदुचितोऽस्तु वासः ॥ ४२ ॥
दमे हि वाञ्छन्ति तपःसहायं तपोनिधानप्रतिमं भवन्तम् ।
वासस्त्वया हौन्द्रसमेन साधं वृहस्यतेर्भ्युद्यावहः स्यात् ॥ ४३ ॥
दृत्येवमुक्ते स तपस्विमध्ये तपस्विमुख्येन मनौषिमुखः ।
भवप्रणाणाय कतप्रतिन्नः स्वं भावमन्तर्गतमाचित्रे ॥ ४४ ॥
स्व्यात्मनां धर्मस्तां मुनीनामिष्ठातिथित्वात्वजनोपमानाम् ।
एवंविधैमी प्रति भावजातैः प्रौतिः परा मे जनित्रय मानः ॥ ४५ ॥

- 40. cd. ätmavadbhi re(corrected to de?)varşibhir caiva nṛparṣibhis ca, A; lha-yi dran-sron-rnams dan dran-sron chen-po ni...bdag-nid chen-po-rnams-kyis (mahātmabhir devarṣibhis caiva maharṣibhis ca, or, amending to-bdag-nid ldan-pa, ātmavadbhir), T.
- 41. b. °viseşa°, A. c. na ku(?) kşaman (marginal comment, na tu yuktam), A; T omits tu.
- 42. b. °dharmā patito, Co.; °dharme patito, Gawroński. d. tad bru-(?ū?)hi, A. re-zhig (tāvad), T.
- 43. a. vācchanti, A. d. phur-bu-yi yan mnon-par-mtho-ba hdren-pa (bṛhaspater apy abhyudayāvahah, one syllable in excess), T; bṛhaspater apy udayāvahah, Lüders.
- 44. a. ukte (e marked as wrong), A; de-skad ces smras-te, T; uktaḥ, Böhtlingk. b. manīkhimukhyaḥ, A. d. ran-bzhin (svabhāvam?), T.
- 45. b. svajanopamānam, A; ran-gi skye-bo dan mtshuns-paḥi... thub-pa-rnams, T. d. prītiḥ parā tma (corrected to me, or vice versa?) janitaś ca mārggaḥ, A; bdag-gi dgaḥ-ba mchog dan bkur-ste skyes-par-gyur, T.



GL

विन्धाभिराभिर्हदयंगमाभिः समासतः सात द्रवासि वास्भिः। रतिय ने धर्मनवग्रहस्य विस्पन्दिता संप्रति भूय एव ॥ ४६ ॥ एवं प्रवृत्तान् भवतः शर्खानतीव संदर्शितपश्रपातान्। यास्यामि हिलोति ममापि दुःखं यथैव बन्धंस्यजतस्तथैव ॥ ४७ ॥ स्वर्गाय युष्माकमयं तु धर्मी ममाभिकाषस्वपुनर्भवाय। श्रसिन्वने येन न मे विवत्सा भिनः प्रवत्त्या हि निवृत्तिधर्मः ॥४८॥ तकारतिमें न परापचारी वनादितो येन परिव्रजामि। धर्मे स्थिताः पूर्वयुगानुरूपे सर्वे भवन्तो हि महर्षिकल्पाः ॥ ४८ ॥ ततो वचः स्नन्दतमर्थवच सुश्वक्षमोजस्व च गर्वितं च। श्रुत्वा कुमारस्य तपस्विनक्ते विशेषयुक्तं बहुमानमीयः॥ ५०॥ कश्चिद्विजस्तव तु भस्मणायी प्रांशुः शिखी दारवचीरवासाः। आपिङ्गलाश्चलनुदीर्घघोणः कुग्डैकइस्तो गिर्मित्युवाच ॥ ५१ ॥ धीमनदारः खख निश्चयस्ते यस्वं युवा जन्मनि दष्टदोषः। स्वर्गापवर्गी हि विचार्य सम्यग्यस्यापवर्गे मतिर्स्ति सोऽस्ति ॥ ५२॥ यज्ञीस्तपोभिर्नियमैय तैस्तैः खर्गे यियासन्ति हि रागवन्तः। रागेण सार्धे रिप्रणेव युद्धा मोश्चं परीसन्ति तु सत्त्ववन्तः ॥ ५३॥

^{46.} a. ābhi hṛdayaṁ°, A. c. kun-nas ḥdzin-med chos-can (dharmāna-vagrahasya, against the metre), T.

^{47.} d. bandhūs, A.

^{48.} d. pravrttyau, A.

^{50.} a. sünrtram, A. b. sñin-po dan ldan-pa (garbhitam), T.

^{51.} d. kuṇḍ · k(?v)ahasto girim, A (much rubbed) ; lag-goig spyi-blugs ldan-pas, T.

^{52.} a. rgya-chen blo-ldan-zhin (dhimān udāraḥ), T. niścayas tte, A. b. Tomits yaḥ. c. °varggo, A.

^{53.} b. yiyāsyamti, A.



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तदुिंदिषा यदि निश्चिता ते तूर्णं भवान् गच्छतु विन्थ्यकोष्ठम्।
त्रसी मुनिस्तच वसत्यराडो यो नैष्ठिके श्रेयित जन्मच्छुः॥ ५४॥
तस्माद्भवाञ्छोष्यित तत्त्वमार्गं सत्यां रुची संप्रतिपत्स्यते च।
यया तु पर्यामि मितस्तथेषा तस्यापि यास्यत्यवधूय वृद्धिम्॥५५॥
स्पष्टोच्चियोणं विपुत्तायताश्चं तास्याधरीष्ठं सिततीश्णदंष्ट्रम्।
ददं हि वक्षं तनुरक्तिज्ञःं ज्ञेयार्णवं पास्यित क्रत्समेव॥ ५६॥
गम्भीरता या भवतस्त्वगाधा या दीप्तता यानि च लक्षणानि।
त्राचार्यकं प्राप्यिति तत्पृथिव्यां यन्निष्ठिभः पूर्वयुगेऽप्यवातम्॥५०॥

पर्मिनित ततो चपात्मज-स्तम्हिजनं प्रतिनन्द्य निर्ययौ । विधिवदन्विधाय तेऽपि तं प्रविविश्वराश्रिमिणस्तपोवनम् ॥ ५८॥

इति बुद्धचरिते महाकाचे तपोवनप्रवेशो नाम सप्तमः सर्गः ॥ ७ ॥

54. d. yau ņeşthike śreyasi, A.

55. c. e.c.; matis tavaiṣā, A; blo-gros de de-ltar (matis tathā sā), T. d. yāsyāty, A.

56. a. paştoścaghonam, A; gsal-zhiń mtho-baḥi śańs, T. b. tāmrā-dharauṣṭraṁ, A. d. ḥgro-ba (yāsyati), T; 'you will drink up entirely the jñeya-water', C. kṛtsṇam, A.

57. d. snon-gyi bskal-par dran-sron-gis gan ma-mthon-bahi (=yad rsibhih pūrvayuge na drstam), T; 'what was not obtained by the rsis of old', C.



CANTO VIII

ततस्तुरङ्गावचरः स दुर्मनास्तया वनं भर्तरि निर्ममे गते। चकार यत्नं पिय शोकनियहे तथापि चैवात्रु न तस्य चिक्षिये॥१॥ यमेकराचेण तु भर्तुराज्ञया जगाम मार्गं सह तेन वाजिना। द्रयाय भर्तुर्विरहं विचिन्तयंस्तमेव पन्धानमहोभिरष्टभिः॥ २॥ इयश्च सौजा विचचार कन्धकस्तताम भावेन बसूव निर्मदः। ऋजंकतश्चापि तथैव भूषणैरभूज्ञतश्चीरिव तेन वर्जितः॥ ३॥

निष्टत्य चैवाभिमुखस्तपोवनं
भूगं जिन्हेषे कर्ष्णं मुहुर्मुहुः।
श्रुधान्वितोऽप्यध्वनि श्रष्यमम्बु वा
यथा पुरा नाभिननन्द नाददे॥ ४॥
ततो विहीनं कपिलाह्ययं पुरं महात्मना तेन जगहितात्मना।
क्रमेण तो श्रुन्थमिवोपजगमतुर्दिवाकरेगेव विनाक्षतं नभः॥ ५॥

^{1.} a. durmmaṇās, A. d. cikṣipe, A; khog (for khogs or bkog, Weller wrongly khob), T; 'he kept on weeping ', C.

^{3.} a. e.c.; hayaś ca saujasvi cacāra, A; mgyogs-hgro ñid kyan mdansmed rgyu-ba-ste (hayo 'py anojasvi cacāra), T; 'the good horse rushed on, naturally speedy and majestic in appearance', C; saujā vicacāla, Böhtlingk. b. hthon-pa med-pas (=niḥsārābhāvena or niḥsrtābhāvena), T.

^{4.} d. purā bhinananda (one syllable short), A; ji-ltar snon bzhin mnon-par ma-dgah, T.

^{5.} a. pura, A. ed. °jagmatu divā°, A.



सपुग्डरीकैरिप शोभितं जलैरलंकतं पृष्पधरैर्नगैरिप । तदेव तस्योपवनं वनोपमं गतप्रहर्षेनं रराज नागरैः ॥ ६ ॥ ततो समद्गिर्दिशि दीनमानसैरनुष्वलैर्वाध्यहतेक्षगैर्नरैः । निवार्यमाणाविव तावुभौ पुरं श्रनैरपद्मातमिवाभिजग्मतुः ॥ ७ ॥

निशास्य च सस्तयरीरगामिनी
विनागती शाक्यकुलर्पभेग ती।
मुमोच वाष्यं पिष्ठ नागरी जनः
पुरा रथे दाश्ररथेरिवागते॥ ८॥

त्रयं बुवन्तः ससुपेतमन्यवो जनाः पिष्ठ च्छन्दकमागतात्रवः।
क राजपुचः पुरराष्ट्रनन्दनो हृतस्वयासाविति पृष्ठतोऽन्वयुः॥८॥
ततः स तान् भिक्तमतोऽववीज्जनान्तरेन्द्रपुचं न परित्यजाम्यहम्।
हदन्नहं तेन तु निर्जने वने यहस्यवेशस्व विसर्जिताविति॥१०॥
इदं वचस्तस्य निश्रम्य ते जनाः सुदुष्करं खिल्विति निश्चयं ययुः।
पति जहः सिल्लं न नेचजं मनो निनिन्दुस्व फलोत्यमात्मनः॥११॥

6. b. odharai nnagair, A.

7. a. bhramadbhi disi, A. b. hataikṣaṇair nnarai, A. c. nivāryamā* (?r,?n)āv iva, A. d. ayasnātam (corrected in later hand to aja°), A; log-paḥi khrus, T; 'as if at a funeral', C.

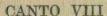
8. a. nišamya, A; mthoń-nas, T; 'seeing', C. b. śākyaḥi rigs-kyi

drań-sroń (śākyakularsiņā), T; °arsabhena, A.

9. b. āgatāsravaḥ, A. d. khyod-kyis gan-du bor (kva. . . hitas (to hi, 'leave') tvayā), T; 'you stole and took him away', C. pṛṣṭhatau, A.

10. ab. bravīt janā narendra°, A.

11. a. niśāmya, A; thos-nas, T. b. vismayam yayuh, Lüders; nes-par son-gyur-la, T; were startled and considered it extraordinary, C; they exclaimed, There are few who would do this, FP. c. hgyel-zhin mig-skyes chu ni rnam-par-hthor-ba-ste (patad vijahruh salilam netrajam), T; they sobbed and they wailed, their tears joining flowed downwards, C. d. phalārtha(?)m ātmanah, A; bdag-ñid-kyis (for kyi) ni hbras-bu lon, T.





अयोच्रचैव विशाम तहनं गतः स यच हिपराजविक्रमः। जिजीविया नास्ति हि तेन नो विना यथेन्द्रियाणां विगमे श्रीरिणाम् ॥ १२ ॥ इदं पुरं तेन विवर्जितं वनं वनं च तत्तेन समन्वतं प्रम । न शोभते तेन हि नी विना पूरं मरुत्वता रचवधे यथा दिवम् ॥ १३॥ पनः कुमारी विनिष्टत्त इत्यथी गवासमालाः प्रतियेदिरेऽक्रनाः । विविक्रप्रष्ठं च निशाभ्य वाजिनं पुनर्गवासाणि पिधाय चुक्र्यः॥ १४॥ प्रविष्टदीश्रस्तु सुतोपलब्धे व्रतेन श्रोकेन च खिन्नमानसः। जजाप देवायतने नराधिपश्रकार तास्ताश्र यथाश्याः क्रियाः॥१५॥ ततः स बाष्पप्रतिपूर्णलोचनस्तुरङ्गमादाय तुरङ्गमानुगः। विवेश शोकाभिहतो खपस्यं युधापिनीते रिपुणेव भर्तरि ॥ १६॥

12. b. gñis-skyes rgyal-poḥi (dvijarāja°), T. d. lus-can dbaṅ-po matshaṅ-rnams-kyi ji-lta-bar (=yathā śarīriṇām vikalendriyāṇām), T.

13. a. vivarjita, A. b. yat tena, Ujjvaladatta on Unādisūtras, i, 156.

c. tena vinādya no, Ujjvaladatta ib.

14. b. pratipedire ngavyah, A. c. niśa (śa mutilated and next syllable lost by tear), A; mthon-gyur-nas, T. d. gavākṣān apidhāya, Prasāda.

15. a. sutopabdhaye (one syllable short), A; sras-po ñer-thob-phyir, T.

d. yathāśrayāḥ, A; bsam-pa ji-ltar, T.

16. a. pratigh(?)ūrnna°, A; rab-tu-gan-ba, T. b. turangamānus(?)ah, A; mgyogs-hgro rjes-su-hgro-ba-ste, T. cd. nṛpakṣayam dhāpinīte (one syllable short), A; gyul-hgyed-pa-na...khyer-ba...mi-skyon khan-par, T.



विगाहमानस्य नरेन्द्रमन्दिरं विलोकयनस्रुवहेन बहुषा।
स्वरेण पृष्टेन हराव कन्यको जनाय दुःखं प्रतिवेदयिवव॥१०॥
ततः खगास्र स्रयमध्यगोत्तराः समीपवडास्तुरगास्र सत्कृताः।
हयस्य तस्य प्रतिसस्वनुः खनं नरेन्द्रस्ननोहपयानस्रिक्षनः॥१८॥
जनास्र हर्षातिस्रयेन विच्चता जनाधिपान्तःपुरसंनिकर्षगाः।
यथा हयः कन्यक एष हेषते भुवं कुमारो विश्वतीति मेनिरे॥१८॥
ऋतिप्रहर्षाद्य सोकमूर्छिताः कुमारसंदर्शनलोललोचनाः।
यहादिनिस्रकसुराश्या स्वियः श्रत्ययोदादिव विद्युतस्रलाः॥२०॥

विसम्बक्तेश्यो मिलनांशुकाम्बरा निरञ्जनैर्बाष्यइतेश्वर्णेर्मुखैः। स्त्रियो न रेजुर्मजया विनाष्ठता दिवीव तारा रजनीश्चयादणाः॥ २१॥

अरक्ततास्रेश्वरणैरनूपुरैरकुण्डलैरार्जवकस्यरैर्मुखैः। स्वभावपौनैर्जधनैरमेखलैरहारयोक्तेर्मुषितैरिव स्तनैः॥ २२॥ निरीक्ष्य ता वाष्पपरीतलोचना निराश्रयं छन्दकमश्वमेव च। विषयवक्ता रुरुदुर्वराङ्गना वनान्तरे गाव दवर्षभोज्भिताः॥ २३॥

- 17. c. bsal-baḥi dbyańs-kyis (svareṇa dīptena?), T; 'wailing terrifically''
 C. d. prativedayamti ca, A; rab-tu-rtogs-hjug bzhin, T.
 - 18. d. e.c. Kern; °śankitāh, A.
 - 19. a. hesātiśayena, Gawroński. cañcitā, A; bslus-paḥi, T.
- 21. a. vilambaveśyo, A; lan-bu rnam-par-hphyan-zhin, T. °kābarā, A. b. hataikṣanair mmuṣty(?ṣny?)aiḥ, A. c. kṛṣṇā vivarṇṇā majayā, A; byidor dan bral bud-med rigs-rnams mdzes ma-gyur, T.
- 22. b. ārjavakarnnikair, A; mgrin-pa dran-po-rnams, T. c. °pīnai jaghanair, A. d. T omits iva. stastaih, A; nu-ma, T.
- 23. a. nirīkṣa tā bāṣpaparīrītalocana, A; mig ni mchi-ma ldan de-rnams-kyis mthon-nas, T. d. nags-mthar (vanānte), T. ivārṣabhojitāḥ, A; khyu-mehog dan bral-ba, T.



ततः सवाष्या महिषी महीपतेः प्रमष्टवत्सा महिषीव वत्सला। प्रयद्ध बाह्र निपपात गौतमी विलोलपर्णा कदलीव काष्यनी॥ २४॥ इतित्वषोऽन्याः श्रियिलांसवाहवः स्त्रियो विषादेन विचेतना दव।

न चुकुशुर्नात्रु जहुर्न शत्रमु-र्न चेलुरामुर्लिखिता दव स्थिताः॥ २५॥

श्रधीरमन्याः पतिशोक्षमूर्छिता विलोचनप्रस्ववर्णेर्मुखैः स्त्रियः । सिविश्विरे प्रोवितचन्दनान् स्तना-न्धराधरः प्रस्रवर्णेरिवोपलान् ॥ २६ ॥

मुखेय तासां नयनाम्बृताडितै रराज तद्राजनिवेशनं तदा।
नवाम्बुकालेऽम्बुददृष्टिताडितैः सवज्जलेस्तामरसैर्यया सरः॥ २०॥
सुदृत्तपीनाङ्गुलिभिर्निरन्तरैरभूषयौर्गूदिसरैर्वराङ्गनाः।
उरांसि जद्युः कमलोपमैः करैः स्वपक्षवैर्वातचला लता दव॥२८॥

^{24.} b. praņastavatsā, A.

^{25.} a. hataḥ(visarga marked as wrong)dviso nyāḥ śithilātmabāhavaḥ, A; dpun-ba lag-pa sñoms-śin gzi-brjid bcom-pa...gzhan-rnams, T. c. cukruśu nāśru, A. cd. śaśva nna celar āsu llikhitā (one syllable short), A; dbugs-med-par gyo-bral ri-mo bris-pa, T.

^{26.} b. °praśravaṇair, A. c. siṣ(?s?)iñcire proṣitacandanā, A; tsan-dan rab-bskus (so Peking, bskud Weller)...rnam-par-ḥthor (vijahrire prokṣitacandanān, or vicakrire from kṛ), T. d. praśravaṇair, A.

^{28.} b. varāngaņāh (corrected to nāh), A.



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करप्रहारप्रचलैश्व ता बसुस्तथापि नार्यः सहितोचतैः स्तनैः। वनानिलाधूर्णितपद्मकम्पिते रथाङ्गनामां मिथुनैरिवापगाः॥२८॥ यथा च वक्षांसि करैरपीडयंस्तथैव वक्षोभिरपीडयन् करान्। श्रकारयंस्तच परस्परं व्यथाः करायवद्यांस्यवला द्यालसाः॥३०॥ तृतस्तु रोषप्रविरक्तलोचना विषादसंविधकषायगद्गदस्। उवाच निश्वासचलत्पयोधरा विगादशोकाश्रधरा यशोधरा॥३१॥

> निश्चि प्रसुप्तामवर्शा विद्याय मां गतः क स च्छन्दक मन्मनीरथः। उपागते च त्वयि कन्यके च मे समं गतेषु चिषु कम्पते मनः॥ ३२॥

अनार्यमिक्यमिनकर्म मे राशंस कत्वा किमिहास रोदिषि। नियच्छ बाष्यं भव तुष्टमानसी न संवदत्यसु च तच कर्म ते ॥३३॥

> प्रियेण वश्येन हितेन साधुन्य त्वया सहायेन यथार्थकारिणा। गतोऽर्थपुनी छपुनर्निष्टत्तये रमख दिख्या सफलः अमस्तव॥ ३४॥

- 29. ab. babhur yathāpi, A; de-lta-na yan ... mdzes-par-gyur, T. d. rathāngaṇāmnā mithuner, A.
 - 30. a. vaksāsi karair apīdayas, A.
- 31. b. e.c. Kern; viṣādasambandha°, A; sems-ḥkhral-gyis sbrel (viṣādasamnaddha°?), T; viṣādasambaddha°, Böhtlingk.
 - 32. a. avasām, A. b. Tomits man. c. tvāyi, A.
- 33. ab. kho-mo...phul-phyun (=me 'tiśāyi?), T. c. So Cowell; nigaccha, A; ma-ḥdon (mā muñca ?), T. d. aśru ru(?cu?) tac ca, A.
- 34. a. priyena, A. d. sems ni dgaḥ-bar gyis (ramasva citte or cittyām), T.



वरं मनुष्यस्य विचक्षणो रिपुर्न मिचमप्राज्ञमयोगपेश्राजम् । सुहृद्वेण द्यविपश्चिता त्वया कृतः कुलस्यास्य महानुपञ्चाः ॥३५॥

इमा हि शोच्या व्यवसुक्तभूषणाः प्रसक्तवाष्पाविलरक्तलोचनाः। स्यितेऽपि पत्यौ हिमवन्त्रहीसमे प्रनष्टशोभा विधवा इव स्वियः॥ ३६॥

इमाश्च विश्वित्तविटङ्गबाहवः प्रसक्तपारावतदीर्घनिखनाः। विनाकतास्त्रेन सहावरीधनिर्धणं रुदन्तीव विमानपङ्गयः॥ ३७॥

> त्रक्रमोऽिय जनस्य सर्वथा तुरक्रमोऽिय भ्रवमेष कम्यकः। जहार सर्वस्वमितस्तथा हि मे जने प्रसुते निश्चि रक्षचौरवत्॥ ३८॥ यदा समर्थः खलु सोहुमागता-निषुप्रहारानिय किं पुनः कश्चाः। गतः कश्चापातभयात्कथं न्ययं श्रियं यहीत्वा हृद्यं च मे समम्॥ ३९॥

^{35.} c. neś-par mdzaḥ-bśes (suhṛddhruveṇa), T; °bruveṇa or °dhruveṇa, A; 'professing to be loyal', C.

^{36.} b. praśaktaspāvila° (one syllable short), A; rab-chags dri-mas (for mchi-mas?) hdres-śiń, T. c. himavatmahī°, A.

^{37.} b. praśakta°, A. c. sahaiva rodhanair, A; pho-brań-hkhor dań bcas, T. d. °paktayah, A.

^{39.} a. mgyogs-hgro hdis ni. . . nus ses-grags-na (=ayam hayah samarthah kila), T. c. kasāyāta°, A. e.c. Kern; kathat katha tv ayam (two syllables in excess, mark against first two), A; yin-nam-ci (katham nu?), T.



जनार्यकर्मा स्थानच हेषते

नरेन्द्रिधिष्यं प्रतिपूरयिक्व ।

यदा तु निर्वाहयित सा से प्रियं

तदा हि मूकस्तुरगाथमोऽभवत् ॥ ४० ॥

यदि ह्यहेषिष्यत बोधयन् जनं

खुरैः सितो वाष्यकरिष्यत ध्वनिम् ।

हनुस्वनं वाजनिष्यदुत्तमं

न चाभविष्यक्षमा द्ःखमीहश्रम् ॥ ४१ ॥

इती इ देखाः परिदेविता अयं निम्नस्य बाष्यप्रियता खरं वचः। अधी सुखः सा अनुकलः छता ज्वलाः भनेरिदं छन्दक उत्तरं जगौ॥४२॥

> विगर्हितुं नार्हिस देवि कन्धकं न चापि रोषं मिय कर्तुमर्हिस । ग्रनागसौ खः समवेहि सर्वशो गतो नृदेवः स हि देवि देववत् ॥ ४३॥

श्रहं हि जानविप राजशासनं बलात्कृतः कैरिप दैवतैरिव। उपानयं तूर्णोमिमं तुरङ्गमं तथान्वगच्छं विगतश्रमोऽध्वनि॥ ४४॥

^{40.} b. yons-su-gan-ba (paripūrayann), T. d. mgyogs-hgro lkug-la than-chad gyur (mūkas turagasramo 'bhavat ?), T.

^{41.} b. khitau, A.

^{42.} a. So Co.; paridevatāśrayan, A. b. niśāmya, A; thos-gyur-nas, T. °grathikṣaram (one syllable short), A. c. T omits kalaḥ; 'gathering his tears', C.

^{43.} a. nāsi devi (one syllable short), A ; lha-mo . . . hos min zhiń, T. c. bkra-śis kun-gyis (sarväśiṣā for sarvaśo ?), T.

^{44.} c. upānaya, A.



वजन्नयं वाजिवरोऽपि नास्प्रश-नाहीं खराग्रैर्विधतीरवान्तरा। तथैव दैवादिव संयताननी इन्खनं नाक्षत नाप्यहेषत ॥ ४५ ॥ यतो बहिर्गच्छति पार्थिवात्मजे तदाभवहारमपारतं खयम्। तमञ्ज नैप्रां रविशोव पाटितं ततोऽपि दैवो विधिरेष यद्यताम् ॥ ४ई ॥ यदप्रमत्तोऽपि नरेन्द्रशासना-हुई पुरे चैव सहस्रशो जनः। तदा स नानुधात निद्रया हत-स्ततोऽपि दैवो विधिरेष यद्यताम्॥ ४९॥ यत्र वासी वनवाससंसतं निस्चष्टमस्मे समये दिवीवसा। दिवि प्रविद्धं मुकुटं च तड्तां ततोऽपि देवो विधिरेष राह्यताम् ॥ ४८ ॥ तदेवमावां नरदेवि दोषतो न तत्ययातं प्रति गन्तुमर्हिस । न कामकारो मम नास्य वाजिनः कतानुयाचः स हि दैवतैर्गतः॥ ४८॥

^{46.} a. yadā bahir gacchati pārthivātmajas, A ; gan-las sa-skyon bdag-nīd skyes-pa gśegs-pa-na, T.

^{47.} Not in C. b. grhai purai, A.

^{48.} Not in C.

^{49.} b. tatprayātemm, A.



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इति प्रयाणं बहुदेवमद्भुतं निश्रम्य तास्तस्य महात्मनः स्त्रियः। प्रनष्टशोका इव विसायं ययुर्मनोज्वरं प्रवजनानु लेभिरे ॥ ५०॥

विषाद्पारिश्ववलीचना ततः

प्रनष्ट्योता कुररीव दुःखिता। विद्याय धैर्यं विरुराव गौतमी तताम चैवाश्रुमुखी जगाद च॥ ५१॥ महोर्मिमन्तो खदवोऽसिताः श्रुभाः

पृथक्षृथङ्गूलरुहाः समुद्रताः। प्रवेरितास्ते सुवि तस्य मूर्धजा नरेन्द्रमौलीपरिवेष्टनश्चमाः॥ ५२॥

प्रलम्बबाहुर्न्दगराजविक्रमो महर्षभाक्षः कनकोञ्चलद्युतिः। विश्वालविक्षा घनदुन्दुभिखनस्तथाविधोऽप्यात्रमवासमर्हति॥५३॥

श्रभागिनी नूनिमयं वसुंधरा तमार्यकर्माणमनुत्तमं पतिम्। गतस्ततोऽसी गुणवान् हि ताहणो न्टपः प्रजाभाग्यगुणैः प्रस्त्यते॥ ५४॥

- 50. a. bahudhevam adbhutam, A; lha-yi mtshar man, T. d. pravrajanärt tu, A. yid-la ḥbar-ba (manojvalam), T.
 - 51. b. pranapta(corrected to sta?)potā, A. c. gotamī, A.
 - 52. b. prthak müla°, A. d. °pariveştyamakşamah, A.
 - 53. b. mahaşabhākşaḥ, A. c. °dundubhisvanās, A.
- 54. Not in T. a. abhāge(? gi ?)nī, A. c. tātas tato, A; gatas tato, Co.'s MSS. gunavā hi, A.



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सुजातजाखावतताङ्गुली खदू

निगृदगुल्फी विसपुष्यकोमली।
वनान्तभूमिं कठिनां कथं न ती
सचक्रमध्यी चरणी गमिष्यतः॥ ५५॥
विमानपृष्ठे प्रयनासनीचितं
महाईवस्त्रागुरुचन्दनार्चितम्।
कथं न प्रीतोष्णजलागमेषु तच्छरीरमोजस्ति वने भविष्यति॥ ५६॥

कुलेन सच्चेन बलेन वर्चसा श्रुतेन लक्ष्या वयसा च गर्वितः। प्रदातुमेवाभ्युचितो न याचितुं कथं स भिक्षां परतश्चरिष्यति ॥५७॥ युचौ श्रयित्वा श्रयने हिर्ग्मये प्रवोध्यमानो निश्चि तूर्यनिखनैः। कथं बत खप्यति सोऽद्य मे ब्रतौ पटैकदेशान्तरिते महीत्रे ॥५८॥

> इमं प्रलापं कर्षां निश्रस्य ता भुजैः परिष्ठच्य परस्यरं स्त्रियः। विलोचनेभ्यः सिल्लानि तत्यजु-मधूनि पुष्पेभ्य इवेरिता लताः॥ ५८॥

^{55.} b. e.c.; vişapuşpa°, A; padmaḥi rtsa-ba ltar ḥjam (bisapadmako-malau), T. c. dran-sron-rnams-kyi nags-mthaḥi sa-la (vanāntabhūmim vaninām²), T.

^{56.} b. candanāccitam, A; tsan-dan spras-śiń, T. c. °oṣṇajālā°, A. d. skor (bhramiṣyati), T.

^{57.} c. e.e. Böhtlingk; abhyudito, A; mnon-hons-pa (=abhyudito, but read hos, abhyucito?), T; 'he ought to give, there is nothing for him to ask for', C.

^{58.} b. °niśvanaih, A.



ततो धरायामपतद्यशोधरा विचकवाकेव रयाङ्गसाद्वया। श्रामैख तत्तदिललाप विकवा मुहुर्मुहुर्गद्गद्वया गिरा॥ ६०॥

स मामनाथां सहधर्मचारिणीमपास्य धर्म यदि कर्तृमिच्छति ।
कुतोऽस्य धर्मः सहधर्मचारिणीं
विना तपो यः परिभोक्तृमिच्छति ॥ ६१ ॥
श्रणोति नृनं स न पूर्वपार्थिवासहासुदर्भप्रस्तीन् पितामहान् ।
वनानि पत्नीसहितानुपेयुषस्तथा हि धर्म महते चिकीर्षति ॥ ६२ ॥
मखेषु वा वेदविधानसंख्तती
न दंपती पश्चित दीक्षितावुभौ ।
समं बुसुसू परतोऽपि तत्फलं
ततोऽस्य जातो मिंय धर्ममत्मरः ॥ ६३ ॥

ध्रुवं स जानकाम धर्मवल्लभो मनः प्रियेष्यांकलहं सुहर्मिषः। सुखं विभीर्मामपद्याय रोषणां महेन्द्रलोकेऽप्सरसो जिष्टश्चति॥ई॥

^{60.} c. T omits śanaih. d. T omits ruddhayā. gadgaya(corrected to da?)ruddhayā girāh, A.

^{61.} a. anāthā, A. d. viņā, A.

^{62.} a. A omits na, leaving gap; ma-thos, T. d. e.c.; A omits hi; de-ltar ltos (tathā nu?), T; tathā sa, Co.; tataḥ sa, Gawroński.

^{63.} b. sa dampati, Lüders. c. e.c. Cowell; parito pi, A; gzhan-du (paratra, omitting api), T; 'in the hereafter', C.

^{64.} b. priyeşyākalaham mahur, A; sdug dan phan-tshun phrag-dogcin yan-yan rtsod-par, T; priye 'py ākalaham muhur, Co.



दयं तु चिन्ता मम कीहरां नु ता
वपुर्गुणं विश्वति तच योषितः।
वने यद्यं स तपांसि तप्यते
श्रियं च हित्वा मम भिक्तमेव च ॥ ई५ ॥
न खिल्वयं स्वर्गसुखाय मे स्पृहा
न तज्जनस्यात्मवतोऽपि दुर्लभम्।
स तु प्रियो मामिह वा परच वा
कथं न जन्नादिति ने मनोरथः॥ ईई॥
त्रभागिनी यद्यहमायतेष्ठ्यणं
गुचिस्मितं भर्तुरदीश्चितुं सुखम्।
न मन्दभाग्योऽईति राहुलोऽप्ययं
कदाचिदक्षे परिवर्तितं पितुः॥ ई७॥

श्रहो न्द्रशंसं सुकुमारवर्षसः सुदारुणं तस्य मनस्विनी मनः। कलप्रलापं दिषतोऽपि हर्षणं श्रिशुं सुतं यस्यजतीदृशं वत ॥६८॥ ममापि कामं हृद्यं सुदारुणं शिलामयं वाष्ययसोऽपि वा कतम्। श्रनाथवच्छीरहिते सुखोचिते वनं गते भर्तरि यन्न दीर्यते ॥६८॥

^{65.} b. vapuggunam, A. d. bud-med (striyam for śriyam), T.

^{66.} b. durllabhamḥ, A; rñed-par dkaḥ-ba-min (na . . . 'sti durlabham ?), T; hi durlabham, Kern; 'tidurlabham, Böhtlingk. d. jakṣād iti, A; spoń zhes, T.

^{67.} a. abhāgiṇī, A. c. mandabhāgyo hati, A.

^{68.} a. nṛsamsam śukumāra°, A. d. °īdr
śam vataḥ, A ; hdi-ḥdra kye-ma, T.

^{69.} a. samāpi, A; bdag-gi ḥdod-paḥi sems yaṅ (mamāpi kāmahṛda-yaṅ), T. b. ayasā (rewritten ?)pi, A; lcags-las, T.



इतीह देवी पतिशोकमूर्छिता हरोद दध्यो विललाप चासकत्। स्वभावधीरापि हि सा सती शुचा धृतिं न सस्मार चकार नो हियम्॥ ७०॥

त्तस्तथा शोकविकापविक्ववां यशोधरां प्रेक्ष्य वसुंधरागताम् । महारविन्दैरिव दृष्टिताडितैर्सुकैः सवाध्यैर्वनिता विचुकुश्चः ॥७१॥ समाप्तजाष्यः क्रतहोममङ्गलो न्यप्तु देवायतनाहिनिर्ययौ । जनस्य तेनार्तरवेण चाहतश्चचाल वजध्वनिनेव वार्णः ॥ ७२ ॥

निशाम्य च च्छन्दककत्यकावुभी
सुतस्य संश्रुत्य च निश्चयं स्थिरम्।
पपात शोकाभिहतो महीपतिः
शचीपतेर्द्वल द्वोत्सवे ध्वजः॥ ७३॥
ततो मुह्नतं सुतशोक्षमोहितो
जनेन तुच्याभिजनेन धारितः।
निरीक्ष्य दृष्या जलपूर्णया ह्यं
महीतलस्थो विललाप पार्थिवः॥ ७४॥
बह्ननि कत्वा समरे प्रियाणि मे
महत्त्वया कन्यक विप्रियं कतम्।
गुणप्रियो येन वने स मे प्रियः
प्रियोऽपि सन्नप्रियवत्प्रवेरितः॥ ७५॥

^{70.} c. sucā, A.

^{71.} cd. °tāditau mukhais m(?)abāşpair, A.

^{72.} c. janasya, A. cd. cāhatah cacāla, A.

^{73.} d. śacipate vrtta, A.

^{74.} a. muhūrtta, A.



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तदद्य मां वा नय तच यच स वज द्रतं वा पुनरेनमानय। ऋते हि तस्मान्मम नास्ति जीवितं विगाढरोगस्य सदीषधादिव ॥ ७६ ॥ सुवर्णिनिषीविनि सत्यना हते सुद्ष्वारं यद्म ममार संजयः। अहं पुनर्धर्मरती सुते गते मुमुख्रात्मानमनात्मवानिव ॥ ७७ ॥ विभोर्दग्रस्नकतः प्रजापतेः परापरज्ञस्य विवस्वदात्मनः। प्रियेण पुनेण सता विनासतं क्यं न मुद्धोडि मनी मनीर्पि ॥ ७८ ॥ अजस्य राज्ञलनयाय धीमते नराधिपायेन्द्रसखाय मे स्पृहा। गते वनं यस्तनये दिवं गती न मोघवाच्यः क्रपणं जिजीव ह ॥ ७१ ॥

^{76.} b. vrajan drutam, Lüders. punar evam, A; der (for de?) ni slar-yan, T; 'do you take me quickly and go to him; if not (=or), go and come back with him', C; punar enam, Böhtlingk. d. vigāḍharogamya sadoṣadhād, A.

^{77.} a. kṛte, A; phrogs-par gyur-pa-na, T. b. sṛmjayaḥ, Co. cd. gate 'mumukṣur, Co.; bdag-ñid thar-ḥdod, T; 'killing myself, will cause my body not to be', C.

^{78.} d. yid mi-bde byas yid-kyi rmońs-pa gań-las min (kṛtaṁ kathaṁ na muhyed vimano mano, omitting manor api), T.

^{79.} a. rājnas punayāya, A; rgyal-po ajaḥi sras-po, T. d. kṛpanam, A.



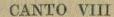
प्रचक्ष मे भद्र तदाश्रमाजिएं हतस्त्वया यच स मे जलाञ्जलिः। इमे परीपान्ति हि तं पिपासवी ममासवः प्रेतगतिं वियासवः ॥८०॥ इति तनयवियोगजातदःखः शितिसदृशं सद्दर्ज विद्याय धैर्यम्। दशरय इव रामशोकवश्यो वह विललाप रूपो विसंज्ञकल्यः ॥ ८१ ॥ श्रुतविनयग्णान्वितस्ततस्तं मतिसचिवः प्रवयाः प्रोहितश्च। समध्तमिदमूचतुर्यथाव-न च परितन्नमुखी न चाष्यशोकी ॥ ८२ ॥ त्यज नरवर शोकमेहि धैयें कुष्टतिरिवार्हिस धीर नाश्रु मोक्रुम्। सजिमव खदितामपास्य लक्ष्मीं भुवि बहवो न्या वनान्यतीयः ॥ ८३॥ अपि च नियत एव तस्य भावः स्मर वचनं तहषेः प्रशसितस्य। न हि स दिवि न चक्रवर्तिराज्ये क्षणमपि वासयितं सुखेन शकाः ॥ ८४ ॥

^{80.} a. °ājira, A. c. parīpsanti hi ta, A; de-la... yons-hdod-de, T. d. pretagati, A.

^{81.} a. °duḥkham, A; sdug-bsnal skyes-gyur-te, T. b. dhaiyam, A. d. visajnakalpah, A.

^{82.} b. pravayā, A. c. First two syllables uncertain, A; mñam-par bzhag, T; 'without either slowness or urgency', C; avadhṛta', Co.

^{83.} a. A omits vara; mi-mchog, T. e. śrajam, A. laksmī, A.





यदि तु रुवर कार्य एव यत्नस्विरितमुदाहर यावदव यावः। बहुविधिमिह युद्धमस्तु तावत्तव तनयस्य विषेश्व तस्य ॥ ८५॥ नरपतिर्य तो श्रशास तस्माहुतमित एव युवामभिप्रयातम्। न हि मम हृदयं प्रयाति शान्तिं वनशकुनेरिव पुचलाखसस्य॥८६॥

परमिति नरेन्द्रशासनात्ती
ययतुरमात्यपुरोहितौ वनं तत्।
क्रतमिति सवधूजनः सदारो
न्टपतिरपि प्रचकार शेषकार्यम् ॥ ८७॥

द्ति बुद्धचरिते महाकाचेऽन्तःपुरविकाषो नामाष्टमः सर्गः ॥ ८ ॥

^{85.} a. kārya eşa, Speyer.

^{86.} a. narapatir api, A; de-nas...mi-bdag-gis, T. b. nes-par hdi-nas (dhruvam ita), T. c. prāyānti, A; dgah-bar rab-tu-son (prayāti harṣam ?), T. 87. c. savadhūjanasyadāro, A.





CANTO IX

ततस्तदा मिन्वपुरोहितो तो बाष्पप्रतोदाभिहती न्हपेण।
विद्वी सदश्वाविव सर्वयत्नात्मीहार्दशीघं ययतुर्वनं तत्॥१॥
तमाश्रमं जातपरिश्रमी तावुपेत्य काले सहशानुयाची।
राजर्डिमुत्मृच्य विनीतचेष्टावुपेयतुर्भार्गविधिष्ण्यमेव॥२॥
तो न्यायतस्तं प्रतिपूच्य विप्रं तेनाचितौ ताविप चानुरूपम्।
कतासनी भार्गवमासनस्यं किच्चा कथामूचतुरात्मकत्यम्॥३॥
श्रुडीजसः श्रुडविशालकीर्तेरिखाकुरंश्रप्रभवस्य राजः।
इमं जनं वेनु भवानधीतं श्रुतग्रहे मन्वपरिग्रहे च॥४॥
तस्येन्द्रकल्पस्य जयन्तकल्यः पुचो जराम्हत्युभयं तितीर्षः।
इसाम्युपेतः किच तस्य हेतोरावामुपेतौ भगवानवेतु॥५॥
तौ सोऽववीदस्ति स दीर्घवाहः प्राप्तः कुमारो न तु नावबुद्धः।
धर्मोऽयमावर्तक इत्यवेत्य यातस्वराडाभिमुखो मुमुशः॥ ई॥

- 1. a. manti°, A. b. nrpena, A.
- 3. a. tshul bzhin (nyāyavat), T. vipra, A.
- 4. c. e.c.; adhīram, A; nag-por (for bdag-por?), T; adhīnam, Kern. d. śruṣru(? sru?)grahe, A; śruta rab-tu-hdzin, T.
 - 5. c. kali, A; grags, T.
- 6. d. arājābhimukho, A; mnon-par gdon-phyogs ma-yin...skyen-par gśegs (yātas tvarānabhimukho), T; "he has gone to Arāḍa', C.





तस्मात्ततस्मावुपलभ्य तन्तं तं विप्रमामन्त्य तदैव सद्यः।

खिनाविखनाविव राजभन्न्या प्रसस्तुस्तेन यतः स यातः॥ ०॥

यान्तौ ततस्तौ खजया विद्यौनमपश्चतां तं वपुषोज्ज्वलन्तम्।

उपोपविष्टं पिष्ट दृष्टमुले स्वर्थं घनाभोगिमव प्रविष्टम्॥ ८॥

यानं विद्यायोपययौ ततस्तं पुरोहितो मन्त्रधरेण सार्धम्।

यथा वनस्यं सहवामदेवो रामं दिदृष्टुर्मुनिरौर्वश्रेयः॥ ८॥

तावर्चयामासतुरईतस्तं दिवीव शुक्राङ्गिरसौ महेन्द्रः॥१०॥

सत्त्राय्यामास स चाईतस्तौ दिवीव शुक्राङ्गिरसौ महेन्द्रः॥१०॥

सत्ताय्यव्यामास स चाईतस्तौ विषेदतुः शाक्यकुलध्यकस्य।

विरेजतुस्तस्य च संनिकर्षे पुनर्वस्य योगगताविवेन्दोः॥ ११॥

तं दृश्चमूलस्यमभिज्वलन्तं पुरोहितो राजसुतं वभाषे।

यथोपविष्टं दिवि पारिजाते दृहस्यतिः शक्रसुतं जयन्तम्॥ १२॥

तच्छोकश्रस्थे हृदयावगाढे मोइं गतो सूमितस्ते सुहर्तम्।

कुमार राजा नयनाम्बवर्षी यन्त्वामवोचन्तदिदं निवोध॥ १३॥

^{7.} b. āmatryam, A. c. iva rājabha (gap for missing letter), A; rgyalpo-la gus-pas, T. d. yattaḥ sa yātaḥ, A.

^{8.} b. vapuṣā jvalantam, A ; sku-lus rab-tu-ḥbar-ba, T. c. e.c. Windisch ; nṛpopaviṣtam, A ; ñe-bar-zhugs-pa, T. d. sūrya, A.

^{9.} a. °opaye(corrected to ya)yo, A. d. aurvaseyaḥ, A.

^{10.} b. śukrāmgirisau, A. d. dīvīva śukrāmgirisau, A.

^{11.} a. kṛtābhyanujñav abhita tatas, A. b. niṣīdatuḥ, A.

^{12.} a. ta vṛkṣa°, A. b. rājasuta, A. c. pārajātau, A ; yoṅs-ḥdus-dag, la, T.

^{13.} b. rmons-sin brgyal-bar gyur-pa-ste (mohan gato mumūrcha?)-T; 'bewildered and distracted, he lay on the dirty ground', C.





जानामि धर्म प्रति निश्चयं ते परैमि ते भाविनमेतमर्थम्।
त्रहं त्वकाले वनसंत्रयात्ते शोकाग्निनाग्निप्रतिनेन दस्ते॥ १४॥
तदेहि धर्मप्रिय मित्ययार्थं धर्मार्थमेव त्यज बुडिमेताम्।
त्रयं हि मा शोकर्यः प्रष्टे नदौर्यः कुलिमवाभिहन्ति॥१५॥
नेधाम्बुकसाद्रिषु या हि दृत्तिः समीरणार्काग्निमहाश्मीनाम्।
तां दृत्तिमस्मासु करोति शोको विकर्षणोच्छोषणदाहमेदैः॥१६॥
तद्गुङ्ख तावदसुधाधिपत्यं काले वनं यास्यित शास्त्रदृष्टे।
त्रानष्टवस्थौ कुरु मय्यपेक्षां सर्वेषु सृतेषु द्या हि धर्मः॥१०॥
न चैष धर्मो वन एव सिद्धः पुरेऽपि सिद्धिनियता यतीनाम्।
बुडिश्च यत्नश्च निमित्तमच वनं च लिङ्गं च हि भीरुचिष्टम्॥१८॥
मौलीधरैरंसविधक्तहारैः केयूरविष्टस्भुजैनेरेन्द्रेः।
चन्ध्यक्कमध्ये परिवर्तमानैः प्राप्तो स्टक्ष्येर्पि मोक्षधर्मः॥ १८॥
भवानुजौ यौ बिलवजवाह्न वैस्राजमाघादमश्चान्तिदेवम्।
विदेहराजं जनकं तथैव * द दमं सेनजितस्य राज्ञः॥ २०॥

- 14. b. te vāvinam etam, A ; khyod-kyi ḥbyun-baḥi ḥgyur-baḥi don, T (omitting etam).
- 16. abc. only partially legible in A from vṛttiḥ to karoti; Co.'s text agrees with T.
- 17. ab. °patya kāme, A; dus-su, T. c. aniṣṭabandho kuru mapy apye-(? pyā ?)kṣām, A; mi-ḥdod gñen-ḥdun kho-bo-la ni ltos-par mdzod, T. d. Illegible in A; Co.'s text agrees with T.
 - 18. d. linga, A.
- 19. a. amśaviśaktahāraiḥ, A. c. phun-tshogs yan-lag dbus-na (lakṣ-myangamadhye), T. d. thar-paḥi lam (mokṣamārgaḥ), T.
- 20. For C and FP see notes in translation. a. dhruvājau (one syllable short), A; brtan-paḥi nu-bo, T. vadr(?)abāhū, A; rdo-rjeḥi lag-pa, T. d. yāṅge(?gi?)druma, A; ḥgro daṅ ljon-śin can (...drumaṁ), T.



एतान् यहस्थानृपतीनवेहि नैःश्रेयसे धर्मविधी विनीतान्। उभौऽपि तस्माद्युगपद्गजस्व वित्ताधिपत्यं च न्टपश्चियं च ॥ २१ ॥ इच्छामि हि त्वामुपगुद्ध गाढं छताभिषेत्रं सिललाईमेव। धतातपत्रं समुदीस्थमाणात्तेनैव हर्षेण वनं प्रवेष्टुम् ॥ २२ ॥ इत्यत्रवीद्गमिपतिभीवन्तं वाक्येन बाष्यप्रधितास्चरेण। स्रुत्वा भवानर्हति तिस्वयार्थं सेहेन तत्सेहमनुप्रयातुम् ॥ २३ ॥

शोकास्मिति त्वस्त्रभवे द्यगाधे दुःखार्थवे मज्जिति शाकाराजः। तस्मात्तमुत्तारय नायहीनं

निराश्रयं मग्नमिवार्णवे नीः॥ २८॥
भीष्मेण गङ्गोदरसंभवेन रामेण रामेण च भागविण।
श्रुत्वा छतं कर्म पितुः प्रियार्थं पितुस्त्वमप्यर्द्धस कर्तृमिष्टम्॥२५॥
संवर्धयिचीं समवेहि देवीमगरूथजुष्टां दिश्रमप्रयाताम्।
प्रनष्टवत्सामिव वत्सलां गामजसमातीं कर्रणं रदन्तीम्॥ २६॥
इंसेन इंसीमिव विप्रयुक्तां त्यक्तां गजेनेव वने करेणुम्।
श्रातीं सनाथामिप नाथहीनां चातुं वधूमईसि दर्शनेन॥ २०॥

21. a. grhasthā nr°, A. c. ubho pi tasmāt yugapat bhajasva, A. d. cittādhipatyam, Co.

23. a. bhūmipati bhavantam, A.

24. a. tvam(?)prabhavai(?), A. c. T separates nātha hīnam; 'without a saviour, with nothing to rely on', C. d. ivārnnave gauh, A; gru bzhin-du, T; 'you should be the captain of the ship', C.

25. a. gangodac(?r?)abh(?nd?)āmbhavena, A; chu-bo gangāḥi lto-nas

byun-ba, T. c. pitu, A.

26. a. ca samehi, A; mkhyen-par mdzod, T. d. ārttām ka (rest torn out), A; ñam-thag sñiń-rjer nu-ba-mo, T.

27. a. First two syllables torn out in A; nan-pa, T. b. vane (marked above to show error) karenum(?)h, A.



एकं सुतं बालमनईदुःखं संतापमन्तर्गतसुदद्दन्तम्।
तं राहुलं मोश्चय बस्धुशोकाद्राह्मपसर्गादिव पूर्णदन्द्रम्॥ २८॥
शोकाधिना त्विदिरहेन्थनेन निःश्वासधूमेन तमःशिखेन।
त्वहर्शनाम्बिच्छिति दद्धमानमन्तःपुरं चैव पुरं च क्रत्सम्॥ २८॥
स बोधिसच्वः परिपूर्णसच्वः श्रुत्वा वचस्तस्य पुरोद्दितस्य।
ध्यात्वा सुह्नतं गुणवहुणद्यः प्रत्युत्तरं प्रश्रितमित्युवाच॥ ३०॥
अवैमि भावं तनये पितृणां
विश्रेषतो यो मयि भूमिपस्य।
जानद्विप व्याधिजराविपद्यो
भीतस्त्वगत्या स्वजनं त्यजामि॥ ३१॥

द्रष्टुं प्रियं कः खजनं हि नेच्छेनान्ते यदि स्यात्प्रियविप्रयोगः। यदा तु भूत्वापि चिरं वियोगस्ततो गुरं सिम्धमपि त्यजामि ॥३२॥ महेतुकं यत्तु नराधिपस्य शोकं भवानाह न तित्रयं मे। यत्वप्रभूतेषु समागमेषु संतय्यते भाविनि विप्रयोगे ॥ ३३॥

28. bc. samtāpas(?m?)antaḥ (tear covering seven syllables) rāhulam, A; kun-nas gduń-ba mthar-gyur-pa ni ḥdren-pa-ste...sgra-gcan ḥdzin de (=text, but antagatam for antar), T.

29. cd. tvaddarśśanā (tear covering one syllable)cchati dahyamā (tear covering three syllables) puram, A; pho-bran-btsun-moḥi hkhor...tshig-pa dag ni khyed-la lta-baḥi chu hdod-do, T. d. kṛṣnam, A.

30. c. yon-tan-ldan-zhin yon-tan ses-pas (guṇavān guṇajñaḥ), T;

'answered properly and modestly', C.

31. a. tanayam (tear covering three syllables), A; pha-rnams-kyi ni bu-la, T. b. mapi bhūmipaśya, A. c. °jarāvidbhyo (one syllable short), A; rga dan rgud-pa-las, T. d. hjigs-te nags-su phyin-nas (=bhīto vanam gatvā), T.

32. b. nāsti yadi syāt, A; mthar ni gal-te...yin-na, T. c. bhutvāpa (?pi?, then tear covering three syllables) yogas, A; yun-rin gyur kyan mampar-hbral-ba-ste (bhūto 'pi ciram viyogas ?), T. d. guru, A.

33. b. bhavān āha na priyam (one syllable short), A; khyod-kyis smras

des bdag-la dgah-ba med, T.



GL

यवं च ते निश्चयमेतु बुर्डिह्या विचिचं जगतः प्रचारम्।
संतापहेतुर्न स्तो न बन्धुरज्ञाननैमित्तिक एव तापः॥ ३४॥
यथाध्वगानामिह संगतानां काले वियोगो नियतः प्रजानाम्।
प्राज्ञो जनः को न भनेत शोकं बन्धुप्रतिज्ञातजनैविहीनः॥ ३५॥
इहैति हित्वा स्वजनं परच प्रलभ्य चेहापि पुनः प्रयाति।
गत्वापि तचाध्यपरच गच्छत्येवं जने त्यागिनि कोऽनुरोधः॥ ३६॥
यदा च गर्भात्यस्ति प्रवृत्तः सर्वास्ववस्थासु वधाय स्त्युः।
कस्मादकाले वनसंश्रयं मे पुचिप्रयस्तचभवानवोचत्॥ ३०॥
भवत्यकालो विषयाभिपत्तो कालस्तयेवार्थविधौ प्रदिष्टः।
कालो जगत्कर्षति सर्वकालाविविह्वे श्रेयिस नास्ति कालः॥३८॥
राज्यं मुमुद्युर्भीय यच राजा तद्य्युदारं सहशं पितुश्च।
प्रतिश्रहीतुं सम न श्रमं तु लोभादपथ्याचिमवातुरस्य॥ ३८॥

34. b. vici(tear covering three syllables)taḥ pracāram, A; ḥgro-baḥi spyod-pa rnam-pa-sna-tshogs, T. c. °hetu na suto na bundhur, A. d. ḥchin-ba de...mtshan-ma-ñid (°naimittika eṣa bandhaḥ?), T; 'that which produces the grief of separation', C; eva tāpaḥ, Gawroński.

35. a. yadādhvagānām iva, A; lam-du hgro-rnams hdir ni...ji-lta-baḥi, T. c. bhajetya (t added later to original ya), A. d. bandhu (tear covering seven syllables) hīnaḥ, A; gñen-ḥdun dam-ḥchaḥ skye-bos rnam-par-

dman-pa-yi, T.

36. cd. gatvāpi tarāpy aparatra gacchety evam jano yogini, A; der son-nas kyan pha-rol gzhan-du hgro-hgyur-la de-ltar hdor-ldan skye-la (=text,

omitting one api), T.

37. ab. °prabhṛti pra (tear covering seven syllables) su vadhāya, A; gnas-skabs thams-cad-du...rab-tu-gnas-pa-ste, T. c. akālam, Cappeller;

T ambiguous.

38. b. A omits la; de-bzhin nor-gyi cho-gar zhugs dus yin-no (kālas tathāsty arthavidhau pravisṭaḥ?), T. d. arcc(?vv?)āhake śreyasi sarvva-kālaḥ; A; dge-legs nes-par-thob-pa dus yod-ma-yin-no, T; 'in the dharma that takes away death there is no time', C.

39. a. yac ca rāgha, A; gan yan rgyal-po, T.



कयं नु मोहायतनं न्यप्तं क्षमं प्रपत्तं विदुषा नरेण।
सोदेगता यच मदः अमय परापचारेण च धर्मपौडा ॥ ४० ॥
जाम्बूनदं हम्धीमव प्रदीतं विषेण संयुक्तिमवोत्तमान्मम् ।
ग्राह्माकुलं चाम्बिव सार्विन्दं राज्यं हि रम्यं व्यसनात्रयं च ॥४१॥
द्रस्यं च राज्यं न सुखं न धर्मः पूर्वे यथा जातष्टणा नरेन्द्राः।
वयःप्रकर्षेऽपरिहार्यदुःखे राज्यानि सुक्ता वनमेव जग्मः॥ ४२ ॥
वरं हि भुक्तानि तृणान्यरण्ये तोषं परं रक्तिमवोपगृद्धा।
सहोषितं श्रीसुलभैर्न चैव दोषैरदृष्ट्येरिव कृष्णसर्पः॥ ४३ ॥
श्राद्यं हि राज्यानि विहाय राज्ञां धर्माभिलाषेण वनं प्रवेष्ट्रम्।
भग्नप्रतिज्ञस्य न तूपपन्नं वनं परित्यज्य यहं प्रवेष्ट्रम् ॥ ४४ ॥
जातः कुले को हि नरः ससन्त्यो धर्माभिलाषेण वनं प्रविष्टः।
काषायमुत्सृज्य विसुक्तलज्जः पुरन्दरस्यापि पुरं श्रयेत ॥ ४५ ॥
लोभाहि मोहादयवा भयेन यो वान्तमन्नं पुनराददीत।
लोभात्स मोहादयवा भयेन संत्यज्य कामान् पुनराददीत ॥४६॥

40. a. nṛpe(?a?)tvam, A.

41. ab. pradīpta vise samyuktam (one syllable short), A. c. ca sthiv-(?r?)a s(?m?)ārabindam, A; padma-dan-beas chu lta-bu, T. d. rgyal-srid dan ni gser-dag (rājyam hiranyam?), T; rammyam, A; 'kingship is very pleasant', FP.

42. a. dharmma, A. b. tathā, A; ji-ltar, T. c. A reads avagraha and T omits it. d. rgyal-srid nes-par-dor-nas (rājyam nimuktvā l), T.

43. b. toşam ka(corrected to va, dha or ga)rau ratnam, A; rin-chen bzhin-du tshim-pa mchog, T.

44. a. rāṣṭ(corrected to jñ)ām, A. b. vaṇam, A. cd. e.c. Gawroński; nanūyapannam vana, A; ḥthad-pa ma-yin-no (nāsty upapannam?), T.

45. b. vanam, A.

46. a. sred dan rnam-par-rmons (lobhād vimohād), T. d. satyajya, A.



GL

यश्च प्रदीताच्छरणात्मश्रं चिनिष्कुम्य सूद्यः प्रविशेत्तदेव।
गाईस्थमुत्सृच्य स दृष्टदोषो मोद्देन सूर्योऽभिन्नषेद्रहीतुम्॥ ४०॥
या च श्रुतिमोक्षमवाप्तवन्तो न्द्रपा यहस्या दृति नैतदस्ति।
शमप्रधानः क च मोक्षधमी दग्डप्रधानः क च राजधमः॥ ४८॥

शने रितिश्वेच्छिष्टिखं च राज्यं राज्ये मितिश्वेच्छमविश्ववश्व । शमश्च तैश्व्यां च हि नोपपन्नं श्रीतोष्ण्योरैक्यमिवोदकारन्योः ॥ ४८ ॥

तिवश्वयाद्वा वसुधाधिपास्ते राज्यानि मुक्ता श्रममाप्तवन्तः।
राज्याङ्गिता वा निम्हतेन्द्रियत्वादनैष्ठिके मोश्रक्तताभिमानाः॥५०॥
तेषां च राज्येऽस्तु श्रमो यथावत्याप्तो वनं नाहमनिश्चयेन।
क्रित्ता हि पाशं यहवन्धुसंग्तं मुक्तः पुनर्न प्रविविश्वरिक्ता॥५१॥
दत्यात्मविज्ञानगुणानुरूपं मुक्तस्पृहं हेतुमदूर्जितं च।
श्रुत्वा नरेन्द्रात्मजमुक्तवन्तं प्रत्युक्तरं मन्त्रधरोऽप्युवाच॥५२॥

47. c. gārhastham, A. A adds after this verse, T after verse 49, the following spurious verse, which is not in C:—

Vahneś ca toyasya ca nāsti samdhih śathasya satyasya ca nāsti samdhih | Āryasya pāpasya ca nāsti samdhih śamasya daṇḍasya ca nāsti samdhih ||

A reads śāmasya in d.

49. b. chamaviśiplavaś ca (mark against śi to cut it out), A. c. samaś ca, A.

50. b. samav āptavantaḥ, A; zhi-ba thob-pa-can, T. c. e.c.; rājyād-mitā, A; rgyal-srid-dag-la sñen-nas (=rajyāny āśritya, or rājyāśrayād), T. d. °kṛtābhidhānāḥ, A; mnon-paḥi na-rgyal byas (so Peking edition), T.

51. b. vana moham (corrected in same hand to vanan nāham), A; bdag ni nags-tshal (=text omitting na), T. c. °samjña, A.

52. c. uktavantas, A.





यो निश्वयो धर्मविधौ तवायं नायं न युक्तो न तु कालयुक्तः। शोकाय दत्ता पितरं वयःस्यं स्याद्यमेकामस्य हि ते न धर्मः॥ ५३॥

नृनं च बुिक्तव नातिस्या धर्मार्थकामेष्वविचस्रणा वा।

हेतोर दृष्टस्य फलस्य यस्तं प्रत्यक्षमर्थं परिभूय यासि ॥ ५४ ॥

पुनर्भवोऽस्तीति च केचिदा हुर्नास्तीति केचित्त्रयतप्रतिज्ञाः।

एवं यदा संग्रायितोऽयमर्थस्तस्मात्स्रमं भोक्तुमुपस्थिता श्रीः॥ ५५ ॥

भूयः प्रवृत्तिर्यदि काचिदिस्ति रंखामहे तच यथोपपत्ती।

श्रय प्रवृत्तिर्यदि काचिदिस्ति रंखामहे तच यथोपपत्ती।

श्रय प्रवृत्तिः परतो न काचित्सिहोऽप्रयत्नाज्ञगतोऽस्य मोसः॥ ५६॥

श्रमीति केचित्परलोकमा हुर्मोद्यस्य योगं न तु वर्णयन्ति।

श्रमीयथा ह्योष्णयमपां द्रवत्वं तहत्प्रवृत्ती प्रकृतिं वदन्ति॥ ५०॥

केचित्वस्मावादिति वर्णयन्ति श्रमाश्रमं चैव भवाभवी च।

स्वाभाविकं सर्वमिदं च यसादतोऽपि मोघो भवति प्रयत्नः॥ ५८॥

यदिन्द्रियाणां नियतः प्रचारः प्रियाप्रियत्वं विषयेषु चैव।

संयुच्यते यज्ञर्यातिभिश्व कस्तच यत्नो ननु स स्वभावः॥ ५८॥

^{53.} a. mantradharo tavāyam, A; chos-kyi cho-gar (so Peking edition cho-gas Weller)...khyod-kyi hdi, T. b. T omits na tu (but read min for yin?).

^{54.} a. buddhih tava nātiśūkṣmā, A. cd. yas tva pratyakṣam artha, A,

^{55.} a. kecid āhuḥ, A. b. °pratijňaḥ, A. c. śamsayito, A.

^{56.} b. rasyāmahe, A. yathopapatti, Böhtlingk.

^{57.} c. hy osnām apā, A. d. prakṛttim vadanti, A; pravṛttim prakṛter, Gawroński.



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श्रिक्षंताशः श्रममश्रुपैति तेजांसि चापो गमयन्ति शोषम्।
भिनानि भूतानि श्रीरसंखान्यैक्यं च गत्वा जगदुदद्दन्ति ॥६०॥
यत्पाणिपादोदरपृष्ठमूश्रां निर्वर्तते गर्भगतस्य भावः।
यदात्मनस्तस्य च तेन योगः स्वाभाविकं तत्कथयन्ति तज्ज्ञाः ॥६१॥
कः कण्डकस्य प्रकरोति तैष्ट्यां विचिचभावं खगपिष्टिणां वा।
स्वभावतः सर्वमिदं प्रदृत्तं न कामकारोऽस्ति कुतः प्रयत्नः ॥ ६२॥
सर्गं वदन्तीश्वरतस्तथान्ये तच प्रयत्ने पुरुषस्य कोऽर्थः।
य एव हेतुर्जगतः प्रदृत्तौ हेतुर्निष्टत्तौ नियतः स एव॥ ६३॥
केविद्ददन्यात्मनिमित्तमेव प्रादुर्भवं चैव भवक्षयं च।
प्रादुर्भवं तु प्रवदन्त्ययत्नाद्यत्नेन मोक्षाधिगमं ब्रवन्ति ॥ ६४॥

नरः पितृणामन्द्रणः प्रजाभि-वेदैक्षिणां क्रतुभिः सुराणाम् । उत्पद्यते सार्धम्हणैस्त्रिभिस्तै-र्यखास्ति मोक्षः किस्त तस्य मोक्षः ॥ ६५ ॥

^{60.} b. tejāśi, A. e.c. Cowell; śamayanti, A; skems-par byed-pa-ste (=soṣayanti), T; 'fire makes water dry up', C. c. śarīrasasthāny, A, d. e.c. Gawroński; aikyañ ca datvā, A; geig-ñid gyur-nas (=aikyaṁ bhūtvā), T; 'by their natures uniting, they make all creatures', C.

^{61.} a. °mūrddhnā, A and Co.; mgo-rnams-kyi (=°mūrdhnām, Weller amends to kyis=°mūrdhnā), T.

^{62.} c. pravrtta, A.

^{63.} b. rab-tu-hjug-pa-la (pravṛttau), T; 'what room is there then for effort?', C.

^{64.} b. ceva, A.

^{65.} a. prajābhiḥ, A. b. surāṇā, A. d. yaktāsyāsti (ktā cut out by mark), A.



इत्येवमेतेन विधिक्रमेण मोश्चं सयत्वस्य वद्नि तज्ज्ञाः। प्रयत्ववन्तोऽपि हि विक्रमेण मुमुश्चवः खेदमवाप्नुवन्ति ॥ ६६ ॥ तत्सोम्य मोश्चे यदि भित्तरित्त न्यायेन सेवस्व विधिं यथोक्तम्। एवं भविष्यत्युपपत्तिरस्य संतापनाश्च नराधिपस्य ॥ ६७ ॥

> या च प्रवत्ता तव दोषबुद्धि-स्तपोवनेभ्यो भवनं प्रवेष्टुम्। तचापि चिन्ता तव तात मा भूत् पूर्वेऽपि जग्मः खग्रहान्वनेभ्यः॥ ६८॥

तया महीं विप्रकृतामनार्येस्तपोवनादेत्य ररक्ष रामः ॥ ६८ ॥
तथा महीं विप्रकृतामनार्येस्तपोवनादेत्य ररक्ष रामः ॥ ६८ ॥
तथेव शाल्वाधिपतिर्दुमाख्यो वनात्मस्ननुर्नगरं विवेश ।
ब्रह्मार्षभूतश्र मुनर्विसिष्ठाइभ्रे श्रियं सांक्रतिरन्तिदेवः ॥ ७० ॥
एवंविधा धर्मयशःप्रदीता वनानि हित्वा भवनान्यतीयुः ।
तस्मान्न दोषोऽस्ति ग्रहं प्रयातुं तपोवनाह्यमीनिमित्तमेव ॥ ७१ ॥

^{66.} c. prayatnavanto 'nyavidhikramena, Speyer.

^{67.} d. samtāpanāsas, A.

^{68.} a. bhava doşa°, A; khyod-kyi skyon-gyi, T. d. svagṛhān (rubbed and barely legible) vanebhyaḥ, A; ran-gi khan-par (svagṛham ?), T.

^{69.} b. zhugs-gyur-la (viveśa), T. c. mahi, A.

^{70.} a. sālvādhipati drumākṣe, A; do-ba dan beas bdag-poḥi ljon-śin min, T; 'the king of the Śālva country called Druma', C. b. sasunur gg(?)ag(?)ara viveśa (much rubbed), A; bu dan beas-pa gron-du zhugs-pa-ste, T. d. sbyin-sreg dan beas mthah-can lha-yis (sāhutir antidevaḥ), T.

^{71.} a. chos dań grags-par rab-zhugs-pa (dharmayaśaḥpraviṣṭā, or °pra-vṛṭtā), T; °pradīpā, Gawroński. b. bhavanāny an(?t?)tīyuḥ, A; khaṅ-khyim-rnams-su soń-ba-ste, T.



ततो वचस्तस्य निश्रस्य मन्त्रिणः

प्रियं हितं चैव न्टपस्य चक्षुषः।

श्वनुनमव्यस्तमसक्तमदुतं

धृतौ स्थितो राजसुतोऽत्रवीहचः॥ ७२॥

इहास्ति नास्तीति य एव संश्रयः

परस्य वाक्यैर्न ममाच निश्रयः।

श्वतेय तच्चं तपसा श्रमेन च

स्वयं यहीव्यामि यदच निश्रितम्॥ ७३॥

न म श्रमं संश्रयजं हि दर्शनं यहीतुमव्यक्तपरस्पराहतम्।

बुधः पर्प्रत्ययतो हि को वजेज्जनोऽत्थकारेऽत्थ इवान्थदेशिकः॥ ७४॥

श्रहष्टतस्वस्य सतोऽपि किं तु मे

श्रुभाश्रमे संश्रयिते श्रुमे मितः।

हथापि खेदो हि वरं श्रुभात्मनः

सुखं न तन्त्वेऽपि विगर्हितात्मनः॥ ७५॥

- 72. b. byas-paḥi (cakruṣaḥ for cakṣuṣah), T. c. abhūnam, A; dmanmin, T. aśaktam, A; chags-min, T. d. brtan dan gnas-pa-la (dhṛtam sthitam ?), T; 'words that were . . . resolute and peaceful '(dhṛtam sthiram ?), C.
 - 73. c. śamena vā, A; dan ni zhi-bas, T.
- 74. a. kṣamam saśatam hi (one syllable short), A; the-tshom skye-ba-yi lta-ba...nus, T. b. °paramparā°, A; phan-tshun gnod-cin mi-gsal, T; 'handed down over and over again (or, interchangeably)', C. c. buddhaḥ, A; mkhas-paḥi, T. parapratyayate, A.
- 75. b. sanśayite śu(gap for one character) matih, A; the-tshom-na dge blo-gros gyur, T. c. e.c. Lüders; vṛthāpi khedo pi, A; hbras-bu-med byid(?, Weller reads byir and amends to byin, Peking edition has phyir)-la yan (=vṛthā khede'pi?), T; 'it is better to follow the dharma of śubha by tapas than to take pleasure in the practice of aśubha', C.



दमं तु दृष्वागममन्थवस्थितं यदुक्तमाप्तैस्तद्वेहि साध्विति।
प्रहीणदोषत्वमवेहि चाप्ततां प्रहीणदोषो ह्यन्द्रतं न वस्थिति॥७६॥
यहप्रवेशं प्रति यच मे भवानुवाच रामप्रस्तीन्विदर्शनम्।
न ते प्रमाणं न हि धर्मनिश्चयेष्ठलं प्रमाणाय परिस्रतव्रताः॥७७॥
तदेवमध्येव रिवर्महीं पतेदिपि स्थिरत्वं हिमवान् गिरिस्थजेत्।
श्रहष्टतत्वो विषयोन्भुखेन्द्रियः

श्रयेय न त्वेव यहान् पृथम्जनः ॥ ७८॥ श्रहं विश्रेयं ज्वलितं हुताश्रनं न चाक्ततार्थः प्रविश्रयमास्यम् । इति प्रतिज्ञां स चकार् गर्वितो

यथेष्टमुत्याय च निर्ममो ययौ ॥ ७६ ॥ ततः सबाष्यौ सचिवदिजावुभौ निश्चम्य तस्य स्थिरमेव निश्चयम्। विषसावज्ञावनुगम्य दृःखितौ शनैरगत्या पुरमेव जम्मतुः ॥ ८०॥

> तत्से हादय न्टपतेश्व भित्ततस्ती सापेशं प्रतिययतुश्व तस्यतुश्व । दुर्धर्षं रिविमिव दीप्तमात्मभासा तं द्रष्टुं न हि पथि भेकतुर्न मोत्तुम् ॥ ८१ ॥

76. b. avaihi, A. d. vakṣati, A.

77. c. pramāņa, A. b. dper bstan-te (nidarśayan?), T.

78. e. vişayomukhe°, A; yul-la kha-bltas dban-po, T.

79. cd. garvvitā yathaistam, A.

80. d. dal-bus son-nas (=śanair gatvā, for śanair āgatya?), T.

81. c. durddhasam, A; blta-bar dkah-ba (durdarsam), T. d. drastu, A. pathi sekar na (one syllable short), A.





तौ ज्ञातुं पर्मगतेर्गतिं तु तस्य
प्रकाश्वरपुरुषाञ्चुचौन्विधाय।
राजानं प्रियसुतलालसं नु गत्वा
द्रस्यावः कथमिति जग्मतुः कथंचित्॥ ८२॥

इति बुद्धचरिते महाकाचे कुमारान्वेषणो नाम नवमः सर्गः ॥ ८ ॥



CANTO X

स राजवतः पृथुपीनवश्चास्तो हव्यमन्त्राधिकतो विद्याय।
उत्तीर्य गङ्गां प्रचलतरङ्गां श्रीमहृइं राजगृहं जगाम॥१॥
ग्रीलैः सुगृतं च विस्वितं च धृतं च पूतं च ग्रिवेस्तपोदैः।
पञ्चाचलाङ्गं नगरं प्रपेदे ग्रान्तः स्वयंभूरिव नाकपृष्ठम्॥२॥
गाम्भीर्यमोजस्र निग्राम्य तस्य वपुत्र दीतं पुरुषानतीत्य।
विसिस्तिये तच जनस्तदानीं स्थाणुवतस्येव दृषध्वजस्य॥३॥
तं प्रेष्ट्य योऽन्येन ययौ स तस्यौ
यस्तच तस्यौ पिष्ट सोऽन्वगच्छत्।
दुतं ययौ यः स जगाम धीरं
यः कियदास्ते स्म स चोत्पपात॥४॥
कियत्तमानचं जनः कराभ्यां सत्कृत्य किथिच्छिरसा ववन्दे।
सिम्थेन किथिदचसाभ्यनन्दचैनं जगामाप्रतिपृज्य किथित्॥५॥

1. a. °vakṣyās, A. d. dpal daṅ ldan-paḥi rgyal-poḥi khyab-tu (=śrīmad rājagṛhaṁ, read dpal-ldan khaṅ-paḥi ?), T.

2. b. pūtam va sivais, A. d. zhi-bar ran-byun tshans-pa (sāntam svayambhūr?), T.

3. c. viśismiye, A. d. sthānuvratasyaiva, A; de-yi brtul-zhugs brtan-pa bzhin (sthānuvrato 'syeva ?), T; Co. as in text.

4. a. yo nyena yayo, A; gzhan gan ma son (yo 'nyo na yayau), T. b. yaś cātra tasthau pathi yo nvagacchat, A; der ni gan-zhig lam-na gnas de rjes-hgro-zhin, T.

5. a. kaści tam, A. d. naivam, A; kha-cig de-la rab-tu-mchod-nas soń-bar-gyur (=enam jagāma pratipūjya kaścit), T. kaści, A.



तं जिह्नियुः प्रेश्य विचिचवेषाः प्रकीर्णवाचः पिय मीनमीयुः । धर्मस्य साक्षादिव संनिकर्षे न कियदन्यायमितर्वस्व ॥ ६ ॥ अन्यिक्रियाणामिप राजमार्गे स्तीणां न्यणां वा बहुमानपूर्वम् । तं देवकल्पं नरदेवस्तनुं निरीक्षमाणा न ततर्प दृष्टः ॥ ७ ॥ स्वती ललाटं मुखमीक्षणे वा वपुः करौ वा चरणौ गितं वा । यदेव यस्तस्य दृद्र्भ तच तदेव तस्याय बबन्ध चक्षुः ॥ ८ ॥ दृष्ट्वा च सोर्णस्वमायताक्षं ज्वलच्छरीरं युभजालहस्तम् । तं भिक्षुवेषं क्षितिपालनाई संचुक्षुभे राजयहस्य लक्ष्मीः ॥ ६ ॥ श्रेण्योऽय भर्ता मगधाजिरस्य बाह्यादिमानादिपुलं जनौधम् । दृद्र्भ पप्रच्छ च तस्य हेतुं ततस्तमस्मै पुरुषः प्रश्रंम ॥ १० ॥ ज्ञानं परं वा पृथिवीत्रियं वा विप्रैयं उक्तोऽधिगिमधातीति । स एव प्राक्वाधिपतस्तनूजो निरीक्ष्यते प्रविज्ञतो जनेन ॥ ११ ॥

^{6.} a. °veśāḥ, A. b. maum ĩyuḥ (one syllable short), A ; smra-ba med-par son, T. d. nna kaścid, A.

^{7.} a. °kriyānām, A. c. e.c. Kielhorn and Kern; ta devakalpam naradevasūtram, A; lha dan mtshuns-pahi mi-dban sras-po (=tam devakalpam narendrasūnum), T. d. na tarppa(?rmpa, ?rmya) dṛṣṭiḥ (one syllable short), A; mthon-nas...mig dan (? read dag ?) nom-par ma-gyur-to (=nirīkṣya na tatarpa dṛṣṭiḥ), T.

^{8.} a. bhruvo, A. d. Tomits atha.

^{9.} a. e.c.; dṛṣṭā svarṇṇabhruvam (one syllable short), A; smin-ma mdzod-spu dan beas mthon-nas (=dṛṣṭvā sorṇabhruvam), T. b. śubhajala°, A. c. °veśam, A. cd. °pālanārha sameaksubhe, A.

^{10.} d. sasamsa, A ; skyes-bu-rnams-kyis de smras-so (puruṣāḥ śaśamsuḥ), T.

^{11.} b. vipre ya, A; bram-ze-rnams-kyis gan, T. c. sa eva śākṣyā-dhipates, A; de ni ḥdi yin-no, T. d. nirāhyate (??, much rubbed), A; nes-par-mthon-ba-yi, T.



ततः श्रुतायों मनसागतास्यो राजा बभाषे पुरुषं तमेव।
विज्ञायतां क प्रतिगच्छतीत तथेत्यथैनं पुरुषोऽन्यगच्छत् ॥ १२ ॥
श्र बोलचक्षुर्युगमाचद्यौं निष्टत्तवाग्यन्तितमन्दगामी।
चचार भिक्षां स तु भिक्षुवर्यो निधाय गाचाणि चलं च चेतः ॥१३॥
श्रादाय भैक्षं च यथोपपसं ययौ गिरेः प्रस्तवणं विविक्तम्।
न्यायेन तचाभ्यवहृत्य चैननमहीधरं पाण्डवमारुरोह ॥ १४ ॥
तिस्मन्नवौ बोधवनोपगृढे मयूरनाद्प्रतिपृणिकुच्छे।
काषायवासाः स बभौ नृद्धयौ यथोद्यस्योपिर वालस्त्र्यः ॥ १५ ॥
तचैनमालोक्ष स राजमृत्यः श्रेण्याय राज्ञे कथयांचकार।
संश्रुत्य राजा स च बाहुमान्यात्तच प्रतस्ये निम्हतानुयाचः ॥ १६ ॥
स पाण्डवं पाण्डवतुन्यवीर्यः ग्रैनोत्तमं ग्रैनसमानवर्षा।
मौनीधरः सिंहगतिन्दिसंहञ्चलत्सटः सिंह दवारुरोह ॥ १० ॥
ततः स्म तस्योपिर शृङ्गभूतं श्रान्तेन्द्रयं पश्चित बोधसन्तम्।
पर्यद्वमास्थाय विरोचमानं ग्रशाङ्कसुद्यन्तिनवास्रकुच्छात्॥ १८ ॥

- 12. a. °gatārtho, A; yid-kyis chags-śiń zhen-gyur-paḥi, T. c. de ni gan-du son zhes (=sa kva gacchatīti), T. d. nvagacchan, A.
 - 13. d. nes-bsdams-nas (nibadhya ?), T; nivārya, Windisch.
 - 14. b. praśravanam, A. cd. cainam mahidharam, A.
- 15. a. tasmin vanau lodhravanopaga(?ṛ?)dhe, A; rodhraḥi nags-kyis ñe-bar-sbas-paḥi ri-bo der, T; 'on this mountain with its forest of luxuriant trees', FP.
- 16. a. tatraivam, A; der ni de nid...mthon-gyur-nas, T. b. śrainyāya, A.
 - 17. a. °vīrya, A.
- 18. a. e.c.; tana sma tasyopari, A; de-nas de-yi sten-na (tatas tasyopari), T. e. virocamāna, A. d. śaśām udyantam (one syllable short), A; ri-bon-gi mtuhan . . . byun-ba, T.



तं रूपलक्या च शमेन चैव धर्मस्य निर्माणिमवोपविष्टम्। सविसायः प्रश्रयवान्तरेन्द्रः स्वयंभवं शक इवोपतस्ये॥ १८॥ तं न्यायतो न्यायविदां विरष्ठं समेत्य पप्रच्छ च धातुसाम्यम् । स चाष्यवीचत्महश्रेन साम्ना न्हपं मनः खास्यमनामयं च ॥ २०॥ ततः भूची वार्णकर्णनीले भिलातले संनिषसाद राजा। उपोपविष्यानुमत्र तस्य भावं विजिज्ञास्रिदं बभाषे ॥ २१ ॥ प्रीतिः परा मे भवतः कुलेन क्रमागता चैव परीक्षिता च। जाता विवसा स्ववयो यतो मे तसादिदं सेहवचो निवोध॥ २२॥ आदित्यपूर्व विपुलं कुलं ते नवं वयो दीप्तमिदं वपुश्व। कस्मादियं ते सतिरक्रमेण भैद्याक एवाभिरता न राज्ये॥ २३॥ गाचं हि ते लोहितचन्दनाई काषायसंख्रेषमनईमेतत्। इस्तः प्रजापालनयोग्य एव भोतं न चार्चः परदत्तमन्त्रम् ॥ २४॥ तत्सीम्य राज्यं यदि पैतृकं त्वं स्नेहात्पितुर्नेक्हिस विक्रमेण। न च क्रमं मर्घयितुं मतिस्ते भड़न्खार्धमस्मदिषयस्य शीघम ॥ २५ ॥

19. b. nirmānam ivopadistam, A; sprul-ba bzhin-du ñe-bar-bzhugs, T.

20. b. dhātuśāmyam, A; khams mñam gyur-pa, T.

21. b. śilātale' (gap for missing syllable) nisasāda, A; rdo-baḥi log-la...yan-dag-nes-gnas-śin, T. c. nṛpopaviśyā°, A; ñe-sar ñe-bar-bsdad-nas, T.

22. c. yātā vivakṣā sutayā yato me, A; gan-phyir bdag-la ran-gi natshod smra-hdod-pa skyes-te, T.

23. b. vanam vayo, A; na-tshod gsar-pa, T. d. bhaikṣyāka, A.

24. ab. °arhamn kāṣāya°, A.

25. c. kṣamam, A; rim-par, T. d. bhuktvārddham, A; phyed-la lons-spyod mdzod, T.



एवं हि न स्वात्वजनावमर्दः

तास्त्रात्मुह्य प्रण्यं मिय त्वं

सिद्धः सहीया हि सतां समृद्धिः ॥ २६ ॥

श्रय त्विदानीं कुलगर्वितत्वादस्तासु विश्रकागुणा न तेऽस्ति ।

व्यूढान्यनीकानि विगाद्य वाणी
र्मया सहायेन परान् जिगीष ॥ २० ॥

तदुिंद्यम्बान्यत्रां रणीष्य धर्मार्थकामान्विधिवद्वजस्व ।

व्यत्यस्य रागादिह हि विवर्गे प्रत्येह च संश्रमवाप्नुवन्ति ॥ २८ ॥

यो द्यर्थधर्मी परिणीद्य कामः

स्याद्वर्मकामी परिस्य चार्थः ।

कामार्थयोश्रोपरक्षेण धर्म-

स्याज्यः स कत्तो यदि काङ्कितोऽर्थः ॥ २८ ॥ तस्मान्तिवर्गस्य निषेवणेन त्वं रूपमेतत्सफलं कुरुष्व । धर्मार्थकामाधियमं ह्यनूनं न्टणामनूनं पुरुषार्थमाहुः ॥ ३० ॥

- 26. b. śa(ma added in margin)śrayā śrīḥ, A; dpal gan bsnags (bsdags, Peking edition)-pa-ste (equivalent uncertain), T; śamāśrayā, Böhtlingk.
- 27. b. visrambha°, A. c. vyūhāny any(corrected to n)ekāvi vigāhya, A; sde rgyas-rnams ni...rnam-par-dkrugs byas-nas, T. d. parā jigīṣa, A; pha-rol-rnams ni pham-par mdzod, T.
 - 28. a. atrānyataram, A. d. bhramsam, A.
- 29. a. yo hy atra dharmmo, A; gan-zhig don dan chos-la, T. b. dharmmakāmye(?mpe?, corrected to mo), A. c. ñe-bar-zhi-bas (copasamena?), T.
 - 30. a. nisevanena, A.





तिवृष्णली नाईसि कर्तुमिती
योनी भुजी चापविकर्षणाईी।
माश्चातवज्जेतुमिमी हि योग्यी
लोकानिप चीनिह कि पुनर्गाम्॥ ३१॥
स्रेहेन खल्वेतदहं ब्रवीमि नैश्वर्यरागेण न विस्मयेन।
इमं हि हृष्ट्वा तव भिक्षुवेषं जातानुकम्पोऽस्यपि चागताश्रुः॥३२॥
यावख्ववंग्रप्रतिरूप रूपं

न ते जराभ्येत्यभिस्य स्यः। तद्गुङ्ख भिष्टात्रमनाम नामान् नानेऽसि नर्ता प्रियधर्म धर्मम्॥ ३३॥

शकोति जीर्गाः खलु धर्ममातुं कामोपभोगेष्ठगतिर्जरायाः।
श्रात्रश्च यूनः कथ्यन्ति कामान्धध्ययं वित्तं स्थविरस्य धर्मम् ॥३४॥
धर्मस्य चार्थस्य च जीवलोके प्रत्यिधिसृतानि हि योवनानि।
संरक्ष्यमाणान्यपि दुर्घहाणि कामा यतस्तेन पथा हरन्ति॥ ३५॥
वयांक्ति जीर्गानि विमर्भवन्ति धीराण्यवस्थानपरायणानि।
श्राल्पेन यह्नेन श्रमात्मकानि भवन्त्यगत्यैव च लज्जया च॥ ३६॥

^{31.} a. nisphalo, A. cd. yogyo lokān ahi trīn ihi kim pur (gap for missing syllable) ggām, A; hjig-rten gsum-rnams kyan . . . hos-pa yin-na sa hdir smosci-dgos, T.

^{32.} c. °veśam, A.

^{33.} A transposes the two lines; T as in text. c. bhukṣva bhikṣyāśrama°,
A. d. priyadharmma dharmma, A.

^{34.} cd. kāmām madhyasya, A. d. dharmma, A.

^{35.} d. tena yathā haranti, A; lam de-las (read la?) hphrogs-par-byed (tena pathā hriyante?), T; svena pathā, Windisch.

^{36.} a. vimarşayanti, A; rnam-dpyod ldan-pa-ste, T. d. agatyeva, A; son-ba ma-yin phyir, T.

CONTROL OF THE PROPERTY OF THE

श्रतश्र लोलं विषयप्रधानं प्रमत्तमश्चान्तमदीर्घदिशि ।
बहुक्तं योवनमभ्यतीत्य निस्तीर्य कान्तार्गिवाश्वसन्ति ॥ ३० ॥
तस्नादधीरं चपलप्रमादि नवं वयस्तावदिदं व्यपैतु ।
कामस्य पूर्वं हि वयः श्ररव्यं न श्रव्यते रिश्चतुमिन्द्रियेभ्यः ॥ ३८ ॥
श्रयो चिकीर्घा तव धर्म एव यजस्व यन्नं कुलधर्म एषः ।
यन्नैरिधष्ठाय हि नाकपृष्ठं ययो मरुत्वानिप नाकपृष्ठम् ॥ ३८ ॥
सुवर्णकेयूर्विद्ष्टबाह्वो मणिप्रदीपोञ्चलचित्रमौलयः ।
न्यपर्वयस्तां हि गतिं गता मखेः श्रमेण यामेव महर्षयो ययुः ॥४०॥

द्रत्येवं मगधपतिर्वचो वभाषे यः सम्यग्वलभिद्वि ब्रुवन् वभासे। तच्छुत्वा न स विचचाल राजस्नतुः कैलासो गिरिरिव नैकचिचसानुः॥ ४१॥

इति बुद्धचरिते महाकाच्छेऽश्रघोषकते श्रेष्णाभिगमनो नाम दशमः सर्गः ॥ १०॥

38. b. vyapetu, A.

^{39.} c. yajñer, A. 'You should mount the back of the spiritual nāga' (nāgapṛṣṭhaṁ), C.

^{40.} a. rnam-par-beińs-paḥi phyag-rnams (°vibaddhabāhavo?), T.

^{41.} a. A omits vaco; magadha-yi bdag-pos tshig smras-pa, T. b. dhruvam babhāṣe, A; smra-ba yaṅ-dag mdzes, T.



CANTO XI

श्रविमुक्तो मगधाधिपेन सुहृत्मुखेन प्रतिक्क्रसमर्थम्।
स्वस्थोऽविकारः कुलभौचमुद्धः शोद्घोदनिर्वाव्यमिदं जगाद॥१॥
नाश्चर्यमेतद्भवतो विधानं जातस्य हर्यद्वकुले विशाले।
यिनाचपश्चे तव मिचकाम स्यादृत्तिरेषा परिमुद्धहर्तः॥२॥
श्रमतसु मैची सकुलानुहत्ता न तिष्ठति श्रीरिव विक्षवेषु।
पूर्वेः कृतां प्रीतिपरंपराभिस्तामेव सन्तस्तु विवर्धयन्ति॥३॥

ये चार्थक्रक्रेषु भवन्ति लोके समानकार्याः सुहृदां मनुष्याः। मिचाणि तानीति परैमि बुद्धा

ख्यस्य दिविधित्व को हि न स्यात्॥ ४॥ एवं च ये द्रव्यमवाप्य लोके मिन्नेषु धर्मे च नियोजयन्ति। अवातसाराणि धनानि तेषां स्रष्टानि नान्ते जनयन्ति तापम्॥५॥ सुहृत्तया चार्यतया च राजन् खल्लेष यो मां प्रति निश्चयत्ते। अचानुनेष्यामि सुहृत्तयैव ब्रूयामहं नोत्तरमन्यद्व॥ ६॥

1. b. sukṛnmukhena, A; bśes-kyi sgo-nas, T. c. kulaśoca°, A.

3. a. svakulānurūpā, A; ran rigs rjes-su-spyod-pas, T.

5. c. aptasārāṇi (one syllable short), A; sñin-po thob-pa-ste, T.

a. bhavato bhidhātu, A; khyod-kyi cho-ga, T; bhavato 'bhidhānam,
 Böhtlingk. d. pariśuddhavṛttaḥ, A; yons-su-dag-paḥi spyod-pas, T.

^{6.} b. e.c.; vihāya prāg eva ti niścayas te, A; khyod-kyi nes-pa ganzhig bdag-la dmigs-pa hdi (=text, omitting khalu), T.



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श्रहं जरामृत्युभयं विदित्वा मुमुख्या धर्मिममं प्रपतः। बन्धून् प्रियानश्रुमुखान्विहाय प्रागेव कामानश्रुभस्य हेतून्॥७॥ नाशीविषेभ्यो हि तथा विभेनि नैवाश्रिनभ्यो गगनाच्युतेभ्यः। न पावकेभ्योऽनिलसंहितेभ्यो यथा भयं मे विषयेभ्य एव॥ ८॥

> कामा ह्यनित्याः कुश्लार्थचौरा रिकाय मायासहशाय जोके। याशास्त्रमाना अपि मोहयन्ति चित्तं चर्णां किं पुनरात्मसंस्थाः॥ १॥॥

कामीभिसूता हि न यान्ति शर्म चिपष्टिप किं वत मर्त्यंचोके।
कामैः सतृष्णस्य हि नास्ति तृप्तिर्ययेश्वनैर्वातसखस्य वहेः॥ १०॥
जगत्यनर्थो न समोऽस्ति कामैमीं हाच तेष्ठेव जनः प्रसक्तः।
तच्चं विदित्ववमनर्थभीकः प्राचः स्वयं कोऽभिल्षेदनर्थम्॥ ११॥
समुद्रवस्त्रामपि गामवाष्य पारं जिगीषन्ति महार्गावस्य।
लोकस्य कामैनं वितृप्तिरस्ति पतिद्वर्रकोभिरिवार्णवस्य॥ १२॥
देवेन वृष्टेऽपि हिर्ण्यवर्षे दीपान्समग्रांश्वतुरोऽपि जित्वा।
शक्तस्य चार्थासनमध्यवाष्य मान्धातुरासीदिषयेषतृप्तिः॥ १३॥
भृक्तापि राज्यं दिवि देवतानां शतकतौ वृचभयात्यन्षे।
दर्णाब्यहर्षीनपि वाह्यित्वा कामेष्ठतृप्तो नहुषः पपात॥ १४॥

^{8.} a. bibhaimi, A.

^{11.} ab. kāmaih mohāc, A. b. praśaktah, A.

^{12.} c. na hi trptir, Lüders; T indeterminate.

^{13.} b. lons-spyod-de (bhuñjan for jitvā ?), T. d. āśid, A.

^{14.} b. pranaste, A. d. naghusah prapāta, A.



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रेडश्व राजा चिदिवं विगाह्य नीत्वापि देवीं वशमुवंशीं ताम्। लीभाद्यविश्यः कनकं जिहीर्षुर्जगाम नाशं विषयेष्ठतः॥ १५॥ बलेर्महेन्द्रं नहुषं महेन्द्रादिन्द्रं पुनर्ये नहुषादुपेयुः। खर्गे श्विती वा विषयेषु तेषु को विश्वसेद्वाग्यकुलाकुलेषु॥ १६॥

> चीराम्बरा मूलफलाम्बुभक्षा जटा वहन्तोऽपि भुजङ्गदीर्घाः। यैर्नान्यकार्या मुनयोऽपि भग्नाः

कः कामसंज्ञान्धृगयेत श्रचृत् ॥ १७ ॥
उग्रायुधयोग्रधतायुधोऽपि येषां कते सृत्युमवाप भीष्मात् ।
चिन्तापि तेषामश्चिता वधाय सदृत्तिनां किं पुनरवतानाम् ॥१८॥
श्रास्त्रादमन्त्रं विषयेषु मत्वा संयोजनीत्कर्षमतृतिमेव ।
सङ्ग्रास्त्र गर्नो नियतं च पापं कः कामसंज्ञं विषमाददीत ॥ १८ ॥
कृष्यादिभिः कर्मभिरदितानां कामात्मकानां च निश्मय दुःखम् ।
खार्थ्यं च कामेष्रकृतुह्लानां कामान्विहातं श्रममात्मविद्धः ॥२०॥

^{15.} a. edas ca, A. cd. jihirşu jagāma, A.

^{16.} a. naghuṣa, A. b. naghuṣād, A.

^{17.} c. yair anyakāryā, A; gan-gis don gzhan ma-yin, T; 'peaceful and seeking nothing', C; 'seeking for mokṣa by separation from the desires', FP.

^{18.} a. ugrāsudhas, A. b. bhīsmāt, A. d. e.c.; tadvṛttinām kim pur avratānām (one syllable short), A; spyod-rnams-kyi hjoms-phyir de-phyir brtul-zhugs rnams-kyi smos-ci-dgos (==vṛttīnām vadhāya tat kim punar vratānām), T; tadvṛttitā, Windisch.

^{19.} a. āśvādam, A; mya-nan (for myoń-ba?), T. b. samyojanāt-karṣam, A. c. garhā, A.

^{20.} a. kṛṣyādibhir ddharmmabhir anvitānām, A; zhin-gi las-la sogs-parnams-kyis ñam-thag-cin, T; 'every difficult means of livelihood', C.



ज्ञेया विपत्कामिनि कामसंपत्सिडेषु कामेषु मदं छुपैति। मदादकार्य कुरुते न कार्य येन सतो दुर्गतिमभ्युपैति ॥ २१ ॥ यत्नेन स्थाः परिरक्षितास्र ये विप्रसभ्य प्रतियान्ति भूयः। तेषात्मवान्याचितकोपमेषु कामेषु विद्वानि ह को रमेत ॥ २२ ॥ अन्विध चादाय च जाततर्घा यानत्यजन्तः परियान्ति दःखम्। लोके तृशोल्कासहश्रेष् तेषु कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात्॥ २३॥ अनात्मवन्तो हृदि यैर्विदशा विनाशमर्छन्ति न यान्ति शर्म। क्डोयसर्पप्रतिमेषु तेषु कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात्॥ २४॥ अस्यि स्धार्ता इव सार्भेया भुक्तापि यान्तेव भवन्ति तृप्ताः। जीर्गास्थिकङ्कालसमेष तेष कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात्॥ २५॥ ये राजचौरोदकपावकेभ्यः साधारणत्वाज्ञनयन्ति दःखम्।

21. d. kṣate, A; zad-cin, T.

तेषु प्रविद्यामिषसंनिभेषु

22. a. pariraksitas, A. d. vidvān ihi, A; hdi-na mkhas-pa, T.

कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात्॥ २६॥

^{24.~}c. kruddhograśarppa°, A ; kun-nas hkhros-pahi sbrul (samkruddhasarpa°), T.



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यच स्थितानामिति विपत्तिः श्रचोः सकाशादिप बान्धवेभ्यः। हिंसेषु तेषायतनोपमेषु कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्थात्॥ २०॥

> गिरौ वने चासु च सागरे च यान् संश्रमर्कन्ति विसङ्घानाः। तेषु दुमग्रायपनोपमेषु

कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात्॥ २८॥
तीत्रैः प्रयत्नैविविधेरवाप्ताः ऋग्रेन ये नामिष्ठ प्रयान्ति।
स्वप्नोपभोगप्रतिमेषु तेषु कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात्॥ २८॥
यानर्जयत्वापि न यान्ति मर्म विवर्धयित्वा परिपालयित्वा।
यज्ञारकर्षृप्रतिमेषु तेषु कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात्॥ ३०॥
विनाममीयुः कुरवो यद्धं वृष्णयन्थका मेखलदण्डकाय।
स्वनासिकाष्ठप्रतिमेषु तेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात्॥ ३१॥
सन्दोपसुन्दावसुरौ यद्धमन्योन्यवेरप्रसृतौ विनष्टौ।
सौहार्दविश्लेषकरेषु तेषु कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रतिः स्यात्॥ ३२॥

^{27.} b. śakāśād api bāndhaveṣu (corrected in margin to °vebhyaḥ), A ; gñer-ḥdun ḥbrel-pa-rnams-las kyaṅ, T.

^{28.} b. yadbhraṁśam arcchanty abhilaṅghamānāḥ, A ; gaṅ-la rnam-par-ḥphyo-ba-rnams ni lhuṅ ḥgyur-te, T. c. drumaprāgramalo $^{\circ}$, A ; ljon-śiṅ rtse-moḥi ḥbras-bu, T.

^{29.} a. tīvvaiḥ, A; drag-po, T. c. svapnop(?g?)rabhoga°, A; rmi-lam ñe-bar-lons-spyod, T.

^{30.} a. yān acc(??)ayitvāpi, A; gan-rnams bsgrubs-nas, T. c. angāra-karsny(corrected to rs)apra°, A; lci-baḥi me-ma-mur, T; 'a firepit ', C.

^{31.} b. e.c.; maithiladandakāś ca, A; T omits the *pāda*; 'the Mekhali-Danda(ka)s', C. c. ro-bsregs śiń ('corpse-burning wood', śūnāśikāṣṭha°?), T; sūnāsikāṣṭha°, C.

^{32.} b. anyonyaveraprasrto, A.



येषां क्षते वारिणि पावके च क्रव्यात्मु चात्मानिमहोत्मृजन्ति ।
सपत्नभूतेष्विश्विषु तेषु कामेषु कस्यात्मवतो रितः स्यात् ॥ ३३ ॥
कामार्थमज्ञः क्षपणं करोति प्राप्नोति दुःखं वधवन्धनादि ।
कामार्थमाशाक्षपणस्तपस्ती खृखुं अमं चार्छति जीवलोकः ॥३४॥
गौतैर्ज्ञियन्ते हि स्गा वधाय रूपार्थमग्नौ श्रलभाः पतन्ति ।
मत्स्यो गिरत्यायसमामिषार्थी तस्मादनर्थं विषयाः फलन्ति ॥३५॥
कामास्तु भोगा इति यक्मतिः स्याद्गोगा न केचित्परिगण्यमानाः ।
वस्ताद्यो द्रव्यगुणा हि लोके दुःखप्रतीकार इति प्रधार्याः ॥३६॥
द्रष्टं हि तर्षप्रश्रमाय तोयं क्षुवाश्रहेतोरश्रनं तथैव ।
वातातपाम्बावरणाय वेश्न कीपीनश्रीतावरणाय वासः ॥ ३०॥
निद्राविधाताय तथैव श्रय्या यानं तथाध्वश्रमनाश्रनाय ।
तथासनं स्थानविनोदनाय स्नानं स्वारोग्यवलाश्रयाय ॥ ३८॥

33. a. kāsāndh(?rth?)am ajñah kṛpa pāvake ca, A; gaṅ-dag-rnams-kyi don-du chu daṅ me-la daṅ, T; 'he may bind his body and throw himself into fire and water ', C.

34. a. kṛpanan, A. c. tapaśvī, A. d. mṛtyu śramam, A; hchin-ba (for

hchi-ba) dan ni nal-ba, T.

35. a. gitai hriyamte, A. b. śalabhā, A. cd. matsyo giranty āyasam āmiṣārthīn tasmād, A; śa-dag don gñer ña, T; 'the pool fish longing for the baited hook', C; 'the fish in the water hangs on the hook on account of taking the bait', FP.

36. ab. yan matah syāt bhogā, A; hdod-pahi lons-spyod yin zhes gan-gi blo yin-la (kāmasya bhogā iti yanmatih syād?), T; matam, Co. b. kha-cig lons-spyod-rnams ni yons-su-spyod-pa-ste (=kecid bhogāh paricarya-mānāh, or parivartyamānāh), T; pariganyamānāh, A.

37. a. toya, A. c. vätätapämvävaranäya, A; rlun dan gdun-ba sgrib-

pa ched-du (=vātātapāvaraṇāya), T. d. kopīna° (?kopane°?), A.

38. a. de-bzhin...gnas yin-la (tathāsti vāso?), T; 'one sleeps to drive off drowsiness', C. b. °śramaṇāśanāya, A. d. srjārogya°, A; gtsan dan nad-med, T; 'to remove dirt one bathes', C.



दुःखप्रतीकारनिमित्तसृता-स्तस्मात्मजानां विषया न भोगाः। अस्रामि भोगानिति कोऽभ्युपेया-त्माज्ञः प्रतीकारविधी प्रष्टत्तः॥ ३८॥

यः पित्तदाहेन विद्यमानः शीतिकयां भोग इति व्यवखेत्। दुःखप्रतीकारविधौ प्रहत्तः कामेषु कुर्यात्म हि भोगसंज्ञाम् ॥४०॥

> कामेधनैकान्तिकता च यसा-दतोऽपि में तेषु न भोगसंज्ञा। य एव भागा हि सुखं दिशन्ति त एव दुःखं पुनरावहन्ति॥ ४१॥

गुरूणि वासांखगुरूणि चैव सुखाय शीते ह्यसुखाय धर्मे । चन्द्रांशवयन्दनमेव चोष्णे सुखाय दुःखाय भवन्ति शीते ॥ ४२ ॥

> दन्द्वानि सर्वस्य यतः प्रसक्ता-न्यसामसामप्रस्तीनि सोके। त्रातोऽपि नैकान्तसुखोऽस्ति कश्चि-न्नैकान्तद्ःखः पुरुषः पृथिव्याम्॥ ४३॥

39. ab. °bhūtā tasmāt, A. b. de-bzhin skye-dgu-rnams (tathā pra-jānām), T; 'therefore', C. c. annāni bhogā iti, Gawroński; lons-spyod-rnams ni bzah zhes (indeterminate), T. d. e.c. Finot; pravṛttān, A; rab-tu-zhi-bahi cho-gar rab-zhugs śes-rab-can (=text?), T.

40. a. pittadāhana, A; hgro-baḥi (for dro-baḥi?) gdun-bas (uncertain), T; 'a man who has got a burning fever', C. c. sdug-bsnal zhi-baḥi bdag-ñid-la (duḥkhapratīkāratayā?), T. d. bhogasamjñam, A.

41. a. yasyād, A. b. Tomits api.

42. b. dharmme, A; dro-baḥi tshe-na, T. c. candrāmsava candanam, A.

43. a. dvandāni, A. prašaktāny, A; rab-zhugs-te (pravṛttāny), T. d. paruṣaḥ pṛthivyām, A; sa-la skyes-bu, T.

SL

हष्ट्वा विमिश्रां सुखदुःखतां मे राज्यं च दास्यं च मतं समानम्। नित्यं इसत्येव हि नैव राजा

न चापि संतष्यत एव दासः॥ ४४॥

श्राज्ञा चपत्वेऽभ्यधिकेति यत्यात्महान्ति दुःखान्यत एव राज्ञः। श्रासङ्गकाष्ठप्रतिमो हि राजा खोकस्य हेतोः परिखेदमेति ॥४५॥

> राज्ये न्हपस्यागिनि बह्वमिने विश्वासमागच्छति चेदिपनः। श्रयापि विश्रभसुपैति नेह

किं नाम सौखं चिकतस्य राजः॥ ४६॥
यदा च जित्वापि महीं समग्रां वासाय दृष्टं पुरमेकमेव।
तचापि चैकं भवनं निषेद्यं श्रमः परार्थे नतु राजभावः॥ ४०॥
राज्ञोऽपि वासोयुगमेकमेव खुत्संनिरोधाय तथानमाचा।
ग्रय्या तथैकासनमेकमेव भेषा विभेषा न्यतमेदाय॥ ४८॥
तुध्यर्थमेतच फलं यदीष्टस्तेऽपि राज्यान्यम तुष्टिरस्ति।
तुष्टी च सत्यां पुरुषस्य लोके सर्वे विभेषा ननु निर्विभेषाः॥४८॥

44. a. dṛṣtvā ca miśrām, A; rnam-par-ḥdres mthon-nas, T. b. rāmjya (gap for missing character) dāsya ca, A; rgyal-srid dan ni bran-ñid, T. d. hāsaḥ, A; bran, T.

45. a. gan-phyir...lhag-par gyur (abhyadhikāsti yasmān?), T; 'if you say that the fact of a king giving orders makes him the best', C.

46. a. vankamitre, A; bses-min man-por, T; on account of the many enemies of kings, C. c. visrambham upeti, A.

47. a. mahī, A.

48. Not in C. a. e.c. Böhtlingk; rājye pi vāse yugam, A; rgyal-po sdod-paḥi gnas kyan gñah-śin geig ñid-de (rājño 'pi vāso yugam ekam eva), T. b. tathānamātrā, A; de-bzhin... bzaḥ-ba tsam yin-la, T.



तनास्मि कामान् प्रति संप्रतार्थः

स्रोमं शिवं मार्गमनुप्रयन्नः ।

स्मृत्वा सुहृत्वं तु पुनः पुनर्मी

ब्रूहि प्रतिज्ञां खलु पालयेति ॥ ५०॥

न ह्यस्यमर्पेण वनं प्रविष्टो न शनुवाणैरवधूतमीलिः ।

स्ततस्पृहो नापि फलाधिकेश्यो यत्तामि नैतदचनं यतस्ते ॥ ५१॥

यो दन्दशकं कपितं भज्ञकं

यो दन्दश्रकं कुपितं भुजङ्गं

मुक्ता व्यवस्थेदि पुनर्गहीतुम् ।

दाहात्मिकां वा ज्ञिल्तां तृणोक्कां

संत्यच्य कामान्स पुनर्भजेत ॥ ५२॥

श्रन्थाय यश्र स्पृह्येदनन्थो

वहाय मुक्तो विधनाय चाक्यः ।

उन्मत्तिचत्ताय च कल्यचित्तः

स्पृहां स कुर्यादिषयात्मकाय ॥ ५३॥

स्टिश त जुवाहिषयात्मनाय ॥ ५३ ॥ भैक्षोपभोगीति च नानुकम्प्यः क्रती जराम्हत्युभयं तितीर्षुः । इहोत्तमं शान्तिसुखं च यस्य पर्च दुःखानि च संद्यतानि ॥ ५४ ॥

50. b. kṣema, A; dge dan zhi-baḥi lam, T. d. smras-pa-ḥo (brūṣe or brūyāḥ?), T. pālayanti (corrected to 'yeti), A; skyon zhes, T.

51. a. e.c. Böhtlingk; vana pravisto, A; nags-su zhugs-pa, T. b. avadhümaulih (one syllable short), A; mgo-bo hdar-ba (avadhütamürdhä?), T; 'I have cast off the royal diadem', C. c. kṛtaspṛhā, A. d. naid vacanam (one syllable short), A; tshig-de...ma-yin-no, T. de-phyir (tatas), T.

52. a. bhujagam, A. b. puna grahītum, A. c. tṛnolkām, A. d. bhajet, A.

53. a. sprhayed anartho, A; ma-lon...hdod-pa-ste, T.

54. a. bhaisopabhogīti ca(?ra?), A; slons-mo ñe-bar-rgyu zhes (bhaikṣo-pacārīti?), T.



GL

लच्यां महत्यामिप वर्तमानस्तृष्णाभिभृतस्वनुवन्यितव्यः।
प्राप्तीति यः शान्तिसुखं न चेह परच दुःखेः प्रतियद्यते च ॥५५॥
एवं तु वतुं भवतोऽनुरूपं सत्त्वस्य दत्तस्य कुलस्य चैव।
ममापि वोढुं सहशं प्रतिज्ञां सत्त्वस्य दत्तस्य कुलस्य चैव॥ ५६॥
यहं हि संसारशरेण विद्वो विनिःस्ततः शान्तिमवानुकामः।
नेच्छेयमानुं चिद्वेऽपि राज्यं निरामयं किं वत मानुषेषु ॥५७॥
चिवर्गसेवां न्यप यत्तु कुल्कतः

परो मनुष्यार्थ इति त्वमात्य माम्।
त्रमर्थ इत्येव ममाच दर्शनं
स्रयी चिवर्गो हि न चापि तर्पकः॥ ५८॥
पदे तु यस्मिन जरा न भीनं रुङ्
न जन्म नैवोपरमो न चाधयः।
तमेव मन्ये पुरुषार्थमुत्तमं
न विद्यते यच पुनः पुनः क्रिया॥ ५८॥

यदप्यवोचः परिपाल्यतां जरा नवं वयो गच्छति विक्रियामिति। अनिखयोऽयं चपलं हि दश्यते जराप्यधीरा धृतिमच यौवनम्॥ई०॥

57. Not in C. a. samsārarasena, A; hkhor-baḥi mdaḥ-yis, T; 'I who have been shot at by the arrow of the samsāra', FP. b. viniḥṣṛtaḥ, A. cd. nad-med mtho-ris-na (tridive . . . nirāmaye?), T.

58. a. brten-pa hdi (=sevām imām), T. yan tu kṛṣṇataḥ, A. b. tvam ārtha mām, A. c. e.e.; anartha ity eva mamārthadarśanam, A; deltar don-med ces ni bdag-gi (so Peking edition) brtan-pa (so Peking edition, read bstan-pa) hdir (=anartha ity evam mamātra darśanam), T; 'this too is anartha', C. d. trivarge, A.

59. ab. na bhīrur nna janma (one syllable short), A; hjigs-min nad ma-yin skye-min, T.

60. a. pratipālyatām, Gawroński. c. bahulam hi, Kern.



खकर्मदस्य यदान्तको जगद वयःसु सर्वेषवशं विकर्षति । विनाशका ले कथमव्यवस्थिते जरा प्रतीक्या विद्वा शमेखुना ॥ ई१ ॥ जरायुधी व्याधिविकीर्णसायकी यदान्तको व्याध दवाशिवः स्थितः। प्रजामृगान भाग्यवनाश्रितांस्तुदन वयःप्रकर्षे प्रति को मनीर्थः॥ ई२॥ अतो युवा वा स्थविरोऽयवा शिश्-स्तथा त्वरावानिह कर्तुमईति। यथा भवेडर्भवतः कृतात्मनः प्रवित्तिरिष्टा विनिवृत्तिरेव वा ॥ ई३ ॥ यदात्य चापीष्टफलां कुलोचितां कुरुष धर्माय मखिक्रयामिति। नमी मखेभ्यो न हि कामये सखं परस्य दःखिकयया यदिष्यते ॥ ई४ ॥

- 61. b. vayassu sarvvesu vasam vikarsati, A; na-tshod kun-la dbah-med rnam-par-hgugs-pa-ste, T. d. samepsunā, A; zhi-hdod, T.
- 62. b. ivāśritaḥ sthitaḥ, A; dge-ba ma-yin... bzhin gnas-pas, T. c. °āśritān sudan, A; rten-rnams gtor-te, T. d. priti ko, A.
- 63. a. suto (corrected to ato), A; de-phyir, T. c. kṛpātmanaḥ, A; bdag-ñid byas-pa, T.
- 64. a. e.c.; yad āttha cādīptaphalām, A; yan-na hdod-pahi hbras-bu... gan smras-pa (yad āttha vāpīṣṭaphalām), T. d. pad iṣyaṭe, A; gan-zhig... hdod-pa-ste, T.



परं हि इन्तुं विवशं फलेख्या

न युक्तरूपं करणात्मनः सतः।

क्रतोः फलं यद्यपि शाश्वतं भवे
क्रयापि कत्वा किसु यत्क्रयात्मकम् ॥ ६५ ॥

भवेच धर्मी यदि नापरो विधि
वित्तेन शीलेन मनःश्मेन वा।

तथापि नैवाईति सेवितुं क्रतुं

विशस्य यस्मिन् परसुख्यते फलम् ॥ ६६ ॥

पि तावत्यरूषस्य तिष्ठतः प्रवर्तते यस्म हिस्स्या स्वस्म

इहापि तावत्पुरुषस्य तिष्ठतः प्रवर्तते यत्परहिंसया सुखम् । तद्प्यनिष्टं सष्टगस्य धीमतो भवान्तरे किं बत यन्न हम्यते ॥ई०॥

न च प्रतायोऽस्मि फलप्रवृत्तये

भवेषु राजन् रसते न मे मनः।

सता दवास्भीधरदृष्टिताडिताः

प्रवृत्तयः सर्वगता हि चन्द्रस्याः

इहागतयाहिसतो दिहस्या

सुनेरराडस्य विमोस्रवादिनः।

प्रयामि चाद्यैव न्द्रपास्तु ते शिवं

वनः समेशा सस तन्त्रनिष्ठ्रस्य॥ ६८॥

65. a. hantu, A. b. yuktarupa, A. c. krato, A. gan yan (yad api?), T. d. snin-rjehi bdag-nid gan-gi de-ltar byas-nas ci (=tathā krtvā kim yat krpātmakam), T; 'how much more then in doing hurt to creatures in sacrifice, when seeking what is not permanent', C.

66. a. dharme, Böhtlingk. ab. vidhi vatena, A; brtul-zhugs-kyis... cha-ga (for cho-ga), T. b. manahsamena va, A; sems zhi-ba-yis-sam, T.

69. a. de-yi phyir (ato?), T; 'therefore', C.



SL

श्रवेन्द्रविद्यव ग्रश्वदर्भवहुणीरव श्रेय इहाव गामव। श्रवायुरायेरव सत्सुतानव श्रियश्च राजन्नव धर्ममात्मनः॥ ७०॥ हिमारिकेतूद्भवसंभवान्तरे यथा दिजो याति विमोश्चयंस्तनुम्। हिमारिश्चनुश्चयश्च्यातने तथान्तरे याहि विमोश्चयन्त्रनः॥ ७१॥

न्द्रपोऽत्रवीत्साञ्चित्त्रग्रातस्पृही
यथेष्टमाप्नोतु भवानविद्यतः।
अवाध्य काले कतकत्यतामिमां
ममापि कार्यो भवता त्वनुग्रहः॥ ७२॥
स्थिरं प्रतिज्ञाय तथेति पार्थिवे
ततः स वैश्वंतरमाश्रमं यथौ।
परिव्रजन्तं तमुदीस्य विस्मितो
न्द्रपोऽपि ववाज पुरिं गिरिव्रजम्॥ ७३॥

इति बुद्धचरिते महाकाचे कामविगर्हणो नामैकाद्याः सर्गः ॥ ११ ॥

70. a. athendravad, A; dban-po bzhin bsruns, T. b. iho ca gām acah, A; sa bsruns hdir ni . . . bsruns, T. c. āyair ava śatsutān, A; hphagspa-yis bsruns dam-pahi bu-rnams, T.

71. c. e.c.; °kṣayaśatrughātinas, A; khyim-gyi dgra ḥjoms nan (probably=text, but uncertain), T. d. e.c. Cappeller; vimocayan, A.

72. b. avighnyatah, A. c. bya-ba byas-pa...dus-su hdir (kāle kṛtakṛtyatām iha, for ito?), T.

73. c. samudīksya, A; de mthon-nas, T. d. vavrā purin girivrajam (one syllable short), A; ri-yi-tshogs-kyi gron-khyer-nid-du son, T.



CANTO XII

ततः श्रमिवहार्ख मुनेरिष्टाकुचन्द्रमाः ।
श्रराडस्याश्रमं भेजे वपुषा पूर्यन्विव ॥ १ ॥
स कालामसगीचेण तेनालोकीव दूरतः ।
उत्तेः स्वागतमित्युक्तः समीपमुपजग्मवान् ॥ २ ॥
तावुभी न्यायतः पृष्टा धातुसाम्यं परस्परम् ।
दारक्योर्मध्ययोर्घध्योः श्रुचौ देशे निषेदतुः ॥ ३ ॥
तमासीनं न्यसुतं सोऽव्रवीन्धुनिसत्तमः ।
बहुमानविश्रालाभ्यां दर्शनाभ्यां पिवन्विव ॥ ४ ॥
विदितं मे यथा सौग्य निष्कुन्तो भवनादिस ।
क्रित्वा खेइमयं पाशं पाशं हप्त इव दिपः ॥ ५ ॥
सर्वथा धृतिमचैव प्रान्नं चैव मनस्तव ।
यस्तं प्राप्तः श्रियं त्यक्ता लतां विषफलामिव ॥ ६ ॥
नाश्रयं जीर्गावयसो यक्तग्मः पार्थिवा वनम् ।
श्रपत्येभ्यः श्रियं दत्त्वा भुक्तोच्छिष्टामिव सजम् ॥ ७ ॥

1. a. samavihārasya, A; zhi-bar gnas-paḥi, T. d. pūjayann, A; gań-ba, T.

2. b. teṇā° (corrected to teṇā°), A. d. samīpam ujagmivān (one syllable

short), A; dran-du ñe-bar-gsegs-pa-ho, T.

3. a. pṛṣṭ(?ṇ?)yā, A; dris-nas, T. d. śuco (corrected to guro?), A; gtsaṅ-bar, T. niṣīdatuḥ, A.

7. b. vasam (corrected to vanam), A.



द्दं मे मृतमाश्चर्यं नवे वयिस यद्भवान्।
त्रामुक्तेव त्रियं प्राप्तः स्थितो विषयगोचरे॥ ८॥
तिदिवातुमिमं धर्म परमं भाजनं भवान्।
व्यानस्वमधिष्ठाय शीघं दुःखार्थावं तर॥ ८॥
शिष्ये यद्यपि विद्याते शास्त्रं काखेन वर्ण्यते।
गाम्भीर्याद्यवसायाच न परीक्ष्यो भवान्मम॥ १०॥
दित वाक्यमराइस्य विद्याय स नर्र्षभः।
वसूव परमप्रीतः प्रोवाचीत्तरमेव च॥ ११॥
विरक्तस्यापि यदिदं सौमुखं भवतः परम्।
त्राक्तार्थोऽप्यनेनास्मि कतार्थं द्रव संप्रति॥ १२॥
दिहसुरिव हि ज्योतिर्यियासुरिव दैशिकम्।
तद्यभैनमइं मन्ये तितीर्पुरिव च स्रवम्॥ १३॥
तस्माद्दंसि तद्दतुं वक्तव्यं यदि मन्यसे।
जरामरगरोगेभ्यो यथायं परिसुच्यते॥ १४॥

- 8. c. abhukteva, A; ñid lons-ma-spyad-nas (pas, Weller), T.
- 10. a. gan yan (yad api?), T. b. hjug-ste (vartate or vartyate), T; 'first one tests their abilities and thereafter one teaches them', C; vartate, Co. d. e.e.; su(?)parīkṣyo, A; yons-rtog khyod ma-yin (na parīkṣito bhavān?), T; 'I know already your good firm settled purpose, certainly you will be equal to learning and in the end nothing will be hid from you', C.
 - 11. b. mi-yi drań-sroń des (sa nararsiḥ), T.
- 13. a. didikṣur, A ; bl
ta-bar ḥdod-pas, T. c. tvaddarśanāha (one syllable short), A ; khyed m
thoù-ba-la bdag-gis, T.
- 14. c. rga dań ḥchi-baḥi ḥjigs-rnams-las (=jarāmaraṇabhayebhyo), **T**; 'the troubles of birth (or, the troubles that produce), old age, disease and death', C.



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दत्यराडः कुमारस्य माहात्य्यादेव चोदितः।
संक्षितं कथयांचके स्वस्य शास्त्रस्य निश्चयम्॥ १५॥
श्रूयतामयमस्माकं सिद्धान्तः शृख्यतां वर।
यथा भवति संसारो यथा चैव निवर्तते॥ १६॥
प्रकृतिश्च विकारश्च जन्म सृत्युर्जरैव च।
तत्तावत्मत्त्वमित्युक्तं स्थिरसत्त्व परेहि तत्॥ १०॥
तच तु प्रकृतिं नाम विद्धि प्रकृतिकोविद।
पञ्च भूतान्यहंकारं वृद्धिमव्यक्तमेव च॥ १८॥
विकार इति बुध्यस्व विषयानिन्द्रियाणि च।
पाणिपादं च वादं च पायूपस्यं तथा मनः॥ १८॥
श्रूस्य श्चेचस्य विज्ञानात्श्चेचज्ञ इति संज्ञि च।
श्चेचज्ञ इति चात्मानं कथयन्त्यात्मचिन्तकाः॥ २०॥
सिश्चाः कपिलश्चेह प्रतिवृद्धिरित स्मृतिः।
सपुचोऽप्रतिवृद्धस्तु प्रजापितिरिह्येच्यते॥ २१॥

15. d. śvasya, A.

16. d. yathā vai parivarttate, A; ji-ltar nes-par ldog-pa nid (=text, omitting ca), T; 'the matter of the origin and destruction of the universe', C.

17. d. paraihi naḥ, A; de śes-mdzod, T.

18. a. e.c. Böhtlingk; prakṛtir nnāma (originally prakṛtin nāma?), A.

19. c. vācam, Böhtlingk.

20. de kathayaty, A.

21. b. pratibuddhi, A; rab-tu-rtogs (pratibuddhir or 'buddha), T; pratibuddha, Co. c. e.c.; saputrah pratibuddhas tu, A; bu dan beas-pahi rtogs-pa dan (=A, with ca for tu), T; 'Kapila, the ṛṣi, and his brothers, sons and dependents, on this important principle of the ego, practised learning and obtained salvation. This Kapila is now Prajāpati', C.



जायते जीर्यते चैव बाध्यते स्थितं च यत्।
तद्यक्तिमिति विद्येयमध्यक्तं तु विपर्थयात्॥ २२॥
त्रज्ञानं कर्म तृष्णा च ज्ञेयाः संसार्हतवः।
स्थितोऽस्गिंस्त्रितये जन्तुस्तत्सत्त्वं नातिवर्तते॥ २३॥
विप्रत्ययादहंकारात्संदेहादभिसंखवात्।
त्रविश्रेषानुपायाभ्यां सङ्गादभ्यवपाततः॥ २४॥
तच विप्रत्ययो नाम विपरीतं प्रवर्तते।
त्रज्यया कुरुते कार्यं मन्त्रव्यं मन्यतेऽन्यथा॥ २५॥
व्रवीय्यहमहं वेद्यि गच्छाय्यहमहं स्थितः।
दतीहैवमहंकारस्वनहंकार वर्तते॥ २६॥
यस्तु भावानसंदिग्धानेकीभावेन प्रध्यति।
स्वत्या्वदसंदेह संदेहः स दहोच्यते॥ २७॥
य एवाहं स एवेदं मनो वृद्धित्र कर्म च।
यश्चैवेष गणः सोऽहिमिति यः सोऽभिसंखवः॥ २८॥

^{22.} b. vadhyate, A; na-ba, T; C omits. d. avyaktañ ca, A; mi-gsal-ba yaŭ-no, T.

^{23.} b. jñoyā, A. c. sthito smi tritaye yantus, A; gsum-po hdir gnas hgro-ba, T.

^{24.} a. log-pa-las (viparyayād?), T; 'not believing', C. b. sandehād apr(?bh?)isambhavā, A; the-tshom-las dan mnon-hphyo-las, T; 'doubt, excess', C.

^{25.} a. log-pa (viparyayo?), T; 'not believing', C. d. mantavya, A.

^{27.} a. bhāvan asamdigdhān, A; the-tshom-med dhos-rnams, T. c. the-tshom-med-pas (asamdehaḥ), T.

^{28.} c. e.c.; yaś caiveśa, A; gań-zhig grańs de de ñid ńed (=yaḥ sa gaṇaḥ sa evāham), T.





अविशेषं विशेषज्ञ प्रतिबद्धाप्रबद्ध्योः। प्रक्रतीनां च यो वेद सोऽविश्रेष इति स्मृतः ॥ २८ ॥ नमस्कारवषट्कारौ प्रोक्षणाभ्यक्षणाद्यः। अनुपाय इति प्राज्ञैरुपायज्ञ प्रवेदितः ॥ ३०॥ सज्जते येन दर्मेधा मनीवाग्वुडिकर्मीभः। विषयेषनभिष्ठङ्ग सोऽभिष्ठङ्ग इति स्मृतः ॥ ३१ ॥ ममेदमहमखेति यहुःखमभिमन्यते। विज्ञेयोऽभ्यवपातः स संसारे येन पात्यते ॥ ३२ ॥ इत्यविद्यां हि विद्वान्स पञ्चपर्वी समीहते। तमो मोइं महामोइं तामिसदयभेव च ॥ ३३ ॥ तवास्यं तमो विदि मोहं मृत्यं च जमा च। महामोहस्वसंमोह काम द्रत्येव गम्यताम्॥ ३४॥ यसादच च भूतानि प्रमुद्धान्ति महान्यपि। तसादेष महाबाहो महामोह इति स्मृतः ॥ ३५ ॥ तासिस्मिति चाकोध कोधमेवाधिकर्वते। विषादं चान्धतामिसमविषाद प्रचस्रते॥ ३६॥

^{29.} b. rab-rgyas rab-rgyas ma-yin-paḥi (prativṛddhāpravṛddhayoḥ), T.

^{33.} ab. pañcaparvvān, A: de-ltar mkhas-kyis ma-rig-pa gnas-skabs lina ni rab-thob-ste (=evam vidvān pañcaparvām avidyām prāpnoti), T; 'all the ignorant men in the world are united in five classes', C.

^{34.} b. moha, A. d. T omits eva; ity avagamyatām, Co.

^{35.} b. chen-por yan ni (mahaty api ?), T. c. eşa mābāho (one syllable short), A; phyag-chen ḥdi-dag ni, T.

^{36.} c. viṣāda, A. mi-śes mun-las gyur-pa ni (ajñatāmisram), T.



ऋनयाविद्यया वालः संयुक्तः पञ्चपर्वया । संसारे दःखभूयिष्ठे जन्मस्वभिनिषिच्यते ॥ ३०॥ द्रष्टा श्रोता च मन्ता च कार्यकर गमेव च। अइमित्येवमागम्य संसारे परिवर्तते ॥ ३८॥ इहै भिर्हेतु भिर्धीमन् जन्मस्रोतः प्रवर्तते । हेत्वभावात्मां चामव इति विज्ञातुमईसि ॥ ३८ ॥ तच सम्यङ्गतिर्विद्यासोधकाम चतुष्टयम्। प्रतिबुद्धाप्रबुद्धी च व्यक्तमव्यक्तमेव च ॥ ४०॥ यथावदेतिहज्ञाय श्लेचज्ञो हि चतुष्टयम्। श्राजवंजवतां हित्वा प्राप्नोति पदमध्रम्॥ ४१॥ इत्यर्थे ब्राह्मणा लोके पर्मब्रह्मवादिनः। ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्तीह ब्राह्मगान्वासयन्ति च ॥ ४२॥ इति वाक्यमिद्ं श्रुत्वा मुनेस्तस्य न्द्रपात्मजः। अभ्यपायं च पप्रच्छ पदमेव च नैष्ठिकम्॥ ४३॥ ब्रह्मचर्यमिदं चर्यं यथा यावच यन च। धर्मस्यास्य च पर्यन्तं भवान्व्याखातुमईति ॥ ४४ ॥

41. c. °javatā, A.

^{37.} c. sdug-bsnal gyur-pa-yi (duḥkhabhūte?), T. d. bab-par-byed (abhinipātyate?), T.

^{38.} a. srotā, A. b. bya-ba dan ni rgyu ñid dag (kāryan kāranam eva ca), T; 'I am that which does', C.

^{39.} ity ebhi hetubhir, A; rgyu hdi-rnams-kyis hdi (for hdir), T. b. jamasrotah, A; skye-bahi rgyun-la, T; 'the stream of birth and death', C. c. hetvabhāva phalābhāva, A; rgyu med-pa-las hbras-bu med, T; 'if this cause does not exist, the fruit also does not exist', C; hetvabhāve, Co. (e.c.).

^{40.} a. yan-dag hgro-ba (samyaggatir), T; 'call this the right opinion', C. c. rab-rgyas rab-rgyas-min (prativrddhāpravrddhau), T.



इत्यराडी ययाशास्त्रं विस्पष्टार्थं समासतः। तमेवान्धेन कल्पेन धर्ममस्मै व्यभाषत ॥ ४५ ॥ श्रयमादौ यहान्मुका भैक्षानं लिङ्गमाश्रितः। ससुदाचारविस्तीर्ण शीलमादाय वर्तते ॥ ४ई ॥ संतोषं परमास्याय येन तेन यतस्ततः। विविक्तं सेवते वासं निर्दन्दः शास्त्रविक्तती ॥ ४७ ॥ ततो रागाइयं हष्टा वैराग्याच परं शिवम्। नियुक्तिन्द्रिययामं यतते मनसः शमे॥ ४८॥ अयो विविक्तं कामेभ्यो व्यापादादिभ्य एव च। विवेकजमवाघ्रोति पूर्वध्यानं वितर्कवत्॥ ४८॥ तच ध्यानसुखं प्राप्य तत्तदेव वितर्कयन्। अपूर्वसुखलाभेन द्वियते बालिशो जनः॥ ५०॥ श्रमेनैवंविधेनायं कामहेषविगर्हिणा। ब्रह्माकोकमवाप्नोति परितोषेण विश्वतः॥ ५१॥ चात्वा विदान्वितकांस्तु मनःसंशोभकारकान्। तिंद्युक्रमवाग्रोति ध्यानं ग्रीतिसुखान्वितम् ॥ ५२॥ हियमाणस्तया प्रीत्या यो विशेषं न प्रश्वति। खानं भाखरमाम्नोति देवेघाभाखरेषु सः॥ ५३॥

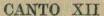
^{45.} a. ity arāde yathāśāstra, A ; de-ltar thub-pas bstan-bcos lta (evam munir yathāśāstram), T ; 'then that Arāda spoke according to the śāstras', C.

^{46.} b. ligam, A.

^{50.} a. °sukhām, A.

^{51.} d. gnas-pa-ḥo (vāsitaḥ), T.

a. hriyamās tapā prītyā (one syllable short), A; dgaḥ-ba de-yis phrogs-pa, T.





यस्तु प्रीतिसुखात्तस्मादिवेचयित मानसम्।
तियो खभते ध्यानं सुखं प्रीतिबिवर्जितम्॥ ५८॥
यस्तु तिस्मन्सुखे मग्नो न विश्रेषाय यत्नवान्।
गुभक्रत्तेः स सामान्यं सुखं प्राप्नोति दैवतैः॥ ५५॥
तादृशं सुखमासाद्य यो न रच्यत्युपेक्षकः।
चतुर्थं ध्यानमाग्नोति सुखदुःखविवर्जितम्॥ ५६॥
तच केचिद्यवस्यन्ति मोक्ष दत्यभिमानिनः।
सुखदुःखपरित्यागाद्यापाराच चेतसः॥ ५०॥
त्रस्य ध्यानस्य तु फलं समं देवैर्श्वहत्फ्लैः।
कथ्यन्ति बहत्त्कालं बहत्यज्ञापरीक्षकाः॥ ५८॥
समाधेर्युत्यितस्तस्मादृष्ट्या दोषां च्छरीरिणाम्।
ज्ञानमारोहित प्राज्ञः श्ररीरिविनवृत्तये॥ ५८॥
ततस्तद्यानमुत्मृच्य विश्रेषे क्रतिनश्रयः।
कामेभ्य दव स प्राज्ञो रूपादिप विर्च्यते॥ ६०॥

54. d. dgaḥ-baḥi bde dan bral-ba (sukhaprītivivarjitam), T.

55. Not in T. c. subhakṛsnaih, A.

56. b. e.c.; yo na rajyaty upekṣate, A; gan-zhig chags-min btan-snoms-śin (equivalent uncertain), T.

57. b. ity api (rewritten and marked to show error) māninaḥ, A; zhes mnon-paḥi na-rgyal-gyis, T. c. sdug-bsnal zhi-phyir (°duḥkhapraśamanād?), T.

58. b. brhatphaleh, A. c. brhatphalam, A; chen-pohi dus-su (hbras-bu, Weller e.c.), T; 'because of life there being for a long time, it is called brhatphala', C.

59. b. doṣāc charīriṇām, A; lus-skyes skyon-rnams (doṣāmś charīrajān ?), T; 'he sees that to have a body makes faults', C. c. bsam-gtan-la (dhyānam), T; 'advancing further, he practises prajñā and satiated separates himself from the fourth trance', C. d. 'vinivarttaye, A.

60. c. satprājño, A; ses-rab-ldan de, T.



शरीरे खानि यान्यसिन्तान्यादौ परिकल्पयन्। घनेषपि ततो द्रव्येषाकाशमधिमुच्यते ॥ ६१ ॥ श्राकाश्रगतमात्मानं संक्षिप्य त्वपरी वृधः। तदेवानन्ततः पश्चिनविशेषमधिगच्चिति॥ ई२॥ अध्यात्मकुश्लस्वन्यो निवत्योत्मानमात्मना। किंचिनास्तीति संप्रयनाकिंचन्य इति स्मृतः॥ ई३॥ ततो मुखादिषीकेव शकुनिः पच्चरादिव। क्षेत्रज्ञो निःस्तो देहाकृत इत्यभिधीयते ॥ ६४॥ रतत्तत्परमं ब्रह्म निर्लिङ्गं भ्वमक्षरम्। यनोष्ट इति तत्त्वज्ञाः कथयन्ति मनीषिणः ॥ ६५ ॥ इत्युपायश्व मोश्रश्च मया संदर्शितस्तव। यदि ज्ञातं यदि रुचिर्यथावत्यतिपद्यताम् ॥ ईई ॥ जैगीषव्योऽय जनको वृद्धश्चैव पराग्ररः। इमं पन्थानमासाद्य मुक्ता च्चन्ये च मोस्रिणः॥ ६७॥ इति तस्य स तद्दाक्यं यहीत्वा तु विचार्य च। पूर्वहेतुवलप्राप्तः प्रत्युत्तरमुवाच ह ॥ ६८ ॥

61. ab. yāny asya tāny, A; lus hdi-la ni kha gan-du de-la yons-surtog-pa-ste (=sarīre 'smin khāni yatra tatra parikalpayan), T.

62. a. ākāśag(?)atam, A; nam-mkhar son-bahi, T. b. gzhan-du blo-

ldan-gyis (=paratra budhah), T.

63. a. kuśale(corrected to la)svanyo, A; T omits tu. b. nivatyā°, A, d. ākimcinya, A.

64. a. išīkeva, A. c. nisṛto, A; hthon-pa-las (for la), T.

66. c. e.c. Böhtlingk; ruei, A. d. rtogs-par mdzod (pratibudhyatām?). T; 'he who deeply believes should learn', C.

68. a. de-yi dam-paḥi tshig ḥdi (idam tasya ca sadvākyam), T. b. e.c. Böhtlingk; grhītvā na vicārya ca, A; rnam-par dpyod-pa yan bzun-nas (equivalent uncertain), T. c. °prāpta, A.



श्रुतं ज्ञानिमदं स्टब्सं पर्तः पर्तः शिवम्। श्चेचन्नस्यापरित्यागादवैम्येतदमैष्ठिकम् ॥ ई८ ॥ विकारप्रकतिभ्यो हि श्चेन्त्रं मृत्तमप्यहम्। मन्धे प्रसवधर्माणं बीजधर्माणमेव च ॥ ७० ॥ विश्व डो यद्यपि ह्यातमा निर्मृत इति कल्प्यते। भूयः प्रत्ययसद्भावादमुक्तः स भविष्यति ॥ ७१ ॥ ऋतुभूम्यम्ब्विरहाद्यथा बीजं न रोहति। रोइति प्रत्ययैस्तैस्तैस्तदसोऽपि मतो मम ॥ ७२ ॥ यत्कर्माज्ञानवणानां त्यागानोक्षय कल्यते। श्रत्यन्तस्तत्परित्यागः सत्यात्मनि न विद्यते ॥ ७३ ॥ हित्वा हित्वा चयमिदं विशेषख्यपलभ्यते। श्रात्मनस्तु स्थितिर्यच तच ख्रद्धामिदं चयम्॥ ७४॥ स्रक्षत्वाचैव दोषाणामव्यापाराच चेतसः। दीर्घत्वादायुषश्चेव मोस्रस्तु परिकल्पाते ॥ ७५ ॥ अहंकारपरित्यागी यश्चेष परिकल्धते। मत्यात्मिन परित्यागो नाइंकारस्य विद्यते ॥ ७ई ॥

^{69.} a. śūkṣma, A. c. kṣetrajya(?sya or sva rewritten)syāparityād (one syllable short), A; śiń-śes yoṅs-su ma-btań-phyir, T; 'from non-abandonment of the cause-knower', C.

^{71.} b. nimukta, A.

^{72.} a. e.c.; °ambuvihārād, A; chu me-las (for med-pas), T; 'when the season, soil, water, heat, wind are separated from it', C.

^{73.} a. şat karmma°, A; gan-zhig . . . las, T.

^{74.} c. ātmānas tu sthiti yatra, A.

^{75.} a. śūkṣmatvāc, A. c. tshe ni . . . kyan (āyuṣaś cāpi ?), T.



संख्यादिभिर्मुक्तश्च निर्गुणो न भवत्ययम्। तसादसति नैग्यो नास्य मोद्योऽभिधीयते ॥ ७७॥ ग्णिनो हि ग्णानां च व्यतिरेको न विद्यते। रूपोष्णाभ्यां विरहितो न हामिरुपलभ्यते ॥ ७८ ॥ प्राग्देहान भवेदेही प्राग्गेभ्यस्तया ग्णी। तसादादी विसुत्तः सन् शरीरी बध्यते पुनः ॥ ७८ ॥ श्चेनजो विश्ररीरश्च जो वा स्यादज्ञ एव वा। यदि जो जेयमस्यास्ति जेये सति न सुचाते ॥ ८०॥ अयाज्ञ इति सिडी वः कल्पितेन किमात्मना। विनापि ह्यात्मनाज्ञानं प्रसिद्धं काष्ठकुद्धवत् ॥ ८१ ॥ परतः परतस्थागी यस्नात्त् गुणवान् स्नुतः। तसात्सर्वपरित्यागान्मन्ये कत्नां कतार्थताम् ॥ ८२॥ इति धर्ममराडस्य विदित्वा न तुतीष सः। श्रक्तसमिति विज्ञाय ततः प्रतिजगाम ह ॥ ८३॥ विशेषस्य श्रुषुरुद्रकस्याश्रमं ययौ। श्रात्मयादाद तस्यापि जयहे न स दर्शनम्॥ ८४॥

^{77.} c. nairggunyai, A; de-phyir yon-tan-med gyur-na (=tasmāt sati nairgunye), T; 'since this guna remains', C.

^{79.} c. kasmād, Co. (e.c.); de-phyir, T; 'therefore', C.

^{81.} c. bdag dan bral yan ses-pa ni (vināpy ātmanā jñānam), T; 'to have knowledge without the ātman, the ātman then is the same as wood or stone', C.

^{82.} Tomits b, c and d. d. kṛtsnām kṛtām (followed by faint traces of two characters, rthatam?), A; 'what one does is then finality', C.

^{83.} b. tutoşa sa, A. c. akṛtsna iti, Hultzsch.

^{84.} b. udrakasmā° (originally syā?), A. c. ātmagrāhāt tu, Cappeller.



39

संज्ञासंज्ञित्वयोदीं ज्ञात्वा हि सुनिरुद्रकः।

ग्राकिंचन्वात्परं खेमेऽसंज्ञासंज्ञात्मिकां गतिम्॥ ८५॥

यस्माचालम्बने स्रक्षे संज्ञासंज्ञे ततः परम्।

नासंज्ञी नैव संज्ञीति तस्मान्त्वगतस्पृहः॥ ८६॥

यत्रश्च बुद्धिल्वेव स्थितान्यचाप्रचारिणी।

स्रक्षापद्वी ततस्तव नासंज्ञित्वं न संज्ञिता॥ ८७॥

यस्माच तदिप प्राप्य पुनरावर्तते जगत्।

बोधिसच्यः परं प्रेपुस्तस्मादुद्रकमत्यजत्॥ ८८॥

ततो हित्वात्रमं तस्य श्रेयोऽथीं क्रतनिश्चयः।

भेजे गयस्य राजर्षेर्नगरीसंज्ञमात्रमम्॥ ८६॥

त्रश्च नैरञ्चनातीरे शुची श्रुचिपराक्रमः।

चकार वासमेकान्तविद्यास्मिरितर्स्निः॥ १०॥

- 85. a. °tvayo ddosañ, A. cd. A omits avagraha; hdu-ses hdu-ses-med bdag-min...thob, T; 'separating himself from abiding in reflection and non-reflection', C.
- 86. a. śūkṣme, A. b. hdu-śes hdu-śes-med-las gzhan (=samjñāsam-jñitvayoḥ param, omitting tataḥ), T. c. T omits iti. d. der ni re-hdod-med (tatra gataspṛhaḥ), T; Co. divides like T.
- 87. a. tatreva, A. c. e.c.; sükşmā 'padvī, A; phra-zhin rno-ldan (sūkşmā patvī), T.
- 88. a. de-phyir (tasmāc), T. e.c. Böhtlingk; tam api, A. prāptya, A. c. bodhisatvam, A.
 - 89. cd. rājarse nagarī°, A.
 - 90. d. °vihām(corrected to ha?)rā°, A.

BUDDHACARITA



* * * तत्पूर्व पच्चिन्द्रयवशोद्यतान्।
तपः * * वितनो भिन्नून् पच्च निरैन्धत ॥ ८१ ॥
ते चोपतस्युर्देष्टाच भिन्नवस्तं सुसुन्धवः।
पुण्यार्जितधनारोग्यमिन्द्रियार्था द्रवेश्वरम् ॥ ८२ ॥
संपूज्यमानस्तैः प्रच्चैिनयादनुवर्तिभिः।
तद्वशस्यायिभः शिष्येर्ज्ञोत्तिर्मन द्रवेन्द्रियैः ॥ ८३ ॥
सत्युजन्मान्तकरणे स्यादुपायोऽयमित्यथ ।
दुष्कराणि समारेमे तपांस्यनश्चेन सः ॥ ८४ ॥
उपवासविधीन्नैकान् कुर्वन्तरदुराचरान्।
वर्षाणि षट् शमप्रेसुरकरोत्कार्श्वमात्मनः ॥ ८५ ॥
श्रम्नकार्लेषु चैकैकैः स कोलितिलतग्रहुनैः।
श्रम्मारपारं प्रसुरपार्यत्॥ ८६ ॥

- 91. A omits this verse and C puts it before verse 90. a. de-nas de ni shar brten-zhin (=tatas tatpūrvam āśritān), T. b. dban-po lna-yi dban-las khens, T. c. mun-pas bsñen-paḥi brtul-zhugs-can (=tamahsamśrayavratinah), T. d. dge-slon lna-rnams nes (so Peking edition, des Weller) gzigs-so, T. 'The five bhikṣus had gone there before him. He saw the five bhikṣus, virtuously restraining all the senses, holding to the prohibitions, practising tapas, dwelling in that penance grove ', C.
- 92. a. pañcopatasthur, A; dge-slon de-rnams...ñe-bar-gnas, T. b. T omits mumukṣavaḥ and adds api (kyan); 'knowing him with diligent mind to be seeking mokṣa', C.
- 93. a. °māṇas, A. ab. prahvai vvinayānatapūrttibhiḥ, A; rab-tu (for rab-dud or rab-btud) de-rnams-kyis...rnam-par dul-las rjes-su-ḥjug, T; 'in all humility...never separating themselves', C. c. tadvamsa', A; deḥi dban-gyi, T. d. ivaindriyaiḥ, A.
- 95. c. e.c.; vaṣāṇi ṣat kamaprepsur, A; las ni thob-bzhed lo drug-tu (varṣāṇi ṣat karmaprepsur), T; 'tranquil (śānta) and meditating in trance, so he passed six years', C.



देशादपचयत्तेन तपसा तस्य यः ज्ञतः। स रवीपचयी भूयस्तेजसास्य क्रतीऽभवत् ॥ ६७ ॥ क्रशोऽप्यक्रश्रकीर्तिश्रीर्ह्वादं चकेऽन्यचस्र्याम्। कुमुदानामिव प्रारच्छक्षपक्षादिचन्द्रमाः॥ १८॥ त्वगस्थिशेषो निःशेषैर्मेदःपिशितशोशितैः। श्रीगोऽप्यश्रीगगाभीर्यः समुद्र इव स व्यभात् ॥ १९ ॥ श्रय कप्टतपःस्पष्टवार्थिकप्टतनुर्स्निः। भवभीरुरिमां चको वृद्धिं वृद्धत्वकाङ्क्षया ॥ १००॥ नायं धर्मी विरागाय न बोधाय न मुक्तये। जम्बम्बे मया प्राप्तो यस्तदा स विधिर्भुवः ॥ १०१ ॥ न चासौ दुर्वलेनामुं शकामित्यागतादरः। श्रीरवलच्छार्थिमदं भूयोऽन्वचिन्तयत्॥ १०२॥ श्वत्यपासाश्रमकान्तः श्रमाद्खस्यमानसः। प्राप्न्यान्यनसावायं फलं कथमनिर्दतः॥ १०३॥ निर्देतिः प्राप्यते सम्यक् सततेन्द्रियतर्पणात्। संतर्पितेन्द्रियतया मनःस्वास्थमवाष्यते ॥ १०४ ॥

97. d. krto bhavet, A; byas gyur, T.

98. ab. °śri hlādam, A.

99. Not in C. b. mmedapiśitaśonitaih, A.

100. c. bhavabhikar (very like rur) imāñ, A; srid-las hjigs-pa, T.

101. d. sa vidhir ddhruvamh (anusvara added later), A; de nes-pa yin (sa dhruvah, omitting vidhir), T.

102. a. na cāso durbbalenāptam, A. b. nus-pa med phyir gus hons-

śiń (=na . . . śakyam hy āgatādaraḥ), T.

103. a. skom-pas yońs-beer-zhiń (°pipāsāpariklāntaḥ), T. b. asvatth-(corrected to sth)amāsanaḥ, A; raṅ-gnas med-paḥi sems, T. d. ldog-pa med-pa (=anivṛttaḥ), T.

104. a. gnas-pa hthob-pa-ste (samsthitih prāpyate?), T.



खस्यप्रसद्यमनसः समाधिरुपपद्यते। समाधियुक्तचित्तस्य ध्यानयोगः प्रवर्तते ॥ १०५ ॥ ध्यानप्रवर्तनाइमीः प्राध्यन्ते यैववाध्यते। दर्जभं शान्तमजरं परं तद्खतं पदम् ॥ १०६ ॥ तसादा हारमुलीऽयसुपाय इतिनिश्चयः। श्राहारकरणे धीरः क्षत्वामितमतिर्मतिम्॥ १००॥ स्रातो नैरञ्जनातीराद्त्ततार शनैः क्रशः। भक्त्यावनतशाखायैर्दत्तहस्तस्तटद्रमैः॥ १०८॥ अय गोपाधिपस्ता दैवतैरभिचोदिता। उद्गतहृदयानन्दा तच नन्दबलागमत्॥ १०६॥ सित्रभूद्वोञ्चलभूजा नीलकम्बलवासिनी। सफेनमालानीलाम्बर्यमुनेव सरिद्वरा॥ ११०॥ सा आडावधितप्रीतिर्विकसस्त्रीचनीत्यला। शिरसा प्रियत्यैनं याच्यामास पायसम्॥ १११॥ क्रता तद्पभोगेन प्राप्तजन्मफलां स ताम्।

107. ab. yam apā iti (one syllable short), A; ḥdi ni thabs zhes, T. c. āsu(? corrected to hā ?)rakaraņe dhā(?ī?)raḥ, A; bzaḥ-ba byed-la brtan-pa ni, T.

बोधप्राप्तौ समर्थोऽसृत्संतर्पितषडिन्द्रियः॥ ११२॥

108. a. nīranjanā°, A. d. tatamdramaih, A; hgram-gyi ljon-śiń, T (see note in translation).

109. b. devatair, A.

110. ab. °śamkhojvalabhujā līla°, A; snon-po, T.

111. a. sā śrarddhā°, A. b. °locanātpalā, A. c. sirasā pratapaty enam, A; de-la mgo-yis rab-btud-nas, T; 'she bowed her head at the Bodhisattva's feet ', C.

112. c. bodhiprapto, A.



पर्याप्तायानमूर्तिय सार्धे स्वयणसा सुनिः।
कान्तियेथे वभारेकः णणाक्कार्णवयोर्द्वयोः॥ ११३॥
श्वाद्यत इति विद्याय तं जहुः पष्च भिष्ठवः।
मनीषिणमिवात्मानं निर्मुक्तं पष्च धातवः॥ ११४॥
व्यवसायदितीयोऽय णादकास्तीर्णभृतकम्।
सोऽश्वत्यमूलं प्रययौ वोधाय कतिनश्वयः॥ ११५॥
ततस्तदानीं गजराजविक्रमः
पदस्वनेनानुपमेन वोधितः।
महासुनेरागतवोधिनिश्वयो
जगाद कालो भुजगोत्तमः स्तुतिम्॥ ११६॥
यथा सुने त्वचरणावपीडिता
सुहर्मुहर्निष्टनतीव मेदिनी।
यथा च ते राजित स्वर्यवत्यभा
भवं त्विमष्टं फलमद्य भोश्यमे॥ ११७॥

- 113. b. sārddha suyasasā, A; raṅ-gi grags bcas, T. c. dhaiye kabhā-raikaḥ, A; brtan-pa gcig-pos bzuṅ, T. d. śaśāṁkārṇṇavadvardvayoḥ, A; nus-gyur rgya-mtsho gñis-dag-gi (śaśākārṇavayor dvayoḥ), T.
 - 114. b. jahruḥ, A; dor, T. d. grol-ba-la (nirmuktau?), T.
 - 115. b. śādvalā°, A; rtsva hjam bkram-paḥi (śādvalākīrṇa°), T.
- 116. a. tadīnā (corrected to tadānim), A. ab. padasvamenā°, A; hgros-mnah-baḥi dpe-med zabs-kyi sgra-yis (°vikramapadasvanenānupamena), T; 'stepping like a lion (mṛgarāja°?), at every step the earth was shaken and moved ', C. d. bhujagottama, A.
- 117. b. mmuhu nistanatīva, A. c. rājani, A; shan-ba-ste, T. d. dhruva, A. hdod-paḥi go-ḥphan mkhyen-pa ñid (iṣṭam padam eva bhotsyase, or bhaksyase?), T.



यथा समन्त्यो दिवि चाषपङ्घयः प्रदक्षिणं त्वां कमलाक्ष कर्वते। यथा च सोम्या दिवि वान्ति वायव-स्वमद्य बुडो नियतं भविष्यसि ॥ ११८॥ ततो भुजङ्गप्रवरेण संस्तृत-स्तृणान्यपादाय भूचीनि जावकात। क्रतप्रतिज्ञो निषसाद बोधये महातरोर्मुलसुपाश्चितः श्रुवेः ॥ ११८ ॥ ततः स पर्यङ्कमकम्प्यमुत्तमं बबन्ध सुप्तीर्गभीगपिरिडतम्। भिनद्मि तावज्जवि नैतदासनं न यामि यावत्कृतकत्यतामिति॥ १२०॥ ततो ययुर्मुद्मतुचां दिवीवसी ववाशिरे न स्गगणाः न पक्षिणः। न सखनुर्वनतर्वोऽनिखाइताः क्रतासने भगवति निश्चितात्मनि ॥ १२१ ॥ इति बृद्धचरिते महाकाव्येऽराडदर्भनो नाम दादशः सर्गः ॥ १२ ॥

118. a. cāya(very like şa)panktayah, A; khug-rtahi phren-ba-rnams, T; 'five hundred blue kites in flocks', C. cd. vānta vāy(?v?)ayah tvam, A; rlun-rnams...hgro-ba-ste khyod-kyis (yānti vāyavas tvam), T.

119. a. sa stutas, A; yan-dag bstod-pa, T. b. Ico-ga-las (lābakāt), T. 120. a. payankanu(corrected to ma)kampyam, A. d. tāvat, A; jisrid, T.

121. a. divokaso, A. b. vavāsire ņa (corrected on margin to na), A; gnas-par ma-gyur (na vavāsire, to vas, 'dwell'!), T; 'one and all the beasts and birds were quiet and uttered no sound at all', C. d. kṛtātmane, A; gdan mdzad, T.



GL

CANTO XIII

तिस्मिन्योद्याय क्रतप्रतिचे राजर्षिवंशप्रभवे महर्षी । तचोपविष्टे प्रजहर्ष लोकस्तचास सडर्मरिपुस्तु मारः ॥ १ ॥ यं कामदेवं प्रवदन्ति लोके चिचायुधं पुष्पशरं तथैव । कामप्रचाराधिपतिं तसेव मोश्चदिषं मारसुदाइरन्ति ॥ २ ॥

तस्यात्मजा विश्वमहर्षदर्णास्तिसोऽरितप्रीतितृषय कन्याः।
पप्रच्छुरेनं मनसो विकारं
स तांश्र तार्थेव वचोऽभ्युवाच ॥ ३ ॥
असौ सुनिर्निश्रयवर्म विश्वत्सचायुधं बुडिशरं विद्यायः॥ ४ ॥
जिगीषुरास्ते विषयात्मदीयान्तसादयं से मनसो विषादः॥ ४॥

I. a. tasmāya kṛta° (three syllables short), A; der ni rnam-par-thar-phyir dam-bcaḥ mdzad-pa-na, T; 'established every firm vow that he would accomplish the path of liberation', C. b. rājarṣivaśa°, A. c. tratropa°, A. d. der ni . . . gyur-te (divides tatra=āsa), T.

^{2.} a. ya kāma°, A. d. mokṣadviyam, A; thar-paḥi dgra-bo, T; hating those who strive for liberation ', C.

^{3.} b. e.c.; A, T and apparently C omit the avagraha. c. papracchur ena, A. d. vaco bhyuthāsa (meant for bhyuvāca?), A; tshig mnon-parsmras, T.

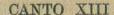
^{4.} a. nniścayadharmma bibhrata, A; nes-paḥi go-cha-rnams gzun-zhin T. b. bsdogs-byas-nas ('making ready', ?viṣajya), T; 'grasping', C. c. jigīsuc āste, A. d. gan-phyir ...rnam-par-ḥgyur (yasmād ... vikāraḥ), T.



यदि ह्यसी मामभिभूय याति लोकाय चाखात्यप्वर्गमार्गम्।
प्रत्यस्ततोऽयं विषयो ममाद्य हत्ताच्युतस्येव विदेहभर्तुः॥५॥
तद्यावदेवैष न लक्ष्यस्थर्भन्नोचरे तिष्ठति यावदेव।
यास्यामि तावद्वतमस्य भेत्तं मेतुं नदीवेग द्वातिहृद्धः॥६॥
ततो धनुः पुष्पमयं यहीत्वा शरान् जगन्नोहृकरांश्व पञ्च।
सोऽश्वत्यमूलं ससुतोऽभ्यगच्छदस्यास्थकारी मनसः प्रजानाम्॥७॥
श्रव्य प्रशान्तं सुनिमासनस्यं पारं तितीर्षुं भवसागरस्य।
विषञ्य सत्यं करमायुधाये क्रीडन् शरेगोदसुवाच मारः॥८॥
उत्तिष्ठ भोः श्वविय सत्युभीत चर स्वधमं त्यज मोक्षधमम्।
वाणैश्व यज्ञैश्व विनीय लोकं लोकात्यदं प्राप्नुहि वासवस्य॥ ८॥
वाणैश्व यज्ञैश्व विनीय लोकं लोकात्यदं प्राप्नुहि वासवस्य॥ ८॥

पन्धा हि निर्यातुमयं यशस्यो यो वाहितः पूर्वतमैर्नरेन्द्रैः। जातस्य राजर्षिकुले विशाले भैक्षाकमञ्चाद्यमिदं प्रपत्तुम्॥ १०॥

- 5. a. yadi hṛ(?hya?)sau, A. c. śūnyas vato 'yam, A.
- 7. b. kun-tu rmońs-par byed-paḥi mdaḥ lna-rnams bzun-nas (=sammo-hakarān śarān pañca gṛhītvā), T.
- 8. a. munim ātmasamtham, A; thub-pa . . gdan-la bzhugs-pa-la, T. b. srid-pa hkhor-baḥi (=bhavasamsārasya), T. c. savya, A. brduns-nas (vihatya?), T.
- 9. a. utistha, A. c. bāṇeś ca (gap for three missing characters) vinīya lokān, A; mdaḥ dan mehod-sbyin-rnams-kyis ḥjig-rten pham-byas-nas(=text, but vijitya for vinīya?), T. d. lokān parān prāpnuhi, A; ḥjig-rten-dag-nas...go-ḥphan thob-par mdzod, T; 'practise fighting, alms, happiness and power(?); moderating-subduing (vinīya) everything in the world, thereafter obtain the joys of a heavenly birth', C.
 - 10. a. yasasyo, A. d. bhaikṣyākam, A.





श्रथाद्य नोत्तिष्ठसि निश्चितात्मन् भव स्थिरो मा विमुचः प्रतिज्ञाम्। मयोद्यतो द्वोष श्ररः स एव

यः श्रूपंके मीनिरिपौ विसुक्तः॥ ११॥
स्पृष्टः स चानेन कथंचिदैडः सोमस्य नप्ताप्यभविदिचित्तः।
स चाभवक्कलनुरस्वतन्त्रः श्लीणे युगे किं वत दुर्वकोऽन्यः॥ १२॥
तिष्ठप्रसुत्तिष्ठ सभस्य संज्ञां वाणो द्ययं तिष्ठति लेलिहानः।
प्रियाविधेयेषु रितिप्रियेषु यं चक्रवाकेष्ठिव नोत्सृजािम ॥ १३॥
इत्येवमुक्तोऽपि यदा निरास्थो नैवासनं शाक्यसुनिर्विभेदः।
शरं ततोऽसौ विससर्ज मारः कन्याय क्रत्वा पुरतः सुतांख ॥१४॥
तिसांस्तु वाणोऽपि स विप्रसुक्ते चकार नास्थां न धतेयचाल।
हृष्ट्वा तथैनं विषसाद मार्खिन्तापरीत्य शनैर्जगाद ॥ १५॥
श्रैलेन्द्रपुचीं प्रति येन विद्वो देवोऽपि श्रम्भुश्चलितो वभूव।
न चिन्तयत्येष तमेव वाणं किं स्यादिचत्तो न श्ररः स एषः॥१६॥
तस्माद्यं नार्हति पुष्पवाणं न हर्षणं नापि रतेर्नियोगम्।
श्रईत्ययं भृतगणैरसौस्यैः संचासनातर्जनताडनानि॥ १७॥

^{11.} a. notisthasi, A. d. sūrpp(?yy?)ake, A; sūrbaka-la, T.

^{12.} a. pṛṣṭaḥ, A; reg-pa, T; 'just touched as by a breath of wind', C. c. chāntanur, A.

^{13.} a. utistha, A. d. cakravākesvapi, A; nan-pa-rnams-labzhin-du, T.

^{15.} c. vișaśāda, A.

^{16.} b. deyaśvi śambhuś, A; bde-ḥbyuń lha yań, T. d. śarah sa eva, Gawroński,

^{17.} a. ayam nārhasi, A; hdi hos-pa ma-yin-zhin, T. b. rato niyogam, A; ... sbyor-ba (two syllables short, niyogam), T; 'it is not by means of ... these three Devi daughters of mine', C. c. asyai(? for sau)myaih, A; zhi-ba ma-yin, T.



सस्मार् मारश्च ततः स्वसैन्धं विद्यं श्रमे श्राक्यमुनेश्विकीर्षन्। नानाश्रयाश्वानुचराः परीयुः श्रखदुमप्रासगदासिहस्ताः॥ १८॥

वराहमीनाश्वखरोष्ट्रवक्का व्याध्रधिसंहिद्दर्दाननाश्व।
एकेश्वणा नैकमुखास्त्रिणीर्घा लम्बोदराश्वेव प्रघोदराश्व॥ १८॥
त्रजानसक्या घटजानवश्च दंष्ट्रायुधार्श्वेव नखायुधाश्व।
करक्कवक्का बहुमूर्तयश्च भग्नार्धवक्काश्च महामुखाश्च॥ २०॥
भम्मारुणा लोहितविन्दुच्चाः खट्वाङ्गहस्ता हरिधूस्रकेणाः।
लम्बस्नो वारणलम्बकणश्चिमाम्बराश्वेव निरम्बराश्च॥ २१॥
श्वेतार्धवक्का हरितार्धकायास्तास्त्राश्च धूस्रा हरयोऽसिताश्च।
व्यालोत्तरासङ्गभुजास्तथेव प्रघृष्ट्रघण्टाकुलमेखलाश्च॥ २२॥

18. b. e.c.; vighnam same śākyamune cikīrsan, A; śākya thub-pa-ḥ bgegs ni mñam-por byed ḥdod-po (vighnam same, or samam, śākyamuneś cikīrsan), T. c. sna-tshogs bsam-pa (nānāśayāś?), T. d. e.c.; (parīyuḥ) valadruma°, A; śiń-rtse ljon-śiń-rtse gsum-mdun (two syllables in excess,=?), T; 'grasping lances, holding knives and swords, grasping trees', C; śara°, Co.

19. a. T omits aśva (reading varāhamīnāś ca?). d. dan gsus-pa che-barnams (mahodarāś ca?), T; 'some with great bellies and long bodies', C;

kṛśodarāś ca, Windisch.

20. a. e.c. Lüders and Kern; ajāmusakthā, A; brla-rnams pus-moḥi bar-du (ājānusakthā), T. b. draṣtrā°, A. c. kabandhahastā, A; ken-rus gdon-can, T; 'some with faces that had neither heads nor eyes' (or 'without heads, eyes (var. breasts), or faces'), C.

21. a. tāmrāruņā, A; thal-skya-rnams, T; 'some became ash-earth colour', C. c. ḥphons ḥphyan-rnams (=lambasphico, Weller amends to ḥphren ḥphyan-rnams=text), T; 'some with mountainous lumps on their backs', C. glan-poḥi rna-baḥi rna-ba-rnams (vāraṇakarṇakarṇās), T.

22. b. dhūmra, A. ljan-khu dkar-po-rnams (harayah sitāś ca), T. c.

sbrul-gyi śam-thabs-rnams (vyālāntarāsanga°?), T.



तालप्रमाणाख्य यहीतप्रला दंष्ट्राकरालाख्य प्रिश्नप्रमाणाः। उरसवकाख्य विषंगमाधा मार्जारवकाख्य मनुष्यकायाः॥ २३॥ प्रकीर्णकेषाः शिखिनोऽर्धमुण्डा रक्ताम्बरा व्याकुलवेष्टनाख्य। प्रहष्टवक्ता सकुटीमुखाख्य तेजोहराख्येव मनोहराख्य॥ २४॥ केचिद्रजन्तो स्थामाववस्परचोऽन्यमापुष्ठुविरे तथान्ये। चिक्रीदुराकाण्गताख्य केचित्केचिच चेक्त्तकमस्तकेषु॥ २५॥ नर्नत काख्यद्वमयंक्तिश्रसं काख्यदिपुरफूर्ज गदां विकर्षन्। हर्षण काख्यद्वमयंक्तिश्रसं काख्यदिपुरफूर्ज गदां विकर्षन्। हर्षण काख्यद्वमयंक्तिश्रसं काख्यदिपुरफूर्ज गदां विकर्षन्। एवविधा सूतगणाः समन्तात्तदोधमूलं परिवार्य तस्थः। चिष्ठसवद्येव जिघांसवख्य भर्तुर्नियोगं परिपालयन्तः॥ २९॥ तं प्रेष्ट्य मारस्य च पूर्वराचे शाक्यर्षभस्यैव च युद्धकालम्। न द्योखकाणे पृथिवी चकम्ये प्रजञ्चलुखैव दिश्वः सप्रब्दाः॥२८॥ विषयववौ वायुक्दीर्णवेगस्तारा न रेजुर्न वभी श्रशाङ्कः। तम्ख सूयो विततान राचिः सर्वे च संचुष्ठ्यभिरे ससुद्राः॥ २८॥

23. Not in C. b. dramstrā°, A. c. vihamgamāś ca, A ; bya-yi mig-canrnams, T.

24. a. ral-pa dan byi-bo-rnams (śikhino 'tha muṇḍā ?), T. b. rajvam-barā, A; gos dmar-rnams, T. d. 'Some snatching men's lives ' (vayoharāś ca ?), C.

25. b. e.c. Cowell; āpuplutire, A; C and T ambiguous.

26. a. bhramayan triśūlam, A. b. e.c. Lüders; kaścid va (or dha) pusphūrja, A; Tambiguous.

27. b. e.c. Cowell; tam bodhimulam, A; byan-chub sems-dpaḥ de-la (tam bodhisattvam), T; 'surrounded the bodhi tree', C. c. 'Others again wished to eat him up' (jighatsavaś ca?), C. d. bharttu nniyogam, A. rabtu-skyon-bar byed-pa-ste (pratipālayantaḥ?), T.

28. a. preksyā, A. c. na dyo cakāśe, A; na-mkhaḥ gsal-ba ma-yin, T.

29. a. viśvag, A. b. reju nna, A. c. e.c. Cappeller; vitatāra rātri (or tre, top of letter cut off), A; mtshan-mor...rgyas gyur-la (vitatāna rātrau?), T.



महीस्तो धर्मपराश्च नागा महासुनेविद्यमसध्यमाणाः।
मारं प्रति क्रोधविष्टत्तनेचा निःश्रश्वसुश्चैव जजृम्भिरे च ॥ ३० ॥
शुडाधिवासा विवुधर्षयस्तु सद्धर्मसिद्धर्थमिभप्रष्टत्ताः।
मारे उनुकम्पां मनसा प्रचक्रविरागभावात्तु न रोषमीयुः ॥ ३१ ॥
तद्दोधिमूलं समवेश्च कीर्णं हिंसात्मना मारवंखेन तेन।
धर्मात्मिलीकविमोध्यकामैर्वभूव हाहाक्षतमन्तरीश्चे ॥ ३२ ॥
उपञ्चवं धर्मविधेस्तु तस्य हष्ट्वा स्थितं मारवलं महर्षिः।
न चुक्षुभे नापि ययौ विकारं मध्ये गवां सिंह द्रवोपविष्टः ॥३३॥
मारस्ततो भूतचमृसुदीर्णामाज्ञापयामास भयाय तस्य।
स्वैः स्वैः प्रभावेर्य सास्य सेना तद्वैर्यभेदाय मितं चकार ॥ ३४॥

केचिचलकैकविलम्बिजिह्या-

स्तीक्षायदंद्रा हरिमण्डलाशाः। विदारितास्याः स्थिरशङ्कवर्णाः

संचासयन्तः किल नाम तस्यः ॥ ३५ ॥ तेभ्यः स्थितभ्यः स तथाविषेभ्यः रूपेण भावेन च दार्गोभ्यः । न विव्यये नोहिविजे महर्षिः क्रीडत्सुवालेभ्य इवोह्नतेभ्यः ॥३६॥

30. a. chos-dag hdzin-pahi (dharmadharāś, or °bhṛtaś), T. b. mahā-munir, A. °mānāh, A.

31. a. śuddhāddhivāsā, A. b. °artham iva pravṛttāḥ, A; don-du mnonpar-zhugs-pa-rnams, T. c. °kampā, A.

32. c. dharmmātmabhi lloka°, A. d. antarīkṣam (anusvara added later), A; na mkhaḥ-dag-la, T.

33. a. dharmmavis tu (one syllable short), A; chos-kyi cho-ga, T. d. gāvām, A.

34. cd. senān taddhairya°, A.

35. a. calamnnaika°, A. ab. °jihvā tīkṣṇogradramṣtrā, A; mche-baḥi rtse-mo-rnams rno, T.



विश्वति रोषविष्टत्तहिष्टस्तसी गदामुद्यमयांचकार। तस्तमा बाहुः सगदस्ततोऽस्य पुरंदरस्येव पुरा सवजः॥ ३०॥

नेचित्समुद्यम्य शिलास्तरूंश्च विषेत्तिरे नैव मुनौ विमोक्तुम् । पेतुः सष्टक्षाः सशिलास्तर्थैव वज्ञावभग्ना दव विन्थ्यपादाः ॥ ३८॥

कैश्वित्समृत्यत्य नभो विमुक्ताः शिलाश्व दृष्टाश्व परश्वधाश्व ।
तस्युर्नभस्येव न चावपेतुः संध्याग्रपादा द्रव नैकवर्णाः ॥ ३८ ॥
चिश्चेप तस्योपिर दीत्तमन्यः कडङ्गरं पर्वतश्रङ्गमाचम् ।
यन्मुक्तमाचं गगनस्यभेव तस्यानुभावाच्छतधा पफाल ॥ ४० ॥
कश्चिञ्चलन्नकं द्रवीदितः खादङ्गारवर्षं महदुत्समर्ज ।
चूर्णानि चामीकरकन्दराणां कल्पात्यये मेरुरिव प्रदीतः ॥ ४१ ॥
तदोधिमूले प्रविकीर्यमाणमङ्गारवर्षं तु सिवस्फुलिङ्गम् ।
मैचीविद्याराद्यस्तत्तमस्य बभूव रक्तोत्पलपक्तवर्षः ॥ ४२ ॥
शरीरचित्तव्यसनातपैक्तरेवंविधैक्तेश्व निपात्यमानैः ।
नैवासनाच्छाक्यमुनिश्चचाल स्वनिश्चयं बन्धुमिवीपगुद्य ॥ ४३ ॥

^{37.} a. rości(possibly corrected to dra)vivṛttadṛṣṭis, A; khros-pas Ita-byed rnam-ḥgyur-zhin, T. b. tasmai mudām, A; ḥdi-la dbyug-pa, T. d. purāmdarasyaiva, A.

^{38.} a. samuddamya, A; gyen-du ḥphyar-ba, T.

^{39.} c. e.c. Cowell; ca nāvapetuḥ, A.

^{40.} c. de ni hphans-pa (tan mukta°), T.

^{41.} c. °kandarāṇā, A. d. hjig-rten hjig-tshe (lokātyaye), T.

^{42.} a. pratikiryamānam, A; rab-tu-rnam-ḥphans-paḥi, T. d. °varṣam, Böhtlingk.

^{43.} b. nipatyamānaih, A; phab-pa, T.



त्रियापरे निर्जिगिनुर्मुखेभ्यः सर्पान्विजीर्योभ्य इव दुमेभ्यः ।
ते मन्त्रवहा इव तत्समीपे न ग्रश्वसुनीत्सस्पुर्न चेनुः ॥ ४४ ॥
भूतापरे वारिधरा वहन्तः सविद्युतः साम्मिन्यण्डधोषाः ।
तिस्मिन्दुमे तत्यजुरभ्मवर्षे तत्पुष्पवर्षे रुचिरं वभूव ॥ ४५ ॥
चापेऽय वाणो निहितोऽपरेण जञ्चान तचैव न निष्पपात ।
श्वनीश्वरस्थात्मिन धूयमानी दुर्मर्षणस्थेव नरस्य मन्युः ॥ ४६ ॥
पन्तेषवीऽन्थेन तु विप्रमुक्तास्तस्थुर्नभस्येव मुनौ न पेतुः ।
संसारभौरोविषयप्रवृत्तौ पन्तेन्द्रयाणीव परीक्षकस्य ॥ ४७ ॥
जिद्यांसयान्यः प्रससार रुष्टो गदां यहीत्वाभिमुखो महर्षः ।
सोऽप्राप्तकामो विवशः पपात दोषेषिवानर्थकरेषु लोकः ॥ ४८ ॥

स्ती मेघकाली तु कपालहस्ता

कर्तुं महर्षेः किल चिक्तमोहम्।

बस्राम तचानियतं न तस्थी

चलात्मनो बुिह्मितागमेषु ॥ ४८ ॥

कश्चित्यदीमं प्रशिधाय चक्षुर्नेचािमनाश्चीविषविद्यक्षुः।

तन्नेव नासीनस्रषिं ददर्श कामात्मकः श्रेय द्वोपदिष्टम् ॥ ५०॥

44. a. rnam-par-skyugs-pa-ste (=vijagaruḥ), T; nirjagaruḥ, Böhtlingk. d. na sasvasu nnotsasrjur, A; son-ba ma-yin dbugs-min, T.

45. a. vāridharān, A; chu-hdzin chen-po . . . gyur-nas, T.

46. a. vāpe, A; gzhu-la, T. nihato, A; bkod-pa, T. d. durmmarşa-nasyaiva, A.

47. b. e.c. Kern and Böhtlingk; tasthau nayaty eva, A; nam-mkhar

gnas-śiń (nabhasy, or viyaty), T.

48. c. so prāptakālo, A ; des ni hdod-pa ma-thob, T.

49. b. kela mohacittam, A; thugs ni rmons-par byed ces grags, T.

50. b. °vad dhi (or vi) dhakṣuḥ, A; bzhin bsred ḥdod-pas, T. c. tatreva,
 A. d. ñer-gnas dpal bzhin-du (=śriyam ivopasthitām), T.



गुवीं फिलामुद्यमयंस्तथान्यः प्रश्राम मोघं विहतप्रयतः। निःश्रेयसं ज्ञानसमाधिगम्यं कायक्रमधर्मिमवातुकामः॥ ५१॥ तरश्चित्राञ्चतयस्तथान्ये प्रणेद्रचैर्मचतः प्रणादान्। सचानि यैः संचुकुचुः समन्तादचाहता द्योः फलतीति मत्वा ॥५२॥ खगा गजाञ्चार्तरवान् सजन्तो विद्दुवृञ्चैव निलिच्चिरे च। राची च तस्यामहनीव दिग्भ्यः खगा रुवन्तः परिपेतुरार्ताः ॥५३॥ तेषां प्रणादैस्तु तथाविधैस्तैः सर्वेषु भूतेष्वपि कस्पितेषु । मुनिर्न तचास न संचुकोच रवैर्गरुत्मानिव वायसानाम्॥ ५४॥ भयावहेभ्यः परिषद्गग्रेभ्यो यथा यथा नैव मुनिर्विभाय। तया तथा धर्मस्तां सपत्नः शोकाच रोषाच ससाद मारः ॥५५॥ भूतं ततः निंचिददश्यरूपं विशिष्टभूतं गगनस्यमेव। हर्षये द्राधमवैरहष्टं मारं बभाषे महता खरेण ॥ ५६ ॥ मोघं श्रमं नाईसि मार कर्तुं हिंसात्मतामुत्सूज गच्छ शर्म। नैष त्वया कम्पयितुं हि प्रक्यो महागिरिमें हरिवानि लेन ॥ ५७॥ अप्युष्णभावं ज्वलनः प्रजन्नादापो द्रवत्वं पृथिवौ स्थिरत्वम् । अनेककल्याचितपुर्व्यकर्मा न त्वेव जच्चाद्यवसायमेषः ॥ ५८॥

^{51.} a. gurvvī, A. udyamayan tathā°, A.

^{52.} a. tarakşusihā°, A.

^{53.} a. cāt(?bh?)uravān, A: ñam-thag skad, T. b. vidrudruvuś, A.

hthig-pa fiid-du gyur-pa-ste (eva vililyire?), T.

^{55.} a. 'ganebhyo, A. d. sasāra, A; bdud-rnams... byer-ba-ho ('the Māras dispersed',=?), T; 'all the Māras were exceedingly dejected', C; 'aroused in his mind (or, their minds), melancholy increased and he (or they) became angry', FP; mamāra, Böhtlingk; śaśāra, Kern.

^{56.} c. drstvārsaye, A.

^{58.} a. jvalana, A. d. vyavasām esaḥ (one syllable short), A; ḥdis ni nan-tan, T.



यो निश्वयो ह्यस्य पराक्रमश्च तेजश्च यद्या च द्या प्रजासु। श्रप्राप्य नोत्यास्यति तत्त्वमेष तमांस्यहत्वेव सहस्ररिक्षः॥ ५०॥

> काष्ठं हि मञ्नन् सभते हुताशं भूमिं सनन्विन्दति चापि तोयम्। निर्विश्विनः किंचन नास्यसाध्यं न्यायेन युक्तं च कृतं च सर्वम्॥ ६०॥

तक्षोकमार्त करणायमानो रोगेषु रागादिषु वर्तमानम्।

महाभिषङ् नाईति विद्यमेष ज्ञानौषधार्थं परिखिद्यमानः ॥ ६१ ॥

हते च लोके बहुभिः कुमार्गेः सन्धार्गमन्विच्छति यः श्रमेण ।

स दैशिकः श्लोभियतुं न युक्तं सुदेशिकः सार्थ इव प्रनष्टे ॥ ६२ ॥

सन्तेषु नष्टेषु महान्धकारे ज्ञानप्रदीपः कियमाण एषः ।

श्रायस्य निर्वापयितुं न साधु प्रज्ञान्यमानस्तमसीव दीपः ॥ ६३ ॥

हष्टा च संसारमये महोघे ममं जगत्पारमविन्दमानम् ।

यश्रेदमुत्तार्थितुं प्रवृत्तः कश्चिन्तयेत्तस्य तु पापमार्थः ॥ ६४ ॥

श्रमाशिको धैर्यविगादमूलश्चारिचपुष्यः स्मृतिबुिहशाखः ।

ज्ञानदुमो धर्मफलप्रदाता नीत्पाटनं द्यर्हति वर्धमानः ॥ ६५ ॥

^{59.} b. yad yā va dayā, A. c. nocchāsyati, A; ldan ma-yin, T. d. tamāsy, A. °rasmih, A.

^{60.} c. nāsya sādhyan (possibly meant for nāsty asādhyan), A; bsgrub-pa ma-yin . . . m̃ed, T.

^{62.} b. śramena, A; zhi-bas (śamena), T. d. pranaste, A.

^{64.} a. mahoghe, A. c. pravattaḥ, A. d. kaś cinna(rewritten)yet, A; su-yi sems-pa byed, T. T omits tu; tasya nu, Kern.

^{65.} a. veryavigāḍha°, A; brtan-paḥi... brtan-pa, T. c. dharmmapradātā (two syllables short), A; chos-kyi ḥbras-bu ster-pa-po, T.



वडां दृढेश्वेतिस मोइपाग्रेर्यस प्रजां मोश्रियतुं मनीषा।
तिसन् जिघांसा तव नोपपना श्रान्ते जगद्दश्वनमोश्रहेतोः॥६६॥
वोधाय कर्माणि हि यान्यनेन क्रतानि तेषां नियतोऽद्य कासः।
स्थाने तथास्मिनुपविष्ट एष यथैव पूर्वे सुनयस्तथैव॥ ६७॥
एषा हि नाभिवेसुधातसस्य क्रत्येन युक्ता परमेण धासा।
भूनेरतोऽन्योऽस्ति हि न प्रदेशो वेगं समाधेविषहेत योऽस्य॥६८॥
तन्मा क्रयाः शोकसुपेहि शान्तिं मा भून्महिसा तव मार मानः।
विश्रिक्मतुं न श्रममध्रवा श्रीश्रले पदे विस्मयमभ्यपेषि॥ ६८॥

ततः स संश्रुत्य च तस्य तद्वचो महामुनेः प्रेश्च च निष्पुकम्पताम्।

जगाम मारो विमनो हतोद्यमः

शर्रेर्जगचेतिस यैर्विहन्यते ॥ ७० ॥ गतप्रहर्षा विफलीकतस्रमा प्रविह्वपाषाणकडक्ररदुमा । दिशः प्रदृद्राव ततोऽस्य सा चमूईतास्रयेव दिषता दिषचमुः ॥७१॥

^{66.} c. nopapannām (anusvara added later), A.

^{68.} a. nābhi vvasudhā°, A. b. paramena, A. d. veśam samādhe vviṣa yo sya (gap for two missing characters), A; gan-zhig hdi-yi tin-ne-hdzin-gyi sugs bzod-paḥi, T; 'able entirely to bear the wonderful resolution', C.

^{69.} a. kṛthā (visarga added above line) sokam, A; khro-bar (roṣam, krodham), T. c. visrambhitum, A. d. kim padam at(?bh?)yupemi, A; rgyags-par mnon-par-ner-hgro-zhin (=text, Weller conjectures hgro ci=kim madam), T.

^{70.} b. preksa, A. c. matodyamah, A; hbad-pa beom-zhin, T. d. e.c. Böhtlingk; vihanyase, A; T ambiguous.

^{71.} a. gatapaharṣā, A. d. dgrar-gyur dgra-boḥi dpun (dviṣatī dviṣac-camūḥ, or amend to dgra-gyis dgra-boḥi dpun=text), T.

BUDDHACARITA

द्रवित सपरिपश्चे निर्जिते पृष्पकेती
जयित जिततमस्के नीरजस्के महर्षी।
युवितरिव सहासा खौश्वकाभे सचन्द्रा
सुरिभ च जसगर्भ पृष्पवर्ष पपात॥ ७२॥

दति बुद्धचिति महाकाचेऽश्वघोषकते मारविजयो नाम वयोदशः सर्गः ॥ १३॥

72. c. cakāse, A. d. puṣpavarṣa, A. A and T add the following spurious verse:—

Tathāpi pāpīyase nirjite gate
dišah praseduh prababhau nišākarah |
Divo nipetur bhuvi puspavṛṣṭayo
rarāja yoṣeva vikalmaṣā nišā ||

b. praśeduh, A. c. °vrstaye, A. Colophon: °kāvye aśva°, A.



CANTO XIV

ततो मारवलं जित्वा धैर्येण च शमेन च।

परमार्थ विजिज्ञासुः स दध्यी ध्यानकोविदः॥१॥

सर्वेषु ध्यानविधिषु प्राप्य चैश्वर्यसुक्तमम्।

सस्मार प्रथमे यामे पूर्वजन्मपरंपराम्॥२॥

श्रमुचाहमयं नाम खुतस्तस्मादिहागतः।

इति जन्मसहसाणि सस्मारानुभविनव॥३॥

स्मृत्वा जन्म च सृत्युं च तासु तास्त्रपपत्तिषु।

ततः सन्त्वेषु कारुण्यं चकार करुणात्मकः॥४॥

श्रत्वेह स्वजनोत्सर्ग पुनरन्थच च कियाः।

श्रचाणः खलु लोकोऽयं परिस्नमति चक्रवत्॥५॥

इत्येवं स्मरतस्तस्य वस्त्व नियतात्मनः।

कदलीगर्भनिःसारः संसार इति निश्चयः॥६॥

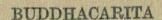
^{1.} b. vairyena ca śamana ca, A; brtan dan zhi-ba-yis, T. c. para-mārthamm vi°, A.

^{2.} b. uttamah (corrected to uttamam), A.

^{3.} ab. nāmā bhyutas, A; che-ge-mo bdag min hdi ni...hphos-te (amuko(?) 'ham ayam nāma cyutas), T. d. n(originally s?)asmarī(?ā?)nu°, A.

^{5.} a. kṛtveham sujanotsarggam, A; ran-gi skye-bo bor-nas ni (omitting iha, or read hdir for ni), T. b. kriyā, A; bya-ba-rnams, T. c. atrāṇa, A.

^{6.} a. smāratas, A.





दितीये त्वागते यामे सोऽदितीयपराक्रमः। दिव्यं लेभे परं चक्षः सर्वचक्ष्यतां वरः॥ ७॥ ततस्तेन सं दिखेन परिश्रुह्वेन चक्ष्षा। ददर्भ निखिलं लोकमादर्भ इव निर्मले ॥ ८॥ सत्त्वानां पद्यतस्तस्य निरुष्टोत्कृष्टकर्मणाम् । प्रचातिं चोपपत्तिं च वष्टधे करुणात्मता ॥ ६ ॥ इमे दुष्कृतकर्माणः प्राणिनो यान्ति दुर्गतिम्। इमेऽन्धे युभकर्माणः प्रतिष्ठन्ते चिपिष्टपे ॥ १०॥ उपपन्नाः प्रतिभये नरके समदार्गो । अमी दुःखैर्बहुविधैः पौद्यन्ते क्रपणं बत ॥ ११ ॥ पाय्यन्ते कथितं केचिद्ग्रिवर्णमयोरसम्। आरोधान्ते हवन्तोऽन्धे निष्टप्तस्तभागायसम्॥ १२॥ पच्चन्ते पिष्टवत्वेचिदयस्तुभौष्ठवाङ्म्बाः। दच्चन्ते कर्गा केचिदीतेषक्षारराशिषु॥ १३॥ केचित्तीर्ख्यारयोदंष्ट्रैर्भस्यन्ते दारुणैः श्वभिः। केचिबृष्टैरयन्तुग्डैर्वायसैरायसैरिव ॥ १४ ॥ केचिद्दाहपरिश्रान्ताः श्रीतच्छायाभिकाङ्किःगः। असिपचवनं नीलं बडा इव विश्वन्यमी ॥ १५ ॥

- 7. a. dvitī tv āgate (one syllable short), A; gñis-pa byun-ba-na, T.
- 8. d. iva rmmale (one syllable short), A; dri-ma med-pa, T.
- 10. a. duskṛtakarmmāṇi, A; sdig-paḥi las-can-rnams, T; 'the evillivers', C. c. ime ṇye, A.
 - 11. a. upapannā, A. c. duḥkhai bahuvidheḥ, A.
 - 13. b. ayamkumbhīṣv, A. cd. keci dī(corrected to ddī ?)pteṣv, A.
 - 14. ab. ayodramstrair bhaksante därunaih svabhih, A.
 - 15. a. ked dāha° (one syllable short), A. c. asipatravana, A.



पाद्यन्ते दाहवत्केचित्तुरारैवेडवाइवः।
दुःखेऽपि न विपच्यन्ते वर्मभिर्धारितासवः॥ १६॥
सुखं स्वादिति यत्कर्म कृतं दुःखनिष्टत्तये।
फलं तस्येदमवग्रेदुंःखमेवोपभुज्यते॥ १७॥
सुखार्थमग्रुमं कृत्वा य एते स्व्यादुःखिताः।
च्यास्वादः स विमेतेषां वरोति सुखमख्विष॥ १८॥
इसिद्वर्यत्वृतं वर्म कलुषं कलुषात्मभिः।
स्तत्परिणते काले क्रोणिक्ररतुभ्यते॥ १८॥
यद्येवं पापकर्माणः पश्चयुः कर्मणां फलम्।
वमेयुह्च्यं हिधरं मर्मस्वभित्तता द्व॥ २०॥
दमेऽन्ये वर्मभिश्विचिश्वत्तविस्यन्दसंभवैः।
तिर्यग्योनौ विचिन्नायासुपपन्नास्तपस्विनः॥ २१॥

16. c. duḥkhe nipipadya (one character torn off, and one syllable short), A; sdug-bsnal-na yan rnam mi-smin (so Peking edition, smrin Weller), T. d. karmmabhim vā(corrected on margin to r ddhā)ritāśavaḥ, A.

17. b. duḥkhanivarttaye, A; sdug-bshal bzlog-paḥi don-ched-du, T.

18. c. āśvādaḥ, A. karā (top of this character and all next one torn off) sukham anv api, A; bde-ba phra-mo (ma Weller) yan byed-dam, T.

19. b. kalāṣātmabhiḥ, A; sdig-paḥi bdag-ñid, T.

20. a. yady eva, A; gal-te de-ltar, T. c. skyen-par khrag ni skyug-pa niid (vameyus tūrṇam rudhiram?), T. d. Half of syllable rmma torn off, A. A and T add the following spurious verse here:—

Śārīrebhyo 'pi duḥkhebhyo nārakebhyo manasvinah | Anāryaih saha samvāso mama kṛcchratamo matah ||

d. krechu(?)tamo, A.

21. a. ime nyeh, A. b. °vişy(or p)anda°, A; rnam-gyo-las, T. c. vicitrāyam, A. d. tapaśvinah, A.



मांसत्वग्वाखद्नार्थं वैरादिष मदादिष ।
इन्यन्ते क्षपणं यच बन्धूनां पश्चतामिष ॥ २२ ॥
श्रम्भवन्तोऽप्यवमाः स्नुत्तर्धश्रमपीडिताः ।
गोऽश्वभूताश्च वाद्यन्ते प्रतोदस्वतमूर्तयः ॥ २३ ॥
वाद्यन्ते गजभूताश्च वलीयांसोऽिष दुर्वलैः ।
श्रद्भप्रक्षिष्टमूर्धानस्ताडिताः पादपार्ष्णिभिः ॥ २४ ॥
सत्त्वप्यन्येषु दुःखेषु दुःखं यच विभ्रेषतः ।
परस्परविरोधाच पराधीनतयैव च ॥ २५ ॥
खस्याः खस्यैद्धं वाध्यन्ते जलस्या जलचारिभिः ।
स्वलस्याः खलसंस्यश्च प्राप्य चैवेतरेतरैः ॥ २६ ॥
उपपन्नास्त्रथा चेमे मात्मर्याक्रान्तचेतसः ।
पितृलोके निरालोके क्रपणं भुष्कते फलम् ॥ २० ॥
स्वचिद्रोपममुखाः पर्वतोपमकुक्षयः ।
स्रुत्तरिदुःखैः पौद्यन्ते दुःखभागिनः ॥ २८ ॥

^{22.} a. °dantārtha, A. b. chags-pa-las-sam (rāgād api), T. c. kṛpa (gap for missing letter) yatra, A; gaṅ-du sñin-brje-bar, T.

^{24.} d. °pāṣṇibhiḥ, A.

^{25.} a. satsu py, A. b. vi(one character torn off)satah, A; khyad-parldan (višesavat), T.

^{26.} c. lalasaństhais, A; skam-gnas-rnams-kyis, T. d. e.c.; prāpya revai(these two characters marked for error)taretaraiḥ, A; phan-tshun-du ni rab-phrad-nas (=itaretaraiḥ prāpya), T; prāpyante cetaretaraih, Co.; tāpyante, Cappeller.

^{27.} ab. tathā ce(two characters torn off)tsaryā°, A; ser-snas...ḥdi-rnams de-bzhin-du, T.

^{28.} cd. °janitai duḥkhaiḥ pīḍyate, A.



CANTO XIV

श्राश्याः समितकान्ता धार्यमाणाः स्वकर्मभिः। समन्ते न स्वमी भोत्नं प्रविद्यान्यश्रुचीन्यपि॥ २८॥ पुरुषो यदि जानीत मात्मर्यस्येदशं फलम्। सर्वथा शिविवद्याच्छरीरावयवानपि॥ ३०॥ दमेऽन्ये नरकप्रस्ये गर्भसंत्रेऽशुचित्रदे। उपपन्ना मनुष्येषु दुःखमर्कन्ति जन्तवः॥ ३१॥

- 29. A and T transpose this and the next verse. b. sūkarmmabhiḥ, A; raṅ-gi las-rnams-kyis, T. d. pravṛddhāni, A; bor-baḥi, T; 'impure food and thrown away', C.
- 30. ab. janī(two characters torn off)ātsarya(bottoms only of these letters preserved)sye°, A; ser-snaḥi...śes-na, T.
- 31. ab. narakapakhye garbha(one character torn off)jñe, A; dmyal-ba dan mtshuńs-pahi mnal min, T.



APPENDIX.

The Buddhacarita and the Fo pen hsing chi ching.

The following table gives the verses of the Buddhacarita which are quoted in the Fo pen hsing chi ching, with references to volume III of the Taishō Issaikyō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka and to Beal's translation in The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha:—

Buddhacarita.	Fo pen hsing chi ching.	Beal.	Remarks.	
i, 82, 83, 84, 85ab	701a, 12-19	62		
ii, 2	702a, 10-11	64	The following gāthā possibly reproduces ii, 5.	
ii, llab	702b, 7-8	omitted.	建起了的基础,从 有一个	
ii, 13ab	702b, 9-10	omitted.		
ii, 17	692c, 1-2	54		
ii, 26ed	712c, 13-14	92	Correspondence not quite certain.	
ii, 27cd	712c, 15-16	92		
iii, 30	720b, 20-21	109		
iii, 55	723b, 4-5	118		
iii, 57	723b, 14-15	119		
iii, 59bed	723b, 22-23	119		
iv, 9, 11, 12	726a, 24–29	omitted.	Correspondence incomplete and uncertain.	
iv, 64	726c, 17-18	125		
iv, 70	727a, 1-2	125		
iv, 86	727a, 13-14	126	Correspondence probable, not certain.	
iv, 89	727a, 19-20	126		
v, 18, 19	724b, 16-19	121		
v, 38	724c, 28-29	omitted.		
v, 64, 65	729a, 8–11	130	Different version of 65d.	
v, 71	731a, 14-15	134-35		
vi, 10	733c, 25-26	140	Correspondence of second line not clear.	
vi, 11	734a, 17-18	141	AND THE STATE OF T	
vi, 16ed, 17ab	735a, 24-25	143		
vi, 27	735Ъ, 26-27	omitted.		
vi, 46, 47, 48	736a, 7–12	omitted.	Different version of 48cd, and seven verses, not found in Buddhacarita, added.	
vi, 54, 55	736c, 17-22	omitted.		
vi, 61	738a, 7-8	145		
vii, 2	745a, 18-19	153	Pāda b omitted.	
vii, 7ab, 8cd	745b, 14-15	154		

164

BUDDHACARITA

Buddhacarita.	Fo pen hsing chi ching.	Beal.	REMARKS.
vii, 18	746b, 10-11	omitted.	
vii, 21	746b, 20-21	156	
vii, 27	746c, 9-10	157	
vii, 38	747c, 10-11	omitted.	
vii, 58	748a, 26-27	161	
viii, 2	738b, 22-23	146	
viii, 11ab	738e, 23	147	
viii, 13ab	738c, 24	147	
viii, 35		omitted.	
viii, 42ed, 43ab	740e, 23-24 741b, 11-12	150	
viii, 54	740b, 24-25	omitted.	
viii, 69		omitted.	
10mm (A. 10) 1 (10)	741c, 29; 742a, 1	omitted.	Correspondence probable,
viii, 71	742a, 22-23	omitted.	not certain.
viii, 72 viii, 76	743b, 22-23	151	
	744b, 16-17	151	Tast mada differe
viii, 84	744e, 11-12	162	Last pāda differs.
1X, 6	748b, 24-25	163	First line differs.
ix, 22	749b, 4-5	164	ruse mie diners.
ix, 41	750a, 7-8 750a, 28-29	165	
ix, 47	750b, 25-26	165-66	
ix, 53	750c, 18-19	166	
ix, 62 ix, 71	751a, 21-22	167-68	
	751e, 3-4	168-69	
ix, 82 x, 15	760a, 18-19	181	
x, 24	760c, 6-7	182	
xi, 9	76le, 14-15	183	Correspondence exact for
			first pāda only.
xi, 10	761c, 16-17	omitted.	
xi, 12	761c, 20-21	omitted.	
xi, 13	761c, 18-19	omitted.	
xi, 17 xi, 32	762a, 11–14 762b, 15-16	omitted.	
xi, 34	762b, 21-22	omitted.	
xi, 35		omitted.	
xi, 57	753b, 3-4	183	
xi, 59abc	763b, 12-13	184	Following line in Chinese
хі, ээвос	763b, 21	101	entirely different from xi, 59d.
xi, 67	763c, 19-20	184	
xi, 72	764b, 15-16	omitted.	Last pāda differs slightly.
xi, 73	764c, 4-5	185	
xii, 3	752a, 12-13	170	
xii, 15	753a, 23-24	omitted.	
xii, 65	754c, 25-26	omitted.	Last pāda differs slightly.
xii, 75	755b, 16-17	omitted.	CHASE STATE OF THE
xii, 83	757b, 9-10	omitted.	CARL TO SERVICE STATE OF THE S





REMARKS.



APPENDIX

Buddhacarita.	Fo pen hsing chi ching.	Beal.
xii, 120	778b, 22-23	207
xiii, 5, 6	779b, 9-14	omitted.
xiii, 28ed, 29bed	787b, 26-27	222
xiii, 32	787c, 8-9	222
xiii, 36	787c, 28-29	223
xiii, 55	790c, 11-12	omitted.
xiii, 58	788c, 5-7	224
xiii, 61, 62, 63	788c, 8-14a	omitted.
xiii, 64	788c, 19-20	omitted.
xiii, 65, 66	788c, 14b-18	omitted.
xiii. 67	788e, 21-22	omitted.



THE BUDDHACARITA

Or,

ACTS OF THE BUDDHA

PART II:

Cantos i to xiv translated from the original Sanskrit supplemented by the Tibetan version TOGETHER WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

E. H. JOHNSTON, D. Litt.



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FOREWORD

In accordance with the intention expressed in the preface to the first part I give here an explanation of the contents of this part. The translation covers the whole of the first fourteen cantos, supplying the lacunæ of the Sanskrit text from the Tibetan translation, for whose correct interpretation I rely on the Chinese paraphrase. For the understanding of these passages missing in the Sanskrit I am heavily indebted to Dr. Weller's pioneer version and trust that in the few points where I differ from him my rendering is an improvement, not a darkening of counsel.1 The result probably reproduces Aśvaghosa's meaning with a fair degree of accuracy, but would undoubtedly require modification in detail if the original were to come to light. My translation is a pedestrian affair, designed to be read with the text and to explain its meaning, not to transmute its spirit and literary quality into an alien tongue. Nor does it follow any rigid principles; where the constitution of the text or its exact significance are open to doubt, I have preferred a literal rendering, but allow myself a freer hand where the going is firmer. Despite innumerable divergencies in detail, the greatness of the debt I owe to the late Professor Cowell's translation, which still holds its own, will be apparent to anyone who cares to make the comparison. Of the other translations I have derived most help from that by Formichi; though an occasional tendency to let ingenuity degenerate into fantasy has led to its being judged at times with unmerited harshness, its criticism of earlier attempts to elucidate difficulties are usually acute and deserving of careful examination. the two German translations, Cappeller's is too free to be of much help in the task I set myself, and Schmidt's, though

¹ The numbering of the verses in Canto xiv differs from Dr. Weller, who includes the spurious verse after verse 20 and believes in the original existence of another verse between my verses 70 and 71.

scholarly, suffers from inadequate study of the material. The four Indian editions of the first five cantos have provided me with useful hints in places, especially in those points which often escape the eyes of European scholars.

In the notes I endeavour to mention all substantial difficulties of text and interpretation; for, though regard for the expense involved in the printing of full discussions have often deterred me from dealing at the length I should have liked with many matters and have caused me to dispose summarily of the opinions of other scholars which were worthy of better treatment, it seemed to me that the best service I could render to future workers on the poem was by careful selection to focus attention on those points which really call for serious consideration. A number of references to parallel passages, drawn from all departments of Sanskrit and Pali literature, are given, partly because it is only by careful study of them that Aśvaghosa's exact place in the history of religion and literature can be determined, and partly because the translator must not only make sense of his text, but also give a sense which conforms with Indian ideas of the first century A.D.; particular care has been devoted to choosing for mention only those passages which are genuinely relevant. The index includes, besides proper names, all those words whose discussion in the notes might conceivably be of use to others. Under the abbreviations I have gathered together all the modern literature known to me which makes the Buddhacarita its main subject.

Finally the introduction makes the first attempt to present a complete picture of Aśvaghoṣa based on all the sources open to us. As a first attempt its deficiencies are as patent to me as they will be to everyone else, and difficulties of finance have led me in many cases to allot only a few words or lines to problems which would have required many pages for comprehensive discussion. On the question of the poet's handling of legend my treatment is utterly inadequate; on most traditional details of the Buddha's life it will remain impossible to make

confident assertions, till the Chinese sources are made available to us on the lines which Professor Przyluski has adopted for the First Council and for the Asoka legend. The thread is formed by two main ideas, neither of which has so far been fully accepted. Firstly, I can attribute but small value to the traditions preserved in Chinese literature about the poet's And secondly, I look on him as a very learned and conscientious man, who was perfectly aware of what he was doing and who never knowingly made a wrong or fantastic statement about religion, philosophy or legend. If we cannot always explain his sayings, we should ascribe this rather to our own ignorance of the literature with which he was familiar, and it is absurd to expect from him either the attitude of modern higher criticism or a historical knowledge of events in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., which is not to be found even in the oldest parts of the Pali canon. Let it at least be counted to me for merit, if despite many shortcomings I have been able by years of work to bring into clearer relief one of the greatest figures of Indian civilisation.1

ADDERBURY, August, 1935.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

सत्यमेव जयत

¹ As the introduction and notes contain a number of references to Cantos xv-xxviii of the *Buddhacarita*, known to us only from the Tibetan and Chinese translations, I would add that I hope to publish shortly an English version of them in a European journal.



सद्यमेव जयते

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Books and articles dealing wholly or largely with the Buddhacarita.

В.		The Buddhacarita.
Bhandari		Madhava Shastri Bhandari, <i>Kāvyasārasamgraha</i> , pp. 227–261 (<i>Buddhacarita</i> , Cantos II and III). Bombay, 1929.
Böhtlingk	••	O. von Böhtlingk, Kritische Bemerkungen zu Açvaghoşa's Buddhacarita, BSGW, 1894, 160.
		T. Byōdō, Aśvaghosha's Acquaintance with the Mokshadharma of the Mahābhārata, Proc. of the Imp. Ac. of Japan, IV, pp. 322-325.
C.		Chinese translation of the Buddhacarita, TI, IV, no. 192.
Cappeller	••	C. Cappeller, Noch einige Bemerkungen zu Aśvaghośa's Buddhacarita, ZII, 1922, 1.
do.	• •	C. Cappeller, Buddha's Wandel. Religiöse Stimmen der Völker, Jena, 1922.
Co.	• •	E. B. Cowell, <i>The Buddha-karita of Asvaghosha</i> , Anecdota Oxoniensia, 1893.
do.		E. B. Cowell, The Buddha-karita of Asvaghosha, in SBE, XLIX.
Finot		L. Finot, Notes sur le Buddhacarita, JA, 1898, ii, 542.
do.		L. Finot, Review of Joglekar and Formichi, JA, 1913, i, 685.
Formichi		C. Formichi, Açvaghoşa poeta del buddhismo. Bari, 1912.
Gawroński	• •	A. Gawroński, Gleanings from Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita, Rocznik Orientalistyczny, 1914-15, 1.
do.	••	A. Gawroński, Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, pp. 1-55. Cracow, 1919.
		C. W. Gurner, The word vasthānam in Aśvaghoṣa, JRAS, 1927, 322.
		C. W. Gurner, Some textual notes on Aśvaghosa's Buddha-carita, JASB, 1926, 1.
Hopkins	• •	E. W. Hopkins, Buddhacarita, v. 72; x. 34; xii. 22, JAOS, 1901, ii, 387.
Hultzsch	••	E. Hultzsch, Zu Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, ZDMG, 1918, 145.

viii		ACTS OF THE BUDDHA
VIII		ACIS OF THE BUDDING
Joglekar	••	K. M. Joglekar, Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, Cantos I-V, Notes and Translation. Bombay, 1912.
Kern		H. Kern, see Nachträge to article quoted under Böhtlingk.
Kielhorn	• •	F. Kielhorn, Zu Açvaghoşa's Buddhacarita, NGGW, 1894, 364.
		T. Kimura and T. Byōdō, Butsden bungaku no kenkyo, pp. 1-548. Tokyo, 1930.
Leumann		E. Loumann, Zu Açvaghoşa's Buddhacarita, NGGW, 1896, 83.
do.		E. Leumann, Some notes on Aśvaghosha's Buddhacarita, WZKM, 7, 193.
Lévi		S. Lévi, Le Buddhacarita d'Açvaghoşa, JA, 1892, i, 201.
Lokur	• •	N. S. Lokur, Buddhacaritam, Cantos I-V, with translation and notes. Belgaum, 1912.
Lüders		H. Lüders, Zu Açvaghoşa's Buddhacarita, NGGW, 1896, 1.
Nandargikar	••	G. R. Nandargikar, The Buddha-caritam of Aśvaghoṣa, Cantos I-V. Poona, 1911.
		L. de la Vallée Poussin, On Buddhacarita, i. 30, JRAS, 1913, 417.
Prasada	• •	Pandeya Jagannatha Prasada, Aśvaghosha's Buddha Charitam, Canto VIII. Bankipur, 1920.
Schmidt	• •	R. Schmidt, Buddha's Leben, Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacritam. Kulturen der Erde, Hagen i/W, 1923.
Sehrader	••	F. O. Schrader, Nachlese zu Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita, Journal of the Taisho University, 1930.
		Hara Prasad Shastri, A new MS. of Buddha Carita, JASB, 1909, 47.
		Sukumar Sen, On the 'Buddhacarita' of Aśvaghosa, IHQ, 1926, 657.
Sovani	••	V. V. Sovani, Buddhacaritam by Shri Ashvaghosha, Cantos I-V, with Sanskrit commentary by Shri Appashastri Rashivadekar and translation by V. V. Sovani. Part

II, Notes by V. V. Sovani. Poona, 1911.
Speyer J. S. Speyer, Kritische Nachlese zu Açvaghoşa's Buddhacarita, Proc. of Amsterdam Ac., 1895, 340.

do.

Strauss

T

.. J. S. Speyer, Some critical Notes on Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, JRAS, 1914, 105.

O. Strauss, Zur Geschichte des Sāmkhya, WZKM, 27, 257.
The Tibetan translation of the Buddhacarita, Bstan-Hgyur, Mdo 94.

W .. F. Weller, Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghosa (Tibetan text and German translation). Part I (Cantos I-VIII), 1926. Part II (Cantos IX-XVII), 1928.

Windisch, i . . E. Windisch, Māra und Buddha. Leipzig, 1895.

Windisch, ii .. E. Windisch, Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung. Leipzig, 1908.

Wohlgemuth .. Else Wohlgemuth, Ueber die chinesische Version von Aśvaghosa's Buddhacarita. Berlin, 1916.

Not seen—A translation of the first canto by P. Peterson, and the translations into Russian by Balmont and into Japanese by T. Byōdō.

B. General.

AAA. ... Abhisamayālamkārāloka, by Haribhadra; ed. G. Tucci, Gaekwad's Or. S. no. LXII.

AK. L. de la Vallée Poussin, L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu (quoted by volume and page number).

AKV., i ... Abhidharmakośavyākhyā, Bibl. Buddh. XXI.

AKV., iii ... do., Mém. de l'Ac. royale de Belgique, Tome VI, fasc. ii, 1919.

ASPP. .. Astasāhasrikā prajūā pāramitā, ed. Bibl. Ind.

BhNŚ .. Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, Cantos I-XIV, ed. J. Grosset, Lyons, 1898; Cantos XV-end, Kāvyamālā no. 42.

Brh. Ār. Up. .. Brhad Aranyaka Upanisad, ed. Ānandāśrama S. S.

CII .. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

Divy. .. Divyāvadāna, ed. Cowell and Neal.

FP. .. Fo pen hsing chi ching, TI III, no. 190.

HC. .. Harşacarita, ed. P. V. Kane, Bombay, 1918. Jāt. .. Jātakamālā, ed. H. Kern, Harvard O. S. no. 1.

KA. .. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, ed. Jolly and Schmidt.
Kād. .. Kādambarī, ed. P. Peterson, Bombay S. S., 1883.

KS. .. Kāmasūtra, ed. Kashi S. S. no. 29.

LV. .. Lalitavistara, ed. Lefmann.

MBh. .. Mahābhārata, Calcutta edition.

Mhv. .. Mahāvastu, ed. Senart.

Pāņ. .. Pāņini.

Pargiter .. F. E. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, Oxford, 1922.

PW .. Böhtlingk und Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch.

PWK .. Böhtlingk, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung.

R. .. Raghuvamśa, ed. S. P. Pandit, Bombay S. S.

ACTS OF THE BUDDHA

Rām. .. Rāmāyaṇa, ed. Gorresio.

RL ... S. Beal, Romantic Legend of Śākya Ruddha, 1875.

RV .. Rigveda.

 \mathbf{x}

S. E. H. Johnston, The Saundarananda of Aśvaghosa

(Sanskrit text), 1928, and The Saundarananda, or

Nanda the Fair (translation), 1932.

SP. .. Saddharmapundarika, ed. Bibl. Buddh.

SS. J. S. Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, 1886.

Śvet. Up. .. Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, ed. Hauschild.

Tl .. Taishō Issaikyō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, ed.

by Takakusu and Watanabe.

YS. .. The Yogasütras of Patañjali, ed. Bombay S. S., 1892.



CONTENTS

					Page.
Forewo	rd				iii
Abbrev					vii
	iction—Asvaghoşa				xiii
i	. Life and works				xiii
ii		.,			xxiv
iii	. The scholar				xliv
iv		e •	• •		lxxix
Canto	I-Birth of the Holy One	•			1
Canto	II—Life in the Palace			.,	20
Canto	III—The Prince's perturbation				32
Canto	JV -The women rejected				44
Canto	V—Flight				61
Canto	VI—Dismissal of Chandaka				81
Canto	VII—Entry into the penance grow	7e			92
Canto	VIII—Lamentations in the Palace	8			104
Canto	IX-The deputation to the Prince	e			123
Canto	X—Śrenya's visit				141
Canto	XI—The passions spurned				149
Canto	XII—Visit to Arāḍa	369.			166
Canto	XIII—Defeat of Māra	JY			188
Canto	XIV—Enlightenment	111			203
Index	A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH	100 TO	• •		219

सन्यमेव जयते



सद्यमेव जयते

INTRODUCTION

AŚVAGHOSA

i. LIFE AND WORKS

One phenomenon recurs again and again in the history of Sanskrit literature, namely that we know nothing certain of the lives of its greatest figures beyond what they themselves choose to tell us and what is stated in the colophons of their works. Aśvaghosa is no exception to the rule. While he is silent about himself, the colophons of the three works which we know to be his agree in describing him as Sāketaka, a native of Sāketa, and as the son of Suvarnākṣī.1 Before discussing the bearing of these facts, it is best to determine his date with such accuracy as is possible. The lower limit given by the Chinese translation of the Buddhacarita made early in the fifth century A.D. can be set back by three hundred years; for Professor Lüders holds that the handwriting of the MS. fragments which contain all that is left to us of the Sāriputraprakarana must belong to the times of the Kushan kings, probably to the reign of Kaniska or Huviska.2 Dating by palæography does not always give as assured results as is sometimes supposed, but the margin of error in the present case cannot be large; for the MS. was corrected by a Central Asian hand, which equally on palæographical grounds may be as early as the end of the Kushan era,3 and it shows signs of having been long in use before the overwriting took place, so that to impugn the first date means impugning the second

¹ The $\dot{Sariputra}$ prakaraņa (SBPAW, 1911, 392) has Suvarņākṣiputra, shortening the i under $P\bar{a}n$, vi. 3, 63; the name can only be that of his mother, i.e. Suvarṇākṣī.

² H. Lüders, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen (Berlin, 1911), 11.

³ Lüders, op. cit., 15.

one also and it is hardly probable that both should be misleading.

Two other points afford some indication, though of lesser probative value, that the reign of Kaniska should be taken as the lower limit. At B., xii. 115, Aśvaghosa writes:—

Vyavasāyadvitīyo 'tha . . . so 'svatthamūlam prayayau. Now the commentary on the Nāmasamgīti has preserved a line of Mātreeta running:—

Vyavasāyadvitīyena prāptam padam anuttaram.

The connexion between the two is obvious, and the expression, vyavasāyadvitīya, is apt in Aśvaghosa, because the Buddha has just been deserted by the five bhiksus and has nothing but his resolution to accompany him on the march to the bodhi tree; but Mātrceta's version spoils the point, because a Buddha can have no companions in the process of obtaining Enlightenment. This view is enforced by B., xiv. 99, where Indra and Brahmā more appropriately find the Buddha with the dharma he had seen as his best companion. Is it not clear then that Mātrceța has borrowed a phrase from Aśvaghosa and turned it into a cliché? That the former is somewhat later in date seems to follow also from the style of the Śatapańcāśatka²; thus note the fanciful verbs, jaladāya, Vainateyāya, madhyamdināya, Śakrāyudhāya, of verses 74 and 75, which suggest some advance on Aśvaghosa in verbal tricks. He is moreover the author of an epistle to Kanişka, and if we accept the latter's name as authentic, it would follow that Mātrceta lived in his reign and Aśvaghosa before it. I would not press this piece of evidence, but, so far as it goes, it suggests that Lüders' dating of the MS. of the dramas is at any rate not at odds with the probabilities.

Our other evidence derives from Chinese tradition, which

¹ AK_•, VI, 144, ad ch. ii, 205, n. 2; the line is partially preserved in verse no. 26 in Hoernle, Manuscript Remains, I, 61, the first line running:—Iti tribhir asamkhyeyair evam udyacchatā tvayā.

² JRAS, 1911, 764-769.

associates Aśvaghosa both with Kaniska and with the composition of the Vibhāṣā, the great Sarvāstivādin commentary on the Abhidharma, said to be the outcome of a general council held in the reign of the Kushan king 1. For a later Buddhist writer such information would be of value, seeing that the Chinese with their more practical minds are intensely interested in the collection of historical and personal detail, and that the regular intercourse of pilgrims and monks between India and China provided sufficient opportunity for obtaining contemporary information. But in this case the traditions are far from contemporary and cannot at present be traced further back than the end of the fourth century A.D.; they are at hopeless variance among themselves regarding the poet's actual date and present him as a figure of romance, not as a sober historical personage. In considering the association with Kaniska we must allow for the tendency to couple the names of great writers with great kings. One Indian scholar, it is true, has seen in the mention of Atreya at B., i. 43, a reference and compliment to Caraka, the legendary physician of Kaniska; but little weight attaches to so problematic a suggestion. Moreover the internal evidence of the extant works makes it somewhat doubtful whether they could have been written in the Kushan kingdom. For while Brahmanical literature represents that dynasty as hostile to the Brahmans 2, Aśvaghosa writes for a circle in which Brahmanical learning and ideas are supreme; his references to Brahmans personally and to their institutions are always worded with the greatest respect, and his many mythological parallels are all drawn

¹ The Chinese traditions have been discussed in a series of important papers by S. Lévi in the JA spread over many years, of which the chief are 1896, ii, 444: 1908, ii, 57: and 1928, ii, 193. References to incidental mentions by other scholars will be found in these papers. For a list of the Chinese authorities on the Aśvaghoşa legend see JA, 1908, ii, 65, n. 2.

² For this see K. P. Jayaswal in *JBORS*, 1933, 41ff.; though he does not allow sufficiently for Brahman bias in his appreciation of the passages, the evidence is too strong to be discounted altogether.

from Brahmanical sources 1. Further we know nothing with certainty about the date of the Vibhāṣā, even if we could say that it was all composed at one time; and the story of the council in Kanişka's reign at which it was drawn up is open to the grave suspicion of having been invented to secure authority for Sarvāstivādin views. Nor, as I shall show in the next section, does the poet appear to know the doctrines of the great commentary. In valuing this evidence we shall do well to bear in mind Professor Demiéville's verdict that Chinese tradition, for all the mass of documents on which it rests, hardly affords, at least for the early period, more positive historical information than Indian tradition with its complete absence (carence) of documents 2. All we are entitled to say is that these traditions prove Aśvaghosa to have lived long before the time at which they first appear in the fourth century A.D.; the forms the legends took may have been determined by the popularity of the plays in the Kushan kingdom, as shown by the dilapidated state of the MS.3

The evidence then leads to the conclusion that the poet lived not later than the time of Kanişka and may have preceded him, and is thus consonant with what, as I show later, we know of his relation to classical Sanskrit literature. His style proves him to have lived several centuries before Kālidāsa, he is imitated by Bhāsa, and his vocabulary suggests a date not far removed from that of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. The problem would have been much more complicated if the Kalpanāmanditikā were really by Aśvaghoṣa, since it is posterior

¹ The only exceptions are the two verses, S., xi. 56-57, which would be suspicious on that score alone, but their clumsy style and the impossibility of fitting them logically into the argument of the canto are decisive against their genuineness.

² Bulletin de la Maison franco-japonaise, II, p. 76 of offset.

⁸ And by confusion with the personality of Matrceta, if he really lived under Kaniska?

⁴ H. Lüders, Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta, Leipzig, 1926.

to Kaniska and alludes also to the Vaisesikasūtras, a system unknown to the genuine extant works. But as I reject the attribution to him of this collection of tales, I need not try to reconcile the irreconcilable. The further question remains of the date of Kaniska, and if agreement is not yet reached on this thorny point, the limits of variation are no longer large, most scholars accepting a date in the last quarter of the first century A.D. and none placing him later than the second quarter of the second century.

As the poet may have been earlier, though not much earlier, than Kanişka, it should be noted that the upper limit for his date is determined by the mention of the Aśoka legend in the final canto of the Buddhacarita, a passage not discussed by Professor Przyluski in his well-known book on the subject. According to that scholar the Aśokāvadāna, some early form of which was evidently known to Aśvaghoṣa, took shape between 150 and 100 B.C.¹ Allowing a certain period for it to obtain recognition, we might set the upper limit at approximately 50 B.C., and can therefore not be much in error if we say that the poet flourished between 50 B.C. and 100 A.D., with a preserence for the first half of the first century A.D.

Turning back now to the colophons we can obtain a few hints of value. As belonging to Sāketa, Aśvaghoṣa is an Easterner, and his origin has left its traces in his work. While the absence of relevant texts prevents us from ascertaining if the divergencies of his grammar from the Paninean system are to be accounted for by his having studied one of the prācya treatises, the sect of Buddhism, to which he seems to have belonged according to the views set out in the next section, was the one most prevalent in Eastern India at this period, and the lasting impression which the historical associations of Sāketa made on him is apparent both in the influence of the Rāmāyaṇa displayed by his works and also in the emphasis which he lays from the very start of both poems on the descent

¹ La légende de l'Empéreur Açoka, 166.

of the Śākyas from the Ikṣvāku dynasty. The style Suvarnākṣīputra is significant; for, though that type of nomenclature was not confined to Brahmans, it was used by them more than by any other class. As I show in detail later, he had an acquaintance, so wide that no parallel can be found to it among other Buddhist writers, with all departments of Brahmanical learning, including some knowledge of the Veda and ritual literature as well as mastery of all the sciences a kavi was expected to have studied. The deduction is inescapable that he was born a Brahman and given a Brahman's education, and as Chinese tradition is insistent to the same effect, we can for once accept its testimony without reserve as in accord with the evidence of the works. As to how he became a Buddhist nothing can be said beyond the fact that the choice of theme for his three works indicates much preoccupation with the phenomena of conversion. told in the Chinese sources is legendary in character and at variance with the evidence I adduce below to determine the question to what sect he gave his adherence. Nor do we know anything definite of his later life, though the general outline of his character and mental endowments will emerge with some degree of clearness in the subsequent discussions.

Next let us consider the works he wrote; those known for certain to be his are three in number, the Buddhacarita, the Saundarananda and the Sāriputraprakaraṇa. The first, the subject of the present edition, is a life of the Buddha in 28 cantos, of which only numbers two to thirteen are extant in their entirety in Sanskrit, together with three quarters of the first canto and the first quarter of the fourteenth. It begins with the conception of the Buddha and, after narrating his life and Parinirvāṇa, closes with an account of the war over the relies, the first council and the reign of Aśoka. The textual tradition of the extant portion is bad and a sound edition is only made possible by comparison with the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The Saundarananda has for its subject the conversion of the Buddha's half-brother, Nanda, in the course

of which the opportunity is taken to set out at length the author's view of the Path to Enlightenment. It consists o 18 cantos, preserved in full, and the text tradition for the two thirds of the work found in the older MS. is far superior to that of the other poem, but the remainder, dependent or one incorrect modern MS, only, requires much conjectural emendation to restore it to something like the original. When first studying these poems, I naturally took the ordinary view that the last-mentioned is the earlier one, seeing that the other is the more interesting to read as a whole and that its verses have a richer content. But these advantages are due to the subject, not to greater experience in authorship; for the handling of the Saundarananda is altogether more mature and assured than that of the Buddhacarita, whose effect is often marred by repetitions of the same words or phrases, or even of a whole pāda, in a way that the kavis of the classical age sedulously avoided, and the poet's technique reaches its highwater mark in passages such as S., iv. 1-11, or x. 8-13, while the latter's metrical system is more elaborate and includes faultless manipulation of such difficult schemes as Upasthitapracupita and Udgatā. The third work is a nine-act play, with the conversion of Sariputra and Maudgalyayana for its theme; only a few passages are extant, restored by the acumen of Professor Lüders from the Central Asian finds.

These three works are bound together in a way that would be convincing proof of the identity of their authorship, if the colophons left us in any doubt of it. Thus the play uses again B, xii. 75, and the preceding passage contains reminiscences of the argument ib., 72^{1} . The celebrated verse, S., xi. 50, is to be found again in the Tibetan of B., xiv. 41. The same ideas and expressions recur with such constancy in the two poems that I was unable to edit the Buddhacarita till I had determined as accurately as I could the readings of the Saundarananda. Thus compare B., xi. 10, 12, with S., xi. 32, 37,

¹ SBPAW, 1911, 392 and 393 K IV.

or the use of the simile of the $k\bar{a}randava$ bird standing on a lotus, B., v. 53, and S., iv. 23; or notice how two different twists are given to the same three ideas in the description of a hermitage at B., vii. 33, and S., i. 11. So B., xxviii. 63, in describing Aśoka, has the same play on words as S., vii. 5, and more appropriately. If I insist here on this tendency, it is because I regard it as the point to which most attention should be paid in considering Aśvaghoṣa's authorship of other works.

The Chinese and Tibetan translations attribute to him a number of works 1, about which certainty is impossible in the absence of the Sanskrit texts; but it is improbable that any of them, which deal mainly with philosophy or belong to the fully developed Mahāyāna, are rightly given to him, seeing that he is a poet and preacher, not an original philosopher, and that his date is too early for anything but primitive Mahāyāna, even if it be admitted as a bare possibility that he may have gone over to that branch of Buddhism in later life. There are however several Sanskrit works on which an opinion must be expressed.

First come the fragments of two plays found by Professor Lüders with the remains of the Śāriputraprakaraṇa. One of these is a Buddhist allegory, of which nearly a whole leaf is preserved including a large part of three verses². The first one contains rhymes much in Aśvaghoṣa's style, paramam amṛtaṁ durlabham ṛtam and tasminn aham abhirame śāntiparame; for the latter ep. S., xii. 16, tvaddharme parame rame. The next verse addressed by buddhi to kīrti consists of three similar pādas of the form, nityaṁ sa supta iva yasya na buddhir asti, and the fourth supplies the contrast, ending tiṣthati yasya kīrtiḥ; the construction of the verse is like the poet's, and the idea of the first line quoted above is closely connected with

¹ Listed in F. W. Thomas, *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* (Bibl. Ind., no 1309), Introduction, 36ff.

² Fragment 1 in Lüders, op. cit., 66.

S., xviii. 35, 36. The last verse describes the Buddha's display of miraculous powers on the lines of S., iii. 22ff., and I would invite attention to the parallelism, which extends even to the simile, of the line,

Khe varṣaty ambudhārām jvalati ca yugapat samdhyāmbuda with S., iii. 24, [iva |

Yugapaj jvalan jvalanavac ca jalam avasrjams ca meghavat i Taptakanakasadrsaprabhayā sa babhau pradīpta iva samdhyayā ghanahai

Is it possible that anyone else could have imitated so closely the specialities of Aśvaghoṣa's style?

The other play concerns a young voluptuary, probably named Somadatta, who keeps a mistress named Magadhavatī and apparently becomes a convert to Buddhism. No fragments have been put together to hold as long a consecutive piece as in the allegorical play and it is more difficult to detect similarities. The following however are worth consideration. In fragment 8 is mentioned the motif of the lover holding his mistress's mirror, which is the central point of S., iv, and fragment 13, line a2, seems to contain the rare word sahīyā (B., x. 26). S., xiv. 15, may be compared with line a3 of fragment 17, but the subject is a commonplace. In fragment 59 kulavyasanam adrstvā recalls S., vi. 43, vyasanāny adrstvā. Occasional words suggest that the phrases to which they belonged may have had analogies with Aśvaghosa's usage, but are inconclusive as they stand. Against his authorship is the fact that Professor Lüders reckons the occurrence of three verses in the Sragdharā metre, which, popular as it was with later Buddhists, especially in Kashmir, is not found in the poet's extant work. Of the two in fragment 27 the first can only be fitted into this metre by emending the MS.'s odvesam to odosam, and from the number of characters it apparently contained is far more probably a Salini verse, presuming the amendment to be correct. The other admittedly may be in Śikharini, which Aśvaghosa uses several times. The third

in fragment 79 may belong to the Śāriputraprakaraṇa and is too short for definite identification. But, if this point is open to argument, Professor Lüders also traces the occurrence of two Hariṇī and one Āryā verse in the play, which equally have not yet been found in work that certainly belongs to Aśvaghoṣa. The evidence altogether is uncertain and the prudent man will reserve his judgement about the authorship of the play.

Three other works, known to us wholly or in part in Sanskrit, have also been attributed to him. Of these the Vajrasūcī, a clever piece of polemics arguing against Brahman claims, shows no trace of Aśvaghosa's style or mentality, and the Chinese translation gives it to Dharmakirti, who, as also a converted Brahman, would have been in possession of the Brahmanical learning displayed in the tract. I see no reason for doubting the correctness of the latter ascription and in any case would exclude it from the corpus of Aśvaghosa's works. Next comes the Gandistotra, a collection of 29 stanzas, mostly in the Sragdharā metre, in praise of the Buddha and the monastery gong, the text of which was successfully restored from a Chinese transliteration by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein 1. Verse 20 shows that it was written in Kashmir during one of the periods of misrule to which that land was subject; the style has no affinities with that of Aśvaghosa and we have here clearly a work that is several centuries later in date. Finally I Tsing mentions a work by the poet the name of which was taken to stand for Sūtrālainkāra, and in 1908 E. Huber published under this name an admirable translation of a Chinese work, which was ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa by the Chinese translator. Subsequently fragments of a MS. of the Sanskrit original were identified among the Central Asian finds by Professor Lüders, who established that the author was there described as Kumāralāta and the name of the work as Kalpa-

¹ Bibl. Buddh. XV. For its authorship and an attempt at improving the reconstruction see *Ind. Ant.*, 1933, pp. 61-70, in which the last fourteen words of the note on verse 29 should be omitted as mistaken.

nāmaṇḍitikā. This gave rise to much controversy¹, eminent scholars maintaining that this collection of moral tales was really by Aśvaghoṣa or else a refashioning by Kumāralāta of the older writer's work. Now that the dust of warfare has settled and it is generally agreed that Aśvaghoṣa had no hand in its composition, it will be sufficient to observe that the age of the MS. is such that its evidence outweighs all other points, that the Tibetan translation supports the statement of the MS., that the Chinese translation is probably not by Kumāra-jīva, whose testimony would have had some value, but by a later writer², and that the style of the Sanskrit fragments and the internal evidence of the work itself put Aśvaghoṣa's authorship entirely out of court; it need not be further considered here.

A few verses, not one of which occurs in his works, as brought to light so far, are also attributed to Aśvaghoṣa in the anthologies *; that in the Kavīndravacanasamuccaya is certainly not by him but shows some likeness to the Gaṇḍīstotra, though more elaborate than anything found there. Of the five in the Subhāṣitāvalī none definitely bear his sign manual or need even be by a Buddhist; but, if the attribution is improbable, it cannot be pronounced absolutely impossible.

As is well known, late Tibetan tradition confused Aśvaghoṣa with several quite different writers, including a certain Subhūti, on which it would have been unnecessary to say anything here, if Professor S. Lévi had not recently urged that some connexion exists between the two. A verse specifically attributed to the Dhārmika Subhūti is quoted by Vasubandhu in the AK., and has been found in a recently discovered MS., entitled the Sadgatikārikāh, of which a Pali version named Pañcagatidīpanī

¹ The literature on the subject is described by Tomomatsu in JA, 1931, ii, 135ff.; to his references add La Vallée Poussin, Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, 221–224, and Przyluski, Bull. of the R. Ac. of Belg., 1930, 425–434, and Rocznik Orientalistyczny, VIII, 14–24.

² Tomomatsu, loc. cit., 163.

³ Kavindravacanasamuccaya, Introduction, p. 29.

is also known. The promised edition of this work has not yet appeared, but on the face of the information at present available it will be very surprising if we receive here an authentic work by Aśvaghoṣa; among other points the latter belongs to those who recognise five *gatis* only, not six, as appears from B, xiv, and S, xi. 62.

ii. The Buddhist

Having stated so much as is known of the life of Aśvaghoṣa, I now proceed to discuss him from the three aspects under which his achievements naturally fall, as Buddhist, as scholar and as poet, and start with that one which he himself would have held to be alone of significance. Our first task is obviously to determine the sect or school to which he belonged. That he was a follower of the Hinayana is certain, and to him perhaps any further enquiry would have savoured of impertinence; he is not a fanatical adherent of any school and avoids, as if of set purpose, all mention of those disciplinary details and philosophic subtleties which had split the community into sections, so that it is hard to detect in Vasumitra's treatise on the sects any slogan which has left definite traces on the poet's works. To modern scholars equally the question will appear otiose, since Chinese traditions, assigning him to the Sarvāstivādins and naming a Vibhāṣā doctor, Pārśva (or Pūrņa or Pūrņāśa), as having converted him, have always been held to decide the matter once for all. Yet their stories are on the face of them incredible; for Aśvaghosa knows none of the Vibhāṣā doctrines, and, if he was a Sarvāstivādin, must have lived before its special principles were worked out. The later predominance of this sect among the Hīnayāna schools of Northern India and Central Asia is enough of itself to account for the statements of the Chinese Buddhists, who would hold that a writer of such outstanding eminence could only have belonged to the most important sect.

¹ S. Lévi, JA, 1928, ii, 204ff.

Unfortunately few Sarvāstivādin texts are available to those Sanskritists who like myself cannot find their way easily in the Chinese and Tibetan translations; but these are sufficient to make it improbable that, despite a considerable measure of agreement in matters of general interest, Aśvaghoṣa was a member of this school. The Divyāvadāna, it is true, appropriates an occasional verse or phrase from his poems¹, and as a canonical work naturally does not mention his name. But the only trace of the special tenets of the Sarvāstivāda is to be found in the quotation of the rule governing the use of asti as a particle (S., xii. 10), which may be an allusion to the famous controversy about the reality of the past and future; it does not, however, illuminate his position in the matter. On the other hand in two points he seems to reject the standard doctrines of the school. Thus S., xvii. 18ab, runs:—

Yasmād abhūtvā bhavatīha sarvam bhūtvā ca bhūyo na bhavaty avašyam |

This idea is based on canonical authority (Majjhima, III, 25), but was strenuously denied by the Sarvāstivādins and as strenuously upheld by the Sautrāntikas², to which school no one would suggest that Aśvaghoṣa belonged. The entire passage is significant, because the exegesis of the four terms, anitya, duḥkha, śūnya and nirātmaka, cannot be reconciled with any of Vasubandhu's alternative explanations and seems to be based on a scheme of $\bar{a}k\bar{a}ras$ for the supermundane path which differs from the sixteen of the Vaibhāṣika doctors³.

Again the twelfth canto of the Saundarananda contains a remarkable eulogy of śraddhā, for which the only complete parallel is in an early Mahāyāna sūtra; faith is not merely desire for the Buddha's dharma (tvaddharme parame rame,

¹ See notes on B., iii. 3, 5, 23 and 26, and S., xi. 50 and xviii. 1.

² AK., I, 228-9.

 $^{^3}$ AK., V, 30ff. Other passages (see p. xxxiv, n. 1) give dogmatic views not traceable in the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma at present, but cannot be proved to be definitely opposed to its teachings so far as yet known.

S., xii. 16, dharmacchanda, ib., 31), but personal devotion to the Buddha (S., xvii. 34, 63-73, xviii. 41, 48, 50 and 51, and canto xxvii of the Buddhacarita), and we seem to feel blowing through these passages the breath of the bhakti religions, which for Buddhism reached their apogee in the Mahāyāna. It is no doubt true that, if we go through the Pali canon and the Sarvāstivādin texts and extract the passages relating to faith, they make an imposing show, but consider each passage in its context and the glowing fervour that animates Aśvaghosa is not to be found; there seems instead to be a subtle tendency to belittle faith, as though it were only a matter for brethren not strong enough to enter the Path under their own power. Unless the suggestion I make below is really the key to the significance of Aśvaghosa's views 1, it is more a matter of emphasis than of definite statement; yet till recently no one would have thought it necessary to give more than a passing word to the question of faith in any description of Hīnayāna beliefs, so little obvious is its importance in the Pali and Sarvāstivādin texts, while Aśvaghosa's insistence on it could not escape the most casual glance.

The attitude of Vasubandhu and his commentator Yaśomitra is also significant; when they make a quotation, one or
other of them takes care to tell us who was the author, and
they do this notably with regard to three writers whom later
tradition confused with Aśvaghoṣa, namely Subhūti, Kumāralāta and Mātrceṭa. Yet when Vasubandhu quotes S., xiii.
18, to illustrate his explanation of a knotty dogmatic point
in the $bh\bar{a}sya$ on $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ iv. 86, neither he nor Yaśomitra gives
the author's name; and Yaśomitra makes the same omission
in citing S., xii. 22d. Surely if Aśvaghoṣa had been a leading
light of the Sarvāstivādins, they would have hastened to claim
the support of his authority.

¹ See p. xxxiv below. That ordinarily in the Hīnayāna śraddhā omits Aśvaghoṣa's leaning to bhakti is clear enough from such excellent statements of the general position as B. M. Barua in Buddhistic Studies (ed. by B. C. Law), pp. 329ff., and N. Dutt, Some aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism, pp. 301–303.

In legendary matters further research by specialists must be awaited, as the only source open to me, Rockhill's summary of the *Dulva*, does not give the Sarvāstivādin tales in sufficient detail. Of obvious differences I note that at the birth of the Buddha the poet makes Māyā lie on a couch instead of grasping the bough of a tree and that after the Enlightenment Indra joins Brahmā at B., xiv. 98ff., in imploring the Buddha to preach the *dharma*¹. The *Dulva* also assigns a different name to Nanda's wife and adds a visit to hell².

More however can be extracted from the list of 62 chief disciples at S., xvi. 87ff., all the names in which should be forthcoming in the canonical lists of the school to which the poet belonged. I have examined the two lists in the Chinese translations³, each of which contains 100 names. Allowing for corruptions and difficulties of transliteration, I estimate that the Sarvāstivādin catalogue in the Ekottarāgama has about 37 names in common with the Saundarananda, not as many as there should be, if this was the poet's authority. The other text, whose affinities are unknown, is in the A lo han chữ tê cheng 5, which was translated by Fa Hsien in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D., and, having some 47 or more of the names given by Aśvaghosa, stands much closer to the authority used by him. Of the names themselves several are significant. The doubling of the epithet mahā before Kāśyapa's name proved that this saint was specially revered by Aśvaghosa's sect 6, a conclusion supported by the story

¹ Life of the Buddha, 16 and 35.

² Ib., 55. Śāriputra took Nanda to hell according to AAA., 61. To the Pali versions of the Nanda legend given in the introduction to my translation of the Saundarananda add the commentary on Anguttara, I, 25, which confirms my criticism of the Udāna sentence about the monkey.

³ For the references I am indebted to Professor Demiéville.

 $^{^{\}bullet}$ TI, no. 125, II, 557-8. I note that it gives Sivala for the Saivala of S., xvi. 91c, and the latter should probably be amended accordingly, as the older MS. confuses ai and $\bar{\imath}$.

⁵ TI, no. 126, 11, 831-3.

⁶ For the bearing of this see p. xxix.

of his conversion in B., xvi, which is evidently intended to place him on an equality with Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. One of the first five bhikṣus is called Bhadrajit, a form unknown elsewhere, and Sudarśana, who is omitted by the Ekottarāgama but named by Fa Hsien, is otherwise only reported from the Vinaya of the Mahāsaṅghikas¹. Again the Pali form of Kuṇṭhadhāna is Kuṇḍadhāna, but the 'Divy. calls him Pūrṇa Kuṇḍopadhānīyaka and the form Kuṇḍopadhāna seems to be that known to the Ekottarāgama and other Chinese works². The list therefore seems to diverge in a number of points from the Sarvāstivādin sources.

The evidence thus consists of a number of small items, none conclusive in themselves, but their cumulative effect is definitely against the view that Aśvaghoṣa adhered to the Sarvāstivāda. Is there a more plausible case for any other sect? The extent to which the Fo pen hsing chi ching borrows from the Buddhacarita suggests a possible line of enquiry. That work quotes the canon of many sects, but never that of the Dharmaguptas, and in view of its closing statement it may therefore well belong to the latter. It can be proved however to draw material from so many unnamed sources that its frequent reliance on the Buddhacarita proves nothing about the affinities of the latter.

Another alternative is to investigate the position of the Mahāsaṅghikas, who, as a sect prevailing largely in Eastern India at that time³, might well have claimed Aśvaghoṣa's allegiance. Here again we are impeded by lack of material. The *Mahāvastu*, which gives us the traditions of the Lokottaravādins, disagrees with the *Buddhacarita* about Māyā's position at the time of the Buddha's birth and about the place where Arāḍa taught, but alone of the Hīnayāna sources it makes Indra accompany Brahmā on the visit to the Buddha after his

¹ J. Przyluski, Le Concile de Rājagrha, 206.

 $^{^2}$ See S. Lévi and E. Chavannes, JA, 1916, ii, 197ff., for a discussion of him and a translation of the Divy, passages.

³ Przyluski, op. cit., 311.

Enlightenment, and it alone calls Nanda by the style Sundarananda which the poet gives him ¹. The Mahāsaṅghikas also are known to share with Aśvaghoṣa a knowledge of the saint Sudarśana, a special veneration for Kāśyapa ², and an insistence on the connexion of the asterism Puṣya with the Buddha ³, all points apparently peculiar to them.

Some light also can be obtained from the Mahāyāna. One of its two chief schools, the Vijnanavada, is affiliated by its dogmatics to the Sarvāstivādins and the schools deriving from them, and it is precisely this school which shows hardly a trace in its works of the poet's influence and very few parallels. It is possible that Asanga in Abhisamayālamkāra, i. 58, is imitating B., ii. 10, but even so this work belongs rather to the Mādhyamika section of the treatises attributed to that author. Again S., xv, describes a group of five vitarkas which are not known in this form in any of the Hīnayāna sources, but which are mentioned by Asanga in exactly similar fashion4. And this is all that I can find. The Madhyamikas on the other hand, who are an offshoot of a Mahāsanghika sect, have many points of connexion with the poet's works. Nagarjuna lifts S., xiii. 44abc, and adds a new conclusion, bhūtadarśī vimucyate, in which form the verse is repeatedly quoted in Mādhyamika literature 5; and verse 26 of his recently published Ratnāvalī 6 may owe something to S., xviii. 26. A certain Vasu, commenting on Āryadeva's Śataśāstra, cites S., xi. 25, 30, and the former verse is paraphrased by Candrakīrti on Āryadeva's

 $^{^1}$ Sundarananda at AK, I, 227, is a mistake for Nanda, see Index s. Nanda. The Mādhyamikas use the name Sundarananda also, e.g. SP. and AAA. LV., 396ff., also makes Indra accompany Brahmā, but is presumably to be treated as a Mahāyāna version.

² Przyluski, op. cit., 302-3.

³ Przyluski, op. cit., 88, and B., i. 9, and ii. 36.

⁴ Bodhisattvabhūmi, ed. Wogihara (Tokyo, 1930), 145, against AK., III, 248, and Vibhanga, 356.

⁵ For references La Vallée Poussin, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, I, 394. The term *bhūtadarśin* also occurs in Aśvaghoṣa (B., xxiii. 43).

⁶ JRAS, 1934, 313.

Catuhśataka 1. The remarkable parallel between an early Mādhyamika sūtra quoted in the Śikṣāsamuccaya and the eulogy of śraddhā in S., xii, has already been mentioned, and there is another curious little sūtra², apparently of Mādhyamika origin, which was translated by Kumārajīva, and which seems to have been put together out of Aśvaghoṣa's verses on the subject of subduing the passions; it is in prose and does not quote any actual verses, as 1 at first supposed. There is further, as will appear from my notes on the two poems, frequent parallelisms in vocabulary and phraseology between Aśvaghosa and the sūtras used by the Mādhyamikas; for instance, but for the existence of his poems, we might have supposed that the words āmukha and ājavamjava were first introduced by the Mahāyāna and subsequently adopted by the Hinayana. This common use of rare words extends to non-canonical literature and nontechnical terms. Thus the remarkable abhinisic at B., xii. 37, has its only parallels in the occurrence of nisic once in the MBh. and once in the Mūlamadhyamakakārikās, xxvi. 2, and similarly Candrakīrti's use of nirbhukta, ib., 318, 3, is our only means of explaining the same word at B., iv. 47. The influence can also be seen in Mādhyamika art; for at their headquarters, Nagarjunikonda, a series of bas-reliefs have been recently discovered, which give the fullest sculptural representation extant of the story of Nanda and which seem to be based on the Saundarananda, though in view of the following this might be accounted for by the presence of Bahuśrutikas at that spot, as shown by the inscriptions 3.

¹ Mem. As. Soc. of Bengal, III, 471, 1. 19.

² The Pu sa ho sê yu fa ching (Bodhisattvakāmavighātanasūtra?), TI, no. 611. My attention was first drawn to it by an extract in one of the Lung Men cave inscriptions, quoted by Dr. Spruyt in Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, I. He very kindly supplied me with a translation of the text.

³ See Ann. Bibl. of Ind. Archwology, 1930, Pl. Ha; Professor Vogel kindly gave me photographs of them. The first, partly destroyed, seems to show the Buddha in conversation with Nanda and Sundari. The next depicts Nanda having his head shaved with apparently Ananda in the background

It appears then that, if we take Aśvaghoṣa to have been a Mahāsaṅghika, we are in a position to understand certain otherwise inexplicable points in his poems as well as his relationship to one section of the Mahāyāna. But more is required for cogent proof and this I would look for in a recent discovery. The Chinese Tripiṭaka has a work by one Harivarman on the subject of the four Truths and their ākāras, which is usually called the Satyasiddhi, but to which Professor de la Vallée Poussin would give the in some ways more appropriate title of Tattvasiddhi. Little is known of this treatise, which at one time rivalled the Abhidharmakośa as an authority on Buddhist dogmatics and was followed by a school of its own in Japan. Professor Demiéville has however lately discovered fragments of Paramārtha's lost commentary on Vasumitra's treatise on the Buddhist sects, in which the Satyasiddhi is said

holding his headdress. The third represents the visit to Indra's Paradise; the Buddha and Nanda's robes are so disposed as to recall the simile S., x. 4, sarahprakīrņāv iva cakravākau, and the two Apsarases in the trees are perhaps due to a misunderstanding of vanāntarebhyah at ib., 38. The final scene seems to show Nanda as an Arhat going forth to preach as in S., xviii. 58, 62; the street is indicated by children playing and by adoring people in the background. The garuda brackets below the reliefs show their date to be not earlier than the second half of the second century A.D. Of about this date also is a jamb from Amaravati (best illustration, Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, Pl. 128), showing in the bottom panel Nanda and Sundarī, and Nanda following the Buddha with his almsbowl. The next panel above has the Buddha giving orders for Nanda's forcible admission to the order, and above that appears the visit to Indra's Paradise. Of the fourth panel there are only scanty remains which suggest a street scene like that in the last of the other series. These reliefs too are probably intended to illustrate Aśvaghoşa's poem, but that the Gandhara relief, fig. 234 in Foucher, L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara, I, is based on it is proved by the solitary maidservant at the side spying the Buddha's arrival (S., iv. 28). The Nanda legend was so modern that naturally sculptors took the Saundarananda as their source for details, at least in the schools which held him to be a standard authority; but this would not apply to the Buddha-legend with its wealth of canonical description available and I cannot trace with certainty Asvaghosa's influence on the details of any extant sculptures dealing with it.

¹ Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, 223.

to be a work of the Bahuśrutika section of the Mahāsaṅghikas¹. Now while Paramartha's statements on matters of history are justly open to doubt, it seems to me incredible that he should be mistaken about the dogmatic tendencies of a work wellknown and much studied in his day; surely therefore his evidence on this point should be accepted 2. This book quotes S., xvi. 15cd and 14 in the following way: "As the $g\bar{a}th\bar{a}$ of the Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa runs, 'As one sees fire to be hot in the present, so it has been hot in the past and will be in the future; similarly, as one sees the five skandhas to be suffering in the present, so they have been suffering in the past and will be so in the future'"3. The terms of this passage prove that, unlike Vasubandhu, Harivarman treats Aśvaghosa as a great authority, whose words add weight to any argument. While in the absence of a translation of the work into a European language I cannot say how far its views agree with the poet's dogmatic position, two passages at least are closely related to certain statements of Aśvaghosa, for which I can find no parallel in the AK. In chapter 173 dealing with anitya, it points out that the dharmas are transitory because their causes are subject to decay; this corresponds exactly to the argument of S., xvii. 18cd, for which previously I had been doubtful both of the reading and of my translation, feeling that it was worded in a way hardly compatible with the Kośa's views on causality. Again in chapter 14 it says, 'There are only the

¹ Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, I, 49.

² There had previously been much discussion in China and Japan, which is not accessible to me, about the tendencies of this work. That it was abortive in the absence of Paramārtha's commentary is not surprising, as Vasumitra's account of the Bahuśrutikas mentioned below shows how hard it would be to identify any work on internal evidence as belonging to that school.

 $^{^3}$ TI, XXXII, 372, a15-16; I am indebted to Professor Demiéville for the reference. The form of the quotation suggests that possibly we have a verse taken from a lost work by Aśvaghoṣa and modelled on the passage in S.

 $^{^4}$ Cp. also $Ratn\bar{a}val\bar{a}$, 46, which I understand somewhat differently to Tucci, JRAS, 1934, 318, so as to be based on this argument.

skandhas, the dhātus and the āyatanas, and the complex of causes (hetupratyayasāmagrī), but there is no person who acts or who experiences sensations ', thus putting in a single sentence the three arguments similarly brought together in S., xvii. $20abc^{1}$.

As the natural inference is that Aśvaghoṣa was either a Bahuśrutika or an adherent of the school from which the Bahuśrutikas issued, we must examine the little that is known of that sect. For the present our only authority is Vasumitra's treatise2, which states that the Bahuśrutikas followed Sarvāstivādin doctrines generally except on two points3. Firstly they held that the Buddha's teaching on the subject of anitya, duḥkha, śūnya, anātmaka and śānta (Nirvāṇa) is supermundane, because it leads to the way of escape (niḥsaraṇamārga). Is it merely a coincidence that in S., xvii, verse 17 describes Nanda as shaking the tree of the kleśas by the mundane path with regard to the first four of these terms, that the next four verses give an exegesis of them, which departs from all the alternative Sarvāstivādin explanations but is, so far as is known, in accord with the Satyasiddhi's views, and that the following verse records that by examination of these points Nanda attained the supermundane path? Further the word nihsarana occurs in verse 15 at the beginning of the passage. This is the most

¹ I am much indebted to Mr. Lin Li-Kouang, who kindly examined this work for me and brought these important passages to my notice. The references are *TI*, XXXII, 346, c27, and 248, b6. In my translation of S., xvii. 20, 'knower' for *vedaka* is not accurate; it means 'one who experiences sensations'.

² Translated by Masuda, Origin and Doctrines of early Indian Buddhist Schools, in Asia Major, 1925, 1ff. For Paramārtha's commentary see Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, I, and for recent discussions, Przyluski, Concile de Rājagrha, 310ff., and Domiéville, BEFEO, 1924, 48ff.

s This fact no doubt accounts for the Mahāvyutpatti (275) reckoring the Bāhuśrutīyas among the sects connected with the Sarvāstivāda; no other authority supports this classification.

⁴ Masuda, loc. cit., 35.

important of the four places 1, in which Aśvaghoṣa gives me the impression of setting out the dogmas of some special school of Abhidharma teaching, and its correct valuation has long been a puzzle to me; I would suggest that the proper interpretation is to see in it the raising of the banner of his school by the poet, in which case the coincidence with Vasumitra's statement should surely lead us to the conclusion that the school in question was the Bahuśrutika.

Besides this doctrine, the Bahuśrutikas, as a section of the Mahāsanghikas, accepted the five points of Mahādeva 2. It is unfortunately hard to say how these tenets should be understood and probably interpretation varied from school to school and from age to age. The third point regarding 'doubt' is of uncertain meaning and may or may not be in accord with Aśvaghosa's teaching 8. The fourth however lays down that Arhats gain spiritual perception by the help of others. meaning of this is made clear by S., v. 16ff., which divides religious aspirants into two classes, those who obtain salvation of themselves by virtue of the hetu (see p. xlii) working within them, and those who can only act in reliance on others (parapratyaya); the Buddha is an instance of the former category (B., ii. 56), Nanda of the latter, but it is nowhere explicitly stated that all Arhats fall into the second class as held by Mahādeva, though perhaps hinted at in S., xviii. 51. Evidently however for a man who is parapratyaya a firm hold on faith is an absolute prerequisite to salvation; in the terms of the Kośa he is śraddhānusārin, because he needs the help of others 4.

 $^{^1}$ The other three are S., xvi. 20–24, and 38, and xvii. 28-29.

 $^{{}^{2}}$ For these besides the preceding references see La Vallée Poussin, JRAS, 1910, 413ff.

³ Contrast Demiéville, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, *I*, p. 35, with p. 32 and 39. The latter seem to me consistent with Aśvaghoṣa's views at *S*., xvii. 28-29, the former hardly so.

 $^{^4}$ AK, IV, 194; the passage is important as illuminating the exact nature of the difference between the views of the Sarvāstivāda and those of Mahādeva in this matter. The same difference, corresponding to their different attitude

Here I would suggest we have the explanation of the poet's insistence on faith; for, if he accepted Mahādeva's fourth point, he could not do otherwise, and his position is certainly more intelligible, if we take the view that he did so accept it. Farther we cannot go at present in discussing whether the poet believed in the five points in some form or other, but it is worth noting that one of the three original sections of the Mahāsaṅghi-kas, the Kaukulikas, are recorded by Paramārtha as stressing the necessity of $v\bar{v}rya^{1}$ and that the closing passage of the Buddha's instructions to Nanda, S., xvi. 92–98, is devoted to this very matter, its position suggesting its extreme importance in the struggle for salvation.

To sum up a difficult enquiry, I would hold, till further light is shed on the dark places, that the best opinion is to consider Aśvaghoṣa as having been either a Bahuśrutika or an adherent of the school (the Kaukulikas?) from which the Bahuśrutikas issued.

The foregoing discussion has had the incidental advantage of explaining in some degree the nature of the reputation which Aśvaghosa enjoyed among his co-religionists; he was revered not as an original teacher nor as a philosopher of distinction, but as a writer with an unequalled power for stating the details of the Buddhist faith. In later times he ranked as a great saint, but the emphasis lay, if we can trust Chinese tradition, on the greatness of his magical powers, which was held by ordinary persons to be convincing proof of sanctity. Thus all that Hiuan Tsang, himself steeped in the works of the Sarvāstivāda and the Vijnānavāda and consequently perhaps a little cold towards the great men of other schools, considers worthy of mention about him is a story of his prowess in dealing with evil spirits at Pāṭaliputra. But if the greatest of Chinese pilgrims did not value his poems, another saw more justly; I Tsing's judgement has often been quoted, but is too important

to religion, appears to persist between the tenets of the Yogācāra school and those of the Mādhyamikas.

¹ Demiéville, loc. cit., 47.

not to be given in his actual words. The Buddhacarita, he says, 'is widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India and the countries of the Southern Sea. He (i.e. Aśvaghosa) clothes manifold meanings and ideas in a few words, which rejoice the heart of the reader, so that he never feels tired from reading the poem. Besides it should be counted as meritorious for one to read this book, inasmuch as it contains the noble doctrine given in a concise form'1. This surely gets the emphasis exactly right; Aśvaghosa's popularity in India was as a poet and as explaining the doctrine in simple In the former aspect he exercised a determining influence on later kāvya work by Buddhists; while Mātreeța has already been mentioned, every page of Sūra's Jātakamālā bears witness to prolonged study of his predecessor's writings. Similarly in a fragment of another kāvya life of the Buddha, which has been discovered in Central Asia, the passage preserved, dealing with the subject of the second half of B., vii, is clearly modelled on it both in general scheme and in detail2, while another metrical life, only extant in Chinese, the Fo pen hsing ching (TI no. 193), which I have not been able to examine in detail, certainly shows at times a definite connexion with the Buddhacarita³. सन्यमेव जयते

¹ Tr. Takakusu, 166. I Tsing's notice of the poet is curious in some respects. He is unaware that this poem had been translated into Chinese two centuries previously, and besides a passing allusion to minor works he only names in addition a work whose title is given by Takakusu as Sūtrā-lamkāraśāstra, which has usually been understood to refer to the work now known to be the Kalpanāmanditikā of Kumāralāta, an author whom he does not mention. The omission of the Saundarananda is so curious that it seems permissible to speculate whether, in view of the frequent corruptness of Chinese works where Indian proper names are concerned, the original name that stood in this passage was not that of this poem.

² See JRAS, 1911, 770ff. Verse 84 is in the puṣpitāgrā metre and wrongly described there.

³ See notes on B., i. 10 and 31; the general scheme of the work (Wohlgemuth, p. 62) is also obviously affected by the Buddhacarita, and note Ebbe Tuneld, Recherches sur les traditions bouddhiques (Lund, 1915), p. 15.

Yet learned monks did not concur whole-heartedly in the popular verdict, and so it happened that of the known works only the Buddhacarita was translated into Chinese and Tibetan and that no commentary was ever written either on it or on the Saundarananda, whereas two exist for the Jātakamālā, which offers far fewer difficulties of interpretation. Asvaghosa in fact, by writing for the general public and by introducing so much Hindu learning, offended against the Puritan moment in Buddhism, which finds expression in Pali at Anguttura, III, 107, and Samutta, II, 267, opposing the Buddha's sūtras to suttantā kavikatā kāveyyā cittakkharā bāhirakā sāvakabhāsitā. The poet proves himself to be conscious that his methods required justification; for the final verse of the Buddhacarita states that, in his devotion to the Buddha, he studied the scriptures and wrote the work, not to display his learning or his skill in $k\bar{a}vya$, but for the benefit and happiness of the world. This did not go far enough to obviate criticism, and in the last two verses of the later epic he sets up a reasoned defence of his procedure, explaining that his object was to hold the attention of the worldly-minded and the non-believer (anyamanas covers both these), for whose benefit he had coated the medicinal powder of sound doctrine with the jam of kāvya method and that his hearers were to reject the superficially attractive dross and to pick out the grains of pure gold from his poem.

These points govern our attitude in determining Aśvaghoṣa's position as a Buddhist; that is, we are to expect statements which make no innovation in legend or doctrine, but which reproduce in a manner intelligible to the ordinary man of some education, whether Buddhist or Hindu, the principles of the Buddhist religion as understood in his day. His works therefore are invaluable to us, not for their originality of thought, but as giving us a complete and coherent picture of the faith of a typical Buddhist at a particular epoch. If I call it invaluable, it is because the earlier Buddhist documents have undergone

¹ Cp. also ASPP., 328, on kavikṛtam kāvyam.

interpolation and manipulation to such an extent that the exact state of belief at any given moment till we reach the works of well-defined personalities such as Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu or Buddhaghosa, who are all later than Aśvaghoṣa, is more a matter of subjective deduction than of objective fact.

Three sides of his religion in particular merit examination, his devotion to the Buddha, his handling of legend and his exposition of doctrine. Of the first I have already said something in treating of $\acute{s}raddh\bar{a}$ and need only add that, if the earlier accounts have left us many striking records of the Buddha's gracious personality, in none do we find such glowing fervour, such ardent faith as in these poems, and it is a grievous loss that we do not possess the Sanskrit text of the noble eulogy in B., xxvii. In sincerity and depth of religious feeling Aśvaghoṣa stands closer to the author of the Bhagavadgītā than to the great poets of the classical period, just as in Italian painting we find truer manifestations of religion in the productions of the Trecento and Quattrocento with their imperfect strivings after power of expression than in the technically incomparable pictures of the Cinquecento.

But devotional feeling is not always, or even often, accompanied by the historical sense and in any case we have no right to expect in a writer of the first century A.D. an account of the Buddha as he really lived. It is not yet possible however to discuss critically his handling of legend, which must wait for the full exploitation of the Chinese and Tibetan sources. Still we can see that his claim to have studied the scriptures for the story is justified. Except for one or two minor points, no incidents or details are included for which, few as our means of knowledge are, we cannot find authority elsewhere, and his additions are limited to descriptions in the kāvya style, such as of Suddhodana in canto ii of both poems, of the progress through the streets of Kapilavastu in B., iii, or of the women's temptations in B., iv, and to the speeches put into the mouths of his characters. When the Buddha speaks, the matter is sometimes taken from his sermons such as B., xi. 22-31, an embroi-

dery on a frequently recurring series of similes, or the still untranslated sermon to Prasenajit, B., xx. 12-51, into which the chief themes of the Kosalasamyutta are worked, or sometimes from current Buddhist apologetic against Brahmanical doctrines. If the speaker is not a Buddhist, he is represented as setting out the arguments of the learned men of the day, e.g. the minister in B., ix, or Arāda describing a prevalent form of Sāmkhya-Yoga teaching. In some cases he seems to have used sūtras in a more original form than we have them in to-day, as for instance in his versions of the Aśoka legend and of the first council. In the latter he omits the two regular later interpolations, the humiliating treatment meted out to Ananda and the promulgation of the Vinaya by Upāli, and follows the account of our oldest source, the verses of the Chia yeh chieh ching 1, omitting the legend of Gavāmpati's end. In general the miraculous element is not stressed, and many wellknown marvels, such as the removal of the elephant's body, the shade of the jambu tree that did not move, etc., are absent: Aśvaghosa wishes all through to display the moral and spiritual grandeur of the Buddha, an aim which would have been impeded by the thaumaturgy of the later legends. On the other hand he frequently hints at the existence of legends which he does not tell in detail; a demonstrable instance occurs at B., i. 11, where the phrase cyutah khād iva suggests a reference to the descent from the Tusita heavens, not otherwise mentioned, but which he is proved to know by S., ii. 48. Similar suggestions are vratasamskrtā of Māyā at B., i. 9, the hint that the Buddha was born free of the impurities of the womb at ib., 16, vayasyavat of Kanthaka, vi. 54, and Bimbisāra's svavayah, x. 22, all explained in the notes; and of the same order is the insinuation at S., ii. 32, of what is never explicitly stated, that Suddhodana was a cakravartin monarch. Perhaps we should infer that the Buddha legend had already developed a good deal beyond the form it takes in the Buddhacarita, but that

¹ Translated Przyluski, Le Concile de Rājagīha, pp. 3ff.

brother. Vāmadeva's name occurs very rarely in the epic as we have it, but he is mentioned coupled with Vasiṣṭha precisely in connexion with Bharata's journey to the forest in the MBh. version, iii. 15981. It is incredible that Aśvaghoṣa should invent such an incident, when he shows knowledge of the existing text of the Ayodhyākānḍa, and only one explanation holds water, namely that the entire passage recounting Bharata's visit to Rāma was not in the text the poet knew, that it had in 'ts place an account of a mission headed by Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva with the object of inducing Rāma to return to Ayodhyā, and that in the process of gradual sentimentalising, to which the epic was subject for many generations, this passage was deliberately replaced by one which it was thought would do more honour to Bharata's character, leaving as its sole trace the MBh.'s mention of the purchita and minister.

Next we may consider what knowledge Aśvaghoṣa had of the various sciences, bearing in mind that, as he used treatises no longer in existence, we cannot hope to be able always to explain his statements or to trace their source.

References to secular law are rare in $k\bar{a}vya$ generally and none are to be found in these poems, so far as I can see, except at B., xxii. 47, to the principle that women are always under guardianship. Of the ecclesiastical law, if I may call it so, governing the relation of guru and pupil, Aśvaghoṣa alludes at S., i. 22-23, to the rule that a pupil of kṣatriya descent assumes the gotra of his guru, and the argument of canto xviii of the same poem, as we may see particularly from verses 1-3 and 48, is based on the principle that a pupil on the successful completion of his studies should give his guru a present. The rules of polity for kings, which were originally a branch of the same science, are repeatedly mentioned, mostly in similes 1. At S., i. 41, he treats as the standard authorities the works of Uśanas, or Śukra, and Bṛhaspati, which, though not extant, are equally called the fundamental treatises in the MBh. He

¹ Briefly discussed by me at JRAS, 1929, 77-81.

uses the term rājaśāstra for the science of politics, while nīti at B., iv. 62, means the principles of worldly conduct, and dandanīti at S., ii. 28, the preservation of order; the classifications of treasure and horses at B., ii. 2ab and 4d, presumably derive from the categories of some work on vārtā. The details contain little worth mention and the one point of general interest is the question whether he was acquainted with the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya. The latter presupposes that the formal study of political science must have been in progress for centuries previously, and it is marked by the use of special terms whose occurrence in the rājadharma section of the MBh. is very rare. Its attitude is realistic in contrast to the idealistic, often impractical, views of the dharmaśāstra, but the only trace of such a standpoint in these poems is to be found in B., ii. 55, which is capable of a sinister interpretation in the light of the Arthaśāstra; it is improbable however that Kautilya was the first writer to stress the necessity for kings of keeping their sons under guard. The political riddle at B., ii. 42, though soluble under the teaching of the MBh., cannot be plausibly interpreted from the Arthaśāstra, and the use of anaya at B., ii. 42, is contrary to Kautilya's vocabulary, who pronounces for apanaya in this sense (KA., vi. 2, 6ff.); the technical terms introduced by Kautilya, such as vijigīsu, upajāpa and atisamdhā, are missing in the poems, though regularly taken up by later writers. It seems hardly possible then that Aśvaghoşa knew this work. On the other hand he uses several terms, not of a technical nature but unknown to the classical language, in the same way that Kautilya does, such as viguna, 'faithless' (S., ii. 18), rātrisattra (ib., 28), and śakyasāmanta (ib., 45) etc. To suppose that no great interval separates the two writers seems therefore natural.

Subsidiary to the science of politics according to the Śukranīti was the knowledge of the points of a horse, and, as we have nothing early at all on this subject, the description

 $^{^{1}}$ For this word see Charpentier, JRAS, 1934, 113.

of an ideal horse according to Indian views at B., v. 73, is of great interest. Unfortunately the readings of the verse are uncertain and could not be settled, though I consulted the only known MS. of the Śālihotraśāstra, the best treatise on the subject; the tradition that Śālihotra was the standard authority for horses goes back at least to the story of Nala, but the extant work is apparently much later. So far as I can see, later writers show no advance on Aśvaghoṣa's day in the judgement of horses, except in the irrelevant matter of lucky signs (curtly referred to at B., ii. 4). On the kindred subject of elephants the poet is well acquainted with the methods of eatching, training and riding them, but I can identify no technical terms such as would prove the existence of a formal hastividyā.

I have referred above to the statement at B., iv. 64, that Udāyin was learned in $n\bar{i}ti$, the science of worldly conduct, which may indicate some collection of sayings or a manual of etiquette, prescribing the rules for behaviour in society and for conducting affairs of gallantry. In this connexion I observe that the poet seems to know the principles laid down in the first book of the $K\bar{a}mas\bar{u}tra$, for which the original authority is there said to be $C\bar{a}r\bar{a}yana$. The passages in question are detailed in the notes to S., iv and vi, in my translation. Whether he knew the original authorities for other sections of that work is open to question, but the $savil\bar{a}sarata$ of B., v. 56, certainly suggests the $citrarat\bar{a}ni$ of the $K\bar{a}mas\bar{u}tra$, though I would hesitate to see a technical term of crotics in $kanthas\bar{u}tra$ at ib., 58.

Of all the sciences medicine was the one most studied by Buddhists, and Aśvaghoṣa repeatedly refers to it in similes, notably to the three humours and their special treatment (S., xvi. 59ff., B., xi. 40). But the allusions are too general in wording to add to our knowledge or to be capable of attribution to any known source. Magic is mentioned a few times, thus with reference to snakebite (S., v. 31, and ix. 13), to the discovery of treasure (S., i. 39), and to indrajāla (S., v. 45). The only aspect of astronomy or astrology with which the poet

shows acquaintance is that relating to the lunar asterisms and their regents (B., ii. 36, xvi. 2, xvii. 41; see also note on ix. 11). But I find no allusions to the minor sciences, such as the $\dot{silpa-sastras}$ (except for the technique of goldsmiths, S., xv. 66-69, and xvi. 65-66), the testing of jewels, the methods of theft etc.

The poems reflect at times the high level to which contemporary art had reached; several references (B., viii. 25, S., vii. 48 and xv. 39) imply the existence of painters with great representational powers, and occasional descriptions are based either explicitly (B., v. 52) or implicitly (B., iii. 19-22) on the sculpture of the day, while a standardised architectural practice, $v\bar{a}stuvidy\bar{a}$, is guaranteed by S., i. 41ff. Chinese tradition has also a legend suggesting that Aśvaghoṣa was a great musician but this is not borne out by the poems which, unlike later $k\bar{a}vya$ works, contain no technical terms of music and suggest only a general knowledge of the subject, such as of the four kinds of musical instruments (S., x. 25).

Not much light is thrown by these works on the state of contemporary religion. For the older forms of worship we have repeated mention of oblations to Agni, and references to the soma ceremonial (B., ii. 37, S., i. 15, ii. 36) and to animal sacrifices (B., x. 39, xi. 64-67). Brahmanical asceticism is described in general terms at S., i. 1-16, and in detail in B., vii, and the existence of Saiva ascetics is to be inferred from B., vii. 51, and xiii. 21, and possibly of Vaisnavas, if cakradhara at B., vii. 3, is to be understood as 'bearing the imprint of Visnu's discus'. Of the more popular forms of religion S., iv. 2, takes it as natural that the chief gods for a kṣatriya to worship were Indra and Kubera, and besides numerous references to the former, attention has been drawn by many scholars from Cowell onwards to the allusions to his flag festival (B., i. 58, viii. 73, xxvii. 56, S., iv. 46). The Maruts are his attendants (B., v. 27, S., i. 62), and Jayanta his son (B., ix. 5), for whom B., v. 27, seems to indicate Sanatkumāra as an alternative

 $^{^{1}}$ S. Lévi, JA, 1928, ii, 199.

name. We also find Suddhodana worshipping the lunar asterism Puşya (B., ii. 36). Of the newer religions the references to Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma contain no hint that they were treated as gods, though the inscriptions prove the cult in Western India for a couple of centuries previously; and besides B., xxvii. 79, where C has 'the mighty golden-winged bird' and T 'Visnu's Garuda', the only mention of Visnu is under the name of Upendra as a satellite of Indra (S., xi. 49). Siva on the other hand, to whose worship according to Chinese tradition, which on this point receives some support from the knowledge these poems show of the Svet. Up., Asvaghosa was addicted before his conversion, is referred to several times in the Buddhacarita, but not at all in the Saundarananda. The verse B.. x. 3, implies a knowledge of his ascetic practices and xiii. 16 quotes the story immortalised by Kālidāsa in the Kumāra-. sambhava, but in a variant form, by which Kāma succeeds in his mission and was not burnt up by the fire of the god's eye1. At B., i. 88, we have an allusion to the birth of Skanda, who is possibly also the Senāpati of S., vii. 43. Perhaps also the belief in a Creator (B., ix. 63) should come under the head of Saivism. Altogether it is very much the picture to be expected except for omission of the newer forms of worship.

Turning next to philosophy, we note that, like most Buddhist writers, he refers to the heterodox systems, for which our knowledge is confined to casual remarks scattered over Sanskrit literature; he alludes incidentally to the fatalists, whether believers in Time or Destiny (S., xvi. 17), but more fully to the materialists (B., ix. 56-57) and to the Svabhāvavādins (ib., 58-62), the latter being one of the fullest statements of their position that we have. Jainism is ignored, but the

¹ For the significance of this see Sten Konow on the name Ananga in *Festschrift Wackernagel*, pp. 1-8, in which he does not refer to this verse. I was wrong in suggesting in my translation that the crux at S., x. 53, could be solved by seeing in it an allusion to the burning up of Kāma.

² The only allusions are to the conversion of Jains by the Buddha at Vaišālī and Śrāvastī, B., xxi. 16, 28,

īśvaravāda is also given a verse (B., ix. 63). None of these however can be discussed in detail, till the important but difficult passage at B., xviii. 20-56, refuting these heretical systems is disentangled, though it may be remarked in passing that the nature of the arguments there argues philosophy to have been still at a primitive stage. Of the orthodox systems, while there is no specific reference to the Pūrvamīmāmsāsūtras, unless Yasodharā's arguments at B., viii. 61ff., are held to refer to vi. 1, 6-21, of Jaimini's sūtras, vidhi is used in the technical sense of this school at B., ix. 66, and the Vedic scheme of worship is referred to several times and formally rejected at B., xi. 64ff., as regards the efficacy of animal sacrifice. could we expect any suggestion of the Uttaramimāmsā, but more important is the fact that the Vaiśesika system, whose outstanding position is freely recognised in later Buddhist literature, was entirely unknown to Aśvaghosa. The argument ex silentio for once has cogent force, because in later Buddhist lists corresponding to S., xvi. 17 (e.g. Lankāvatāra and Visuddhimagga), reference to the Vaisesikas is included by the addition of the word anu. With regard to the Nyāyasūtras, my view may not be found acceptable; for I hold that after deduction of certain interpolations the first adhyāya is much older than the rest of the sūtras and that, unlike them, it is unaffected by Vaiśesika tenets and could not have originated in a milieu subject to their influence. And it is precisely this section of the sūtras, of which Aśvaghosa to my mind has knowledge, though in that case he may have known it in a form more primitive than that which has reached us. He seems at times to delight in expressing Buddhist views in a way that would remind Hindu readers of their own authorities, and I still can find no reason for resiling from the opinion that the wording of S., xvi. 18, lokasya dosebhya iti pravrttih, is deliberately taken from Nyāyasūtra, i. 1, 18, pravartanālakṣaṇā doṣāh, all the more so that the preceding verses 14 and 15 suggest an early theory

¹ Cp. also the table in Liebenthal, Satkārya, 31.

of anumāna. There is also a clear reference to Nyāya principles at S., i. 14, however we explain the verse.

I have kept to the last the most important case, the Sāmkhya as set out by Arāda in canto xii of the Buddhacarita. The standard treatise on this philosophy, Iśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāmkhyakārikās, is several centuries later than this poem; and, though it was so successful in imposing its views on later generations that we have no authoritative statement of any diverging system, there were according to Chinese sources eighteen Sāmkhya schools, one of which, the best known apparently, passed under the name of Vārṣagaṇya¹. It is therefore hardly reasonable to suppose that Īśvarakṛṣṇa's explanations of the twentyfive tattras would hold good for preceding periods, and I was able some years ago to point to some important matters in which his views are fairly recent innovations2. Much reflection since then and repeated examination of the relevant passages in the MBh., which are our chief, almost our sole, source for early Sāmkhya, have brought me to views on its nature, which differ in several respects from those generally held. This is not the place to set them out in detail with the necessary proofs, but I must explain them briefly in the course of discussing Aśvaghoṣa's statements.

In the first place the notes to my translation show that, except for the eight reasons which bring the motive causes of the samsāra into action, only found elsewhere in Caraka, and also to some extent for the definition of the sattva, the exposition of the system is closely related to certain passages of the MBh., so closely in fact that a common authority must have been used. Further xii. 33 quotes a sūtra, which is as old as the Śvet. Up. and which we know from Vācaspati Miśra's commentary on the kārikās to belong to the Vārṣagaṇyas;

¹ Takakusu, *BEFEO*, 1904, 58.

² JRAS, 1930, 855ff. See also W. Liebenthal, Satkārya in der Darstellung seiner buddhistischen Gegner (Stuttgart, 1934), where the doctrine of satkārya is shown to be unknown to Nāgārjuna; I would not however accept all the author's conclusions about the development of early Sāmkhya.

it is not improbable then that we have here a resumé of the teachings of that school. The first point of Arāḍa's exposition is the division of the 24 material tattvas into two groups, one of eight called prakṛti, and one of sixteen derived from the first and called vikāra. The MBh. affords ample proof of the prevalence of a school which made this division, and the classical age preserved traces of it in the explanation of prakṛtilaya in the bhāṣyas on the kārikās and the Yogasūtras. Moreover its predominance at one period over alternative schemes may be deduced from the fact that, if we add ātman to the prakṛti group, we have in essence the nine Vaiśeṣika dravyas, diś and kāla being included in the prakṛti of classical Sānkhya, and buddhi and ahankāra coalescing into manas.

Further the object of investigation in early Sāmkhya, as in early Buddhism, is the individual, not the cosmos, which is treated in the MBh., as in B., xii. 21, on mythical rather than philosophical lines. If then the system analyses the individual into eight primary constituents, what view does it take of the nature of the first one, to which alone Isvarakṛṣṇa allowed the name of prakṛti? In his teaching the universe consisted in the last resort of a single 'stuff' in a state of perpetual flux under the mutual interaction of three gunas, which are more forces than qualities and which, entering in different proportions into all the evolutes of prakrti, determined their various natures. In fact just as Buddhist philosophy in its later stages posited the existence of qualities without subjects, an idea to be seen in germ, but not yet fully developed, in B., xii. 78-79, so classical Sāmkhya posits the existence of subjects without qualities. This conception is not at all primitive and consorts ill with such crude ideas as are incorporated, for instance, in the group of the organs of action. Seeing that Iśvarakṛṣṇa finds the essence of prakṛti to lie in the action of the gunas, it seems best to put the question asked above in a different form; why does canto xii of the Buddhacarita make no mention of the gunas? Not merely do the works extant in Sanskrit prove Aśvaghosa's knowledge of

them (S., iii. 39, note in translation, and B., vii. 53), but in the still untranslated portion of the Buddhacarita at xxvi. 10-14, the doctrine of the gunas is formally refuted. The answer is to be found in the epic, which uses guna in its Sāmkhya passages in a variety of meanings, sometimes as 'quality' generally, sometimes for the objects of the senses, sometimes for anything evolved which is described as a guna of that from which it is evolved, sometimes for the qualities which serve to distinguish the varieties of the three gunas of prakrti, sometimes, mainly in later passages, for the gunas themselves. While it is thus often difficult to determine the exact meaning in pre-classical passages, the principle, so far as I can see, holds good in practice that the use of the word begins to be restricted to the classical sense at the time when prakrti begins to denote the first of the 24 tattvas only, that is, when the movement of thought to which Isvarakrana gave final expression is taking shape. In earlier passages the three gunas do not enter into the composition of the evolutes of the first principle, as in Iśvarakṛṣṇa's system; they are often called the three bhāvas, 'states of being', each subdivided into a number of varieties according to the possession of particular moral attributes, and, as we are often told, the form of rebirth is determined by these attributes. Here then we have a very close parallel to the action of the Buddhist roots of evil as described above (p. xlii) and this doctrine enables us to explain the original idea of the first tattva; for like Aśvaghosa, all the early authorities call it avyakta, which should be understood, not as the 'unmanifested', but as the 'unseen'. Avyakta was in reality the early Sāmkhya equivalent of the unseen force, attaching the individual to the wheel of the samsāra and operating in accordance with the way in which the three 'states of being' were intermingled in him, that is, in accordance with the state of his moral character. That this conception is of a purely moral order is shown by the view taken of the nature of salvation; for at B., xxvi. 10-14, it is described as being effected by the growth of sattva and the annihilation of rajas and tamas,

not by the transcendence of all three, as in classical Sāmkhya. This, the older view, is to be found also, for instance, in Caraka, and MBh., xii. 7737, 12288 and 12913, and xiv. 1449, and has left traces on the older theories. Thus we see that the exponents of earlier Sāmkhya, like the earlier Buddhist dogmatists are more concerned with the moral, than the philosophic, side of religion, and the answer to the question put above is that the guṇas or bhāvas merely explain the mechanism of the unseen force, so that the poet, like the authors of many other early Sāmkhya passages, did not consider it necessary to describe them.

It is further to be noted that Aśvaghosa, like Caraka and other authorities, uses prakrti in the singular to denote the group of the eight primary material (corporeal would express the idea more correctly) constituents; that is, he sees a unity underlying the group, just as the Vaiścsikas similarly endeavoured to avoid the difficulties of pluralism by bringing their categories under the single head of sattā. The nature of this unity is fortunately explained in B., xviii. 29-40, a passage refuting the false views, which argues that Nature (ran-bzhin, which translates both prakrti and svabhāva, and stands for svabhāva in this passage) cannot be the cause of the world. This svabhāva, which represents the principle of prakṛti as a cosmic force, is known to the epic, whose references I cannot discuss here, and a relic of the theory is to be found in Gaudapāda's odd statement in his bhāsya on Sāmkhyakārikā, 27, that the Sāmkhyas postulate a principle called svabhāva. Its characteristics according to Aśvaghosa are that it is a single entity, all-pervading, having the quality of producing things, without attribute, eternal, unmanifested, and unconscious (sems-med, acetana). When we compare this with classical Sāmkhya, particularly with the description of prakṛti in Sāmkhyakārikā, 10-11, we see that the school which culminated in Iśvarakṛṣṇa transferred the conception of prakṛti as thus defined together with the name to the first tattva, the avyakta, and in doing so, gave it an entirely new content by a transformation of the *guṇa* theory; they then handed over the functions of the original *avyakta* as determining rebirth to a new group, the eightfold *buddhi*, and used the principle of *svabhāra* to explain the connection between the soul and the 24 *tattvas* (as opposed to the *naimittika* theory of the *YS*.).

This teaching about avyakta and prakṛti is the fundamental position of early Sāmkhya, but certain other points of Arāda's exposition require brief notice. That in place of the tanmātras and gross elements of the classical period he should reckon the elements and the objects of the senses respectively among the 24 principles is normal, and the reason for it has been explained by me elsewhere 1. The explanation of the samsāra is involved and hard to follow; xii. 23 gives as its causes karman, tṛṣṇā and ajñāna, and the passage goes on to enumerate eight factors by which these causes work. Then it proceeds to attribute the implication of the individual in the cycle of existence to the fivefold avidyā (xii. 37), and ends by putting the cause down as the identification of the person with the corporeal individual (xii. 38). At present I am unable exactly to correlate these statements, which suggest that Sāmkhya thinking was in a muddled state, due to the imperfect assimilation of new ideas. On the nature of the soul Aśvaghosa tells us nothing that we ought not already to know from other sources. Obviously he regards it as an individual, not a universal, soul, and he distinguishes, following the views taken in the epic, between the ātman which is ajña and the kṣetrajña which is $j\tilde{n}a$. In emphasising the difficulties of this doctrine he hits upon the point which Sāmkhya thought of every age failed to explain, and which Iśvarakṛṣṇa tried to evade by taking the soul as neither precisely one nor the other, but it is not necessary to my purpose to trace the development of thought in this respect.

This discussion does not exhaust the value of canto xii to us; for to the *jñānamārga* of the Sāmkhya is appended an

¹ JRAS, 1930, 864ff.

alternative method of action by yoga. In itself there is nothing strange in this, the Yogasūtras being based on the Sāmkhya philosophy, and traces of the use of yoga being still visible in the kārikās. The system set out is said to be that which was followed by Pañcaśikha, who is treated as the great authority on the philosophic side of Yoga in Vyāsa's bhāṣya, together with Jaigisavya, also known as a teacher of Yoga, and Janaka. But actually it is a description of the first seven dhyanas of Buddhist dogma, substituting ātman for vijāāna in the second ārūpya. I have already pointed out (p. xliii) that the dhyānas and prajñā do not belong to the original Buddhism, and, as many scholars have observed, there is an extraordinary parallelism between the Yogasūtras and the Buddhist doctrine of trance', so marked in both phraseology and ideas that the two can hardly have arisen independently but must have had a common origin. Now a prominent feature of the Buddhist teaching is that each trance is connected with certain divine spheres, and Aśvaghosa mentions these same spheres as gained by the trances of his Yoga system. The corresponding scheme for the classical Yoga is set forth by Vyāsa on YS., iii. 25; this statement is separated by five or more centuries from that we are considering, yet the two coincide in such a remarkable way that, unexpected as it may seem, the poet's description may be accepted as accurate for the Yoga of his day. This conclusion may appear less surprising, if we reflect that no parallels to Vyāsa's cosmology are to be found in Brahmanical sources outside the Yoga school, and it is fortified by the fact that in two points analogies can be found in canto xii to the older Yoga teaching. Firstly, the passage starts in verses 46 and 47 with a description of the sīla required of the aspirant, which might well be a summary of the teaching on the subject attributed to Jaigīṣavya at MBh., xii. 8431ff. Secondly, the

¹ The relations between Buddhism and the Yoga system call for a fresh full-length study in the light of the Buddhist materials made available of recent years; for a preliminary sketch of the important points see La Vallée Poussin, Notes Bouddhiques, III.

expression nigṛhṇann indriyagrāmam in 48 is significant; for the bhāṣya on YS., ii. 55, quotes a sutra of Jaigṣavya to the effect that in yoga the functioning of the senses is altogether suppressed. Not only is this doctrine to be read into this passage and to be found in various passages of the Śāntiparvan and the Gītā, but we have a reference to it in the Pali canon at Majjhima, III, 298, where the Buddha refutes the similar views held by a Pārāsariya Brahman (i.e. a follower of Pañca-śikha)¹; the Hīnayāna at least took the view that in yoga the senses were under control (indriyasamvara), not suppressed. The poet's description of the Yoga system of his day should therefore be treated, like the preceding account of Sāmkhya, as fully authoritative.

Lastly, this sketch of Aśvaghosa's scholarship would be incomplete, if it omitted to describe to what extent his works illuminate the development of the poetic profession from the technical side in his day. For the theatre the fragments of the plays prove that the principles of dramatic technique then observed did not differ materially from those of the classical drama, but the matter has been so thoroughly explored by Professor Lüders that I am exempted from entering into details. The Buddhacarita several times uses terms of the theatre, rasāntara, iii. 51, and the dramatic forms of address, āyuşmat, iii. 33, tatrabhavat, ix. 37, and ārya, xiii. 63, and of words whose use later was practically confined to the stage we find sādhaya in the sense of gam in the Śāriputraprakarana?. Curious is the parallel between S., iv. 39, and the description of sūnyā dṛṣṭi at BhNŚ., viii. 63; for, while much of that work is old, we have no reason to think any of it as old as these poems. Though with the exception of a brief notice of a few rhetorical

¹ The corresponding passage in the Sarvāstivādin canon is taken up in the Vibhāṣā, TI, XXVII, 729, a29ff. (see AK., VI, 121, s. Parāśāri), where the view is attributed to a Pārāśari tīrthika. For the references and a translation of the Vibhāṣā passage I am indebted to Professor de la Vallée Poussin.

² SBPAW, 1911, 405.

figures in the same treatise we have nothing earlier than Dandin and Bhāmaha for the laws of kāvya poetry, the reference to kāvyadharma in the closing verses of the Saundarananda proves the poet to have known and used some regular work on poetics, and it is interesting therefore to observe how the contents of the two poems correspond almost exactly to Dandin's definition of a typical $k\bar{a}vya$ in $K\bar{a}vy\bar{a}dar\dot{s}a$, i. 14-19. For the Buddhacarita the battle and the hero's victory are to be found in canto xiii, and we should no doubt see the same motif at work in S., xvii, in which the illusion of a combat is maintained by constant comparisons with a king on a campaign and with a battle against enemies. Aśvaghoṣa's use of rhetorical figures was presumably determined by his authorities, but does not conform to the strictest classical standards in respect of upamā. The gender fails to correspond in B., ii. 45, v. 62, and vi. 26, S., ii. 6, ix. 17, 18, and 43, x. 9, xiv. 15, 39 etc., and both gender and number at B., viii. 26, and S., xi. 29. Not all of these cases would have been considered faulty by Dandin under the ruling of Kāvyādarśa, ii. 51, and that the poet knew the rule prescribing identity of genders appears from the otherwise pointless insertion of prabhā at S., x. 39 (contrast the wording of the same simile at B., iii. 45), and xii. 29. His handling of rhetoric generally is best reserved to the subsequent discussion on style.

Closely connected with these points is the poet's knowledge of prosody, and the following list enumerates all the metres used by him in the two poems so far as preserved to us:—

i. Samavrttas:-

Anuştubh (679). B., iv. 1–96; vi. 1–55; xii. 1–115; xiv. 1–31. S., i. 1–58; ii. 1–62; xi. 1–58; xii. 1–42; xiii. 1–54; xiv. 1–45; xv. 1–65.

Upajāti (936). B., i. 8–24, and 40–79; ii. 1–55; iii. 1–62; vi. 56–65; vii. 1–57; ix. 1–71; x. 1–39; xi. 1–57; xii. 1–69. S., i. 59–60; ii. 63; iv. 1–44; v. 1–52; vi. 1–48; vii. 1–47; x. 1–53; xi. 59; xiv. 46–49; xvi. 1–94; xvii. 1–70; xviii. 1–43.

Vamsastha (201). B., iii. 63; iv. 97–102; vi. 66–68; viii. 1–80; ix. 72–80; x. 40; xi. 58–73; xii. 116–120; xiii. 70-71. S., iv. 45; ix. 1–49; x. 54–63; xv. 66-67; xviii. 44–59.

Rucirā (4). B., iii. 64-65; xii. 121. S., x. 64.

Praharṣiṇī (7). B., ix. 81-82; x. 41. S., i. 61; xvii. 71-73.

Vasantatilakā (10). S., i. 62; v. 53; vii. 48-51; viii. 58-59; ix. 51; xviii. 61.

Śarabhā (2). S., xii. 43; xiii. 72.

Mālinī (2). B., ii. 56; xiii. 72.

Śikhariṇī (11). B., iv. 103. S., viii. 60-61; xiv. 50-52; xv. 68-69; xvi. 95-97.

Kusumalatāvellitā (1). S., vii. 52.

Śārdūlavikrīdita (6). S., viii. 62; xi. 60-61; xvi. 98; xviii. 62-63.

Suvadanā (2). S., xi. 62; xviii. 64.

ii. Ardhasamavrttas:-

Viyoginī or Sundarī (56). S., viii. 1-56.

Aupacehandasika (78). B., v. 1-78.

Aparavaktra or Vaitālīya (2). B., vii. 58. S., viii. 57. Puṣpitāgrā (31). B., i. 80–89; v. 79–87; viii. 81–87. S., iii. 42; iv. 46; vi. 49; ix. 50; xviii. 60.

iii. Vişamavrttas:-

Udgatā (41). S., iii. 1-41.

Upasthitapracupita, variety vardhamāna (2). S., ii. 64-65.

Considering that the continuity of narration in epies does not allow as many varieties of metre as in plays or prose stories interspersed with verse, this is an imposing list, to which must be added an example of Śālinī in the Śāriputraprakaraṇa, and, if the third play belongs to Aśvaghoṣa, verses in the Hariṇī and possibly in the Sragdharā and Āryā metres. It should also be noted that S., xiii. 55, which I hold to be spurious, is in an unknown ardhasamavṛtta of very curious type, the first and third

 $p\bar{a}das$ consisting of seven trochees and a long syllable each and the second and fourth of eight iambi each. The metre Sarabhā is otherwise unknown except for its description in the $BhN\dot{S}$, and according to Sukumar Sen this is the only occurrence in literature of Kusumalatāvellitā (called Citralekhā in the $BhN\dot{S}$.); it gave way perhaps, as he suggests, to Mandākrāntā, from which it differs only by the addition of a long syllable at the beginning. The poet's use of Udgatā and Upasthitapracupita proves great skill in the handling of difficult metres.

The *vipulās* employed in the ślokas deserve some attention, and the following table gives the number of their occurrences:—

_	D., 1.11	
ล.	-Buddha	штии.

	Vipulā				vi	xii	xiv	Total
1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	9 0 0 - 9 0 0 - 9 -0 0 0 - 9 -0, 9	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		12 5 0 2 0	7 4 1 2 0	6 8 2 1 7	1 4 0 2 0	26 21 3 7 7
		Total	सद्यमेव	19	14	24	7	64

b. Saundarananda.

Vipulā	i	ii	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	Tota
9 0 0 9 0 0 0 9 -0 0 0 9 -0 , 9	 10 4 1 1 3	7 6 1 1	6 2 0 1 2	3 7 0 3 0	1 10 1 0 0	0 5 1 1 2	5 6 2 1	32 40 6 8 9
Total	 19	16	11	13	12	9	15	95

The second of these, though common enough in epic verse, is apparently not used in classical $k\bar{a}vya$, and the proportion of $vipul\bar{a}s$ to $pathy\bar{a}s$, about 11.7 per cent, is much lower than in the Nala and slightly less than the general average of the MBh. as calculated by Professor Hopkins¹, and more than half as much again as the corresponding figure for the $Raghuvam\dot{s}a$. In the first four forms the $p\bar{a}da$ is never allowed to close on a brevis and so strongly does the poet's ear demand support for the phrase after two or three short syllables that it is quite exceptional when at S., xii. 37, the ending consists of a short vowel (iti) lengthened by the next word beginning with a compound character.

For the other metres, the striking fact is the preponderance of Upajāti, particularly in the Buddhacarita. The monotonous effect of its trochaic cadence makes it difficult to handle for continuous narrative, and that Aśvaghoṣa was alive to this danger is shown by the way he rings the changes on the possible variations of rhythm. The scheme of the verse having no fixed cæsura, the break occurs most often at the fifth syllable, but division at the fourth is also frequent and in a certain proportion of cases a break is found at the third syllable with a secondary one at the sixth or seventh. Words of course are not allowed to straddle the pāda, except for one faulty verse, S., iv. 7, where the first syllable of d includes by samdhi the last syllable of the word at the end of c, na śobhetānyonyahīnāv; but this could be cured by amending in accordance with epic practice to na sobhed anyonyahināv. Vamsastha is handled in the same manner, and for the longer metres the classical rules of cæsura are observed. For Vasantatilakā, as in the treatise of Pingala², there is no fixed cæsura; Professor Hopkins gives as the rule for the MBh. a cesura at the fourth and again at the seventh syllable 8, but this does not hold good for the classical

¹ Great Epic of India, 223-224. ² Indische Studien, VIII, 387.

³ Great Epic of India, 193. The metrical scheme at the end of Apte's dictionary gives a cæsura for Vasantatilakā at the eighth syllable, but Kālidāsa does not follow this rule.

period. In the metres which require a long syllable at the end other than Upajāti, the poet does not hesitate to use occasionally a short syllable at the end of the even-numbered $p\bar{a}das$, but for $p\bar{a}das$ a and c the only instance is S., vii. 48c, a Vasantatilakā verse; in Upajāti verses, however, a short syllable occurs frequently at the end of any $p\bar{a}da$. It appears then that, while the prosodical system of $k\bar{a}vya$ was fully developed in Aśvaghoṣa's day, it was still capable of growth, and that a certain licence was allowed in minor matters which was to be absolutely barred in later practice.

From this point I pass to the grammar of the poems, a detailed study of which is necessary, seeing that its exact comprehension determines the handling of many textual problems and that in the absence of any other kāvya works of equal age it is our only means of estimating what usages were considered by strict writers of this epoch to be permissible. Buddhism, we now know, had its own special grammars, though the earliest one of which any fragments are extant? is later in date than these poems. But assuming, as I do, that Aśvaghosa was born a Brahman, he would naturally not have been taught from one of them in his schooldays. We do not know on what grammar he relied, but if it is not surprising to find that as an Easterner he does not adhere strictly to the principles of Pānini, different grammars can only differ in minor matters, such as whether certain variant forms or constructions are allowable or not, and consequently when he parades his knowledge of abstruse rules of grammar, we can often find them in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. Thus S., vii. 8, śliṣṭa with the accusative is based on Pān, iii. 4, 72, and abhāginī, B., viii. 54, in a future sense with the same case, is covered by ii. 3, 70, and iii. 3, 3, though not included in the Paninean

¹ The grammatical material has been analysed by Sukumar Sen, for the Buddhacarita in IHQ, 1926, 657ff., and for the Saundarananda in JASB, 1930, 181ff.; see also his Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit, Calcutta, 1928. His collections are useful, if sometimes open to criticism in detail.

² H. Lüders, Kātantra und Kaumāralīta, SBPAW, 1930, 482ff.

gaņa in question (gamyādayaḥ, no. 70). Similarly iii. 2, 135. accounts for the agental form, pravestr, at B., v. 84, to indicate habitual action, while B., ii. 34, with its contrast between vijigye and jigāya, illustrates i. 3, 19, prescribing the Atmanepada for ji compounded with vi. The most illuminating case is that of S., xii. 9-10; the former not only refers to the rule in vi. 1, 89, which lays down that the root edh takes vrddhi in exception to the general rule, but seems also to allude to the Dhātupāthas which explain this root as used in the meaning vṛadhau¹. That the poet knew a Dhātupātha is rendered probable by B., xi. 70, illustrating nine senses of the root av, and by B., v. 81, where T shows cak to be used in a meaning known only to those works. The following verse on the other hand refers to the threefold use of asti as a particle for the past, present and future; this rule played a part in the famous Buddhist controversy over the reality of the past and future, but is not to be found in Panini or the orthodox grammars.

Where Pāṇini's rules are not complied with, we can usually find parallels to odd forms or constructions in the epics, but a few usages, which are peculiar to Buddhism, so far as we know at present, may conveniently be grouped together here. The method of comparison by relatives, S., xi. 54, sukham utpadyate yac ca . . yac ca duhkham . . duhkham eva visisyate, occurs not infrequently in the Mahāyāna sūtras. The construction of vijugupsa with the accusative, B., v. 12, is known only to Pali, and the use of prstha at the end of compounds with the force only of a preposition, B., ii. 32, v. 7, and x. 39, is common in that language also. Similarly udīkṣyamāṇarūpa, B., i. 80, is a form of compound of which Pali has several examples and which occurs also in the ASPP. Sacet, S., x. 60, xv. 3, and xvi. 70, and prāg eva, equivalent to kim punar, at B., iv. 10, and xi. 7, and S., ii. 24, are also primarily Buddhist, though the latter occurs several times in Vācaspati Miśra's commentary on the Yogasūtras. But there is only one instance

¹ Professor Sten Konow kindly brought this point to my notice.

of a form of expression much beloved of Buddhist canonical authors in *yenāśramas tena* at B., vi. 65. With these exceptions Aśvaghoṣa's departures from classical usage are almost always either archaisms or to be found in the epics.

In going into details, it must be borne in mind that the textual tradition of both poems is bad and that a single occurrence of an abnormal usage, if not guaranteed by the metre, should be regarded as uncertain and possibly a copyist's mistake.

In the accidence of nouns the only points for comment are the genders; varṣa, n., B., xiii. 45, 72, and S., ii. 53, gavākṣa, n., B., viii. 14, prakostha, n., S., vi. 27, kalusa, m., B., ii. 16, and ratha, n., B., iii. 62, may all be due to errors in the MSS., and so may mitra, m., at S., xvii. 56, where maitra seems indicated by S., ii. 18, though instances of this last do occur sporadically. In the comparison of adjectives the form anuttama, B., v. 51, 83, and S., xviii. 49, which is recorded elsewhere, should be classed with the use of the superlative for the comparative, dealt with below under the syntax of the ablative. The curious pūrvatama, B., xiii. 10, may be a mistake for pūrvatana. For the pronouns the use of asmi for aham, B., i. 67, and of svah for nau, ib., viii. 43, the latter unparalleled, should be noted. The enclities, me and te, are undoubtedly used occasionally as instrumentals, a practice known to the epies but not generally sanctioned; cp. S., xiv. 22, te agreeing with bādhyamānena, for an absolutely certain case. Unusually large use is also made of the pronominal adverbs instead of the corresponding cases of the pronouns, sometimes in agreement with a noun.

Both works are peculiarly rich in verbal forms. The distinction of voice is in accord with general usage and at S., ii. 26, and B., ii. 33, 34, we have verses illustrating the different employment of certain verbs in the Parasmaipada and Atmanepada, being references perhaps to rules in the grammar used by the poet. *Prārthayanti*, B., ii. 10, though occurring elsewhere, and samraranja, S., ii. 63, are probably to be accounted for

by faulty copying. For past tenses the use of the perfect predominates except in the second canto of each poem, which deliberately illustrate the rules governing the formation of aorists. In the conjugation of the former the strong stem occurs in three cases, which, though not allowable in classical Sanskrit, can be paralleled in the MBh., viz., B., i. 41, sasarjatuh, and viii. 26, sisiñcire, and S., x. 39, vivepe; nisīdatuh at B., ix. 11, and xii. 3, is probably a copyist's error, and B., xiii. 44, nirjigiluh is formed from the rare present stem gil of the root $g\bar{r}$. For the periphrastic perfect the verb is separated from its auxiliary by an intervening word at B., ii. 19, vi. 58, and vii. 9, a practice authorised by Kālidāsa. Viśvaset at B., xi. 16, and S., xv. 59, belongs to the language of the epics, and whatever we read at B., iv. 59, sayed, svaped or suped, we have a formation not recognised in classic literature. The periphrastic future has a passive sense at B., i. 64, the earliest known instance of this use. The rules for the formation of feminine present participles would not allow, outside the epics, rudantī, B., ix. 26, and S., vi. 5, 35, and sravatīm, S., viii. 52. Of the past participles arosita, S., vi. 25, is a solecism, as are the gerundives grhya, S., i. 28, and vivardhayitvā and paripālayitvā at B., xi. 30; this latter irregularity occurs elsewhere, but only as here with the compounds of causative verbs. Aśvaghosa is peculiarly fond of desiderative formations, and unusual are cikrīsanti, S., xi. 26, the desiderative of this verb not being known except for vicikrīşu quoted in Schmidt's Nachträge from the Yaśastilaka, and bhiksu, B., iv. 17, if I am right in taking it as a desiderative of bhaj. Of the various intensives used, that of hrī, S., vii. 1, and x. 41, seems only known to Buddhists, and the PW quotes for that of bhid, B., ii. 40, only the Bhattikāvya, and for that of chid, ib., the grammarians.

So far as we can tell, the ordinary rules of $sa\dot{m}dhi$ are observed. The reading gato 'ryaputro at B., viii. 34, shows that we have here the word $\check{a}ryaputra$, not $\bar{a}rya^{\circ}$, and at ix. 21, A is corrupt and the correct reading cannot be determined.

The syntax offers much of interest and some usages that are new. In the matter of concord a singular noun is several times employed where the sense requires a plural; thus B., i. 66, sneham sute vetsi hi bāndhavānām, and like cases at ib., viii. 11, ix. 31, xiii. 7. A singular verb is occasionally used with two subjects joined by ca or ca. . ca, thus participles at B., vi. 47 (a copyist's error?), and viii. 32, a finite verb at B., v. 87, and S., ix. 28, and so of two subjects not fitting together at B., viii. 33, and S., viii. 2. At B., ii. 13, the dual verb after two subjects disjoined by $v\bar{a}$ is questionable.

The use of the nominative is regular enough, but the idioms with $\dot{s}akya$ and the like deserve a word as sometimes affecting the reading adopted. Ordinarily $\dot{s}akya$ agrees with the grammatical subject in gender and number, when followed by an infinitive in a passive sense, but twice the neuter singular is used, B., ii. 3, and xii. 102, once metri causa and once to avoid a hiatus. This latter construction is observed with kṣamam (only in B.), sādhu, B., xiii. 63, and sukham, S., xviii. 2; but kṣamam is also coupled with an intransitive infinitive, B., vii. 41, or with an infinitive understood actively and governing the accusative, B., xi. 20, and in that case the logical subject or agent is placed in the instrumental, or else in the genitive, B., ix. 39, like the genitive after sādhu and sukha in the above quoted cases with an infinitive understood passively.

Aśvaghosa's fondness for the cognate accusative, which belongs more properly to the earlier and epic stages of the language, is repeatedly displayed, particularly after verbs of speaking, also after nad, B., v. 84, and pranad, B., xiii. 52, and tap. The idioms with verbs of speaking are also preclassical in the main; in the sense of 'address' they take the accusative of the person spoken to as well as the accusative of the object spoken, and the latter remains in the accusative when the verb goes into the passive. But if the sense is 'explain', the person addressed is invariably put into the dative, and a further extension of this construction with a second accusative in apposition is at B., ix. 77, yac ca me bhavān

uvāca Rāmaprabhṛtīn nidarśanam. The accusatives after abhāgin, śliṣṭa and vijugupsa have already been referred to, and I may note one example after abhimukha, B., viii. 4. The verb smṛ governs this case only, but unusual are accusatives after vigrah (S., ii. 10, cp. MBh., xv. 220) and vinirgam (B., v. 67, identical phrase MBh., ii. 32). Bhūmim gam, B., viii. 55, is natural enough but has apparently no analogies elsewhere; and for the accusative after desiderative nouns, prayiyāsā, S., viii. 13, and vivakṣā, S., xi. 18, see SS., §52, Rem. 3. Hard to explain is a kind of accusative absolute of the time up to which an action took place, aruṇaparuṣatāram antarīkṣam, B., v. 87.

The solitary instance of the Buddhist idiom yena . . . tena has already been mentioned and the instrumental of the direction taken is employed at B., ix. 7, and x. 4, 35; but otherwise this case is not used in any way for which there is not ample authority. Aśvaghosa does not seem to have any decided preference for either the accusative or the instrumental of the active agent after the causative of a transitive verb, but for impersonal instruments he uses the latter case only. The dative with verbs of speaking has already been explained under the accusative. Its use with alam, B., ix. 77, and S., i. 40, is common in the Brāhmanas but survived into the classical language, and the dative regularly employed with sprh and $sprh\bar{a}$ is also an older use in the main. But this case with the rare verb viruc, S., ii. 14, and with utsuka, S., xii. 21, seems to have no parallels, and yāvad eva vimuktaye, S., xiii. 16, is hard to comprehend (or is the text corrupt and should we read tāvad and understand a dative of aim?), while the explanation of the curious bhaktaye, S., xiv. 19, coupled with an instrumental, depends on the meaning to be given to bhakti, which is uncertain. The dative in tasmai gadām udyamayāmcakāra, B., xiii. 37, is by analogy with the construction of druh (ib., 56).

For the next case the most remarkable point is the ablative of comparison after superlatives or their equivalents, *śreṣṭha*-

tama and duḥkhatama, S., v. 24, also pravara, ib., 25, and parama, ib. and iii. 32, niḥsāratama, ix. 11, para, xvii. 51. Parebhyaḥ samsargam, S., xiv. 50, is probably a MS. corruption, and there are a number of cases in which an ablative of cause is joined with a similar instrumental, e.g. B., ix. 46. As in all Buddhist writers the poet's addiction to the case-ending taḥ in place of the ablative or instrumental is marked; e.g. as ablative joined with an ordinary ablative at S., xvii. 15, but more commonly equivalent to an instrumental, thus manastaḥ at B., i. 47, or joined with instrumentals, B., iii. 11, and S., xvi. 48. A frequent use is with a verb meaning directly or metaphorically 'understand', śubhato gacchasi, S., viii. 48, rūkṣato naiti, ib., xi. 15, draṣṭavyam bhūtataḥ, ib., xiii. 44, etc. doṣato gam, B., viii. 49, and doṣato gā, S., vi. 22.

The employment of the genitive after verbs is mostly normal, such as after anukr, S., i. 36, and xviii. 59, nihan, S., iv. 14, and śraddhā, S., vi. 19, and similarly after gerundives, mānya, S., vi. 38, darśanīya, S., xviii. 33; less usual is the objective genitive after vancayitavya, B., iv. 94, and after rājyam kr, S., xi. 44. While the propriety of an objective genitive after the dative of aim of a transitive verbal noun is well established, those after smrtaye, B., v. 20, and bhayāya, B., xiii. 34, are odd and hard to explain. The genitives at B., ii. 7, and in darśayantyo 'sya, B., iv. 34, and mama dhārayitvā, S., vi. 18 (this last might be a genitive absolute), come under the dative-like genitive explained SS., §131. The objective genitives after didrksā at B., i. 58, and xi. 69, and S., iv. 40, are remarkable, all the more so in view of the alternative construction noted under the locative below. The only certain instances of a genitive absolute are at B., v. 20, and xiv. 22.

The case which receives the greatest extension in these poems is the locative, but most of them can be classed under the sphere in which, or under the object (very often a person) in respect of which, an action takes place, frequently in lieu of a dative. Thus for instance, kṛtvā mayi tām pratijām S., vi. 13 (see SS., § 145), and similar uses ib., 16 and 17; so

too after utsrj, B., xi. 33, and after vimue, B., xiii. 38 (contrast the dative in the previous verse). It can also be substituted for a dative of aim after verbs of striving, determining etc., an option taken much advantage of and extended rather far in the phrase, prītikṣaye yogam upāruroha, S., xvii. 49. alternative is clearly put with $pratibh\bar{u}$ at B., v. 34, and S., x. 63, as compared with S., xii. 13. Similarly the locative of the person addressed after vācya, B., vi. 24, and S., viii. 6, after vivakṣā, B., iv. 63, pravivakṣā, S., viii. 11, and vivakṣita, ib., xviii. 53. The extreme case is perhaps the locative after nam, S., iii. 7, and v. 1, and pranāma, ib., iv. 32; the dative is used in other passages and the accusative in S., xvii. 73, Sanskrit normally allowing these two cases and the genitive. It is frequently employed after substantives, adjectives and verbs, but the only further instances worth noting are after desideratives to denote the object, jighāmsā, B., xiii. 66, ārurukṣā, S., v. 40, and didrksā, ib., xviii. 2, 33 1. In the last two cases the subject is in the genitive, though elsewhere, as already pointed out, didṛkṣā takes the genitive of the object. The locative after pramad, 'enjoy', S., ii. 63, is a Vedic use, and the same sense can be read into ib., v. 41.

In the comparison of adjectives I have already drawn attention to the use of superlatives as comparatives; the latter similarly are employed to express, not comparison, but simply enhancement of the simple adjective, thus *sphītatara*, B., iii. 10, 'very widely opened', *udbhāsitara*, S., iv. 17, 'shining very brightly'. Among the pronouns a curious use is that of the indefinite *kaścit* in the plural with a negative to express 'none', B., iii. 52, and S., iv. 27, which is apparently unknown elsewhere and should be noted for its bearing on the interpretation of B., xi. 36. Nor have I anywhere else, except for a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* quoted by Gawroński² and

¹ My translation of S., xviii, 2d, is wrong and should run, 'and therefore he was desirous of seeing the Seer'.

² Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, 13.

perhaps *Pratijnāyaugandharāyaṇa*, iv. 17, come across the practice of using a relative absolutely without postcedent to express the idea 'as for'; it occurs *B.*, v. 69, vii. 57, and xiii. 59, and *S.*, vi. 47. The relative is also used pleonastically in the way that the Avesta shows was found in the original Aryan language, e.g. *B.*, ii. 35, 38, *S.*, v. 46, xi. 43, and xiv. 41.

The employment of the tenses is normal in general, and no distinction is made between the perfect, imperfect and aorist, though the first is by far the commonest for narrative. The particle ha is used three times, B., viii. 79, and xii. 68, 83, but only with the perfect, not with the imperfect as allowed by Pāṇini. The periphrastic future at S., v. 50, kartāsmi, does not imply action in the remoter future (Pāņ., iii. 3, 15) as it ought to, and probably retains a good deal of the sense of the agental noun. The use of the gerunds is lax according to classical principles, agreeing with an oblique case in at least 20 instances, and in one case, S., xvi. 52, with the subject understood, not expressed; Kālidāsa does the same occasionally to the confusion of his commentators and translators, though the construction is logical and free from ambiguity. Gerunds seem to be joined with $y\bar{a}$ as an auxiliary at B., vi. 48, ix. 54, and xiii. 5, and S., v. 43, in order to indicate an action which may take place in the natural course of events or habitually does so, but that $y\bar{a}$ is to be so treated as an auxiliary is certain only of B., xiii. 5 of these passages. Very curious is the apparently similar construction at S., vii. 15, where the only satisfactory explanation is to take $y\bar{a}$ with the gerund as indicating a passive, like the infinitive with the same verb in the cases quoted in the note to the translation, but admittedly I can quote no parallels except the so-called passives of the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars. At B., ix. 6, we have apparently an example of asti used as a particle with a past participle, and the agental noun, pravestr, at B., v. 84, has already been mentioned. The desideratives, which occur so frequently in these poems, have often lost all sense of intention or desire and indicate merely what is about to happen, e.g. mumūrsu,

'at the point of death'; and the same remark applies at times to infinitives compounded with $k\bar{a}ma$.

Of the prepositions prati is used repeatedly with the accusative in the sense of 'with respect to', 'concerning', 'towards', but others are very rare. Possibly anu is to be understood as governing $t\bar{a}m$ at S., vi. 36, and there is only one occurrence of \bar{a} , namely at B., ii. 1, with the ablative. The latter is used in compounds to express 'somewhat' with pingala at B., vii. 51, and with laksya, ib., iv. 33, the latter ambiguous word being imitated by Daṇḍin. A point of style which is not to be commended is the fusion of \bar{a} with the augment in verbal compounds in $\bar{a}dh\bar{a}rayan$, B., i. 18, $n\bar{a}ruksat$, S., ii. 20, and possibly $n\bar{a}didas\bar{a}t$, ib., 18, and I have already alluded to $y\bar{a}vat$ with the dative at S., xiii. 16.

Much that is interesting is to be found in the conjunctions and interjections. The odd habit of placing ca and hi towards the end of a sentence has been frequently commented on; it then often emphasises by its position an important word or else shows the predicate in cases of ambiguity, for instance hi in S., xv. 8, distinguishing the predicate from the epithets in the verse. A favourite use is the doubling of ca, which invariably denotes simultaneity (the translation of S., xvi. 45cd, being therefore wrong), and an excellent instance, which previous translators have not fully appreciated, is at B., xiii. 18, where it brings out the point that Mara has only to think of his army for it to appear. Yatah is used several times to introduce a clause in the last $p\bar{a}da$ of a verse, giving the action whose motive has been stated in the previous $p\bar{a}das$; it is thus really equivalent to tatas ca and means and accordingly. Twice oratio recta is not marked by an iti or its equivalent at the beginning or end, B., iv. 29, and S., iv. 37. Sacet and prāg eva have already been mentioned, and the use of nāma in the sense of 'as if', 'pretending to be', at B., iv. 29, and S., iv. 15, 17, is found in the Kāmasūtra and elsewhere. At S., vi. 9, and B., vi. 64, $\bar{a} \dot{s} u$ is used as an expletive entirely devoid of any suggestion of quickness, a practice not unknown to

Brahmanical works of the epic period. Iva is wrongly placed at B., iii. 64, and at S., vii. 17¹. It is further curious that in the one instance that yadi is followed by na ca, B., viii. 41, the verb is in the conditional; for this is the case with the only parallel quoted by the PW, viz., MBh., xiii. 4797. Finally I am inclined to think that kim $v\bar{a}$ is used in an unrecorded fashion with astu, 'just let there be', 'why should there not be', at B., iv. 71.

The works of Aśvaghoṣa are pleasantly free from overgrown compounds, and of few other Sanskrit poets can it be said as of him that the compounds are never filled out with padding, such as the insertion of vara and the like. Some of them nevertheless are not quite regular. For dvandvas the MSS. show a curious variance about number, udakāgnyoh at B., ix. 49, against jalāgneķ at S., xi. 5, and kāyavacasoķ at S., xiii. 11, against kāyamanasah at S., xiii. 24; in all four cases according to Pāṇini the dual is the proper form. The order of the members is hardly correct in ugradhṛtāyudha, B., xi. 18, and bodhyangasitāttasastra, S., xvii. 24, which offend also against SS., § 224, Rem. 3. Desiderative substantives are twice compounded with their objects in a way that is not strictly according to rule, though occurring elsewhere, vanabhūmididṛkṣayā, B., v. 2, and pauraprīticikīrṣayā, S., i. 49, and the compound brahmavidbrahmavid at B., i. 50, is of a kind found only in the ritual literature. According to C and T we have an instance of the rare compounds with na in nānyakārya, B., xi. 17, and I have already referred to the example of the Buddhist practice of compounding a present participle with $r\bar{u}pa$ at B., i. 80 (an extension of Pān., v. 3, 66?). At B., iv. 89, and v. 12, A shows dharma instead of dharman at the end of a bahuvrihi, but I have corrected both passages in view of the proper form being found elsewhere in the Buddhacarita protected by the

¹ Cp. the *Rāmāyana*'s *pakṣirāḍ iva parvatah*, quoted by Diwekar, *op. cit.*, p. 50; the earlier Upaniṣads also occasionally make *iva* precede the object of comparison.

metre. Two examples of the rare adjective compounds with alam occur at S., i. 48, 55, and reduplicated adjectives are used to express (1) a high degree, śūnyaśūnya, S., i. 10, and utsukotsuka, ib., viii. 1, (2) 'rather', 'somewhat', bhītabhīta, B., iv. 25. At B., xii. 116, mahāmuner āgatabodhiniścayah, we have a genitive dependent on a compound, a use found sporadically in Kālidāsa and other standard writers, and in several cases the last member of a compound is understood to apply also to another word contrasted with the first member, viz., B., vii. 48, bhinnah pravṛttyā (for pravṛttidharmād) hi nivṛttidharmah, S., xviii. 8, tvacchāsanāt . . sudeśikasyeva (sc. śāsanāt), and ib., ix. 51, bhāvam . . gṛhasukhābhimukham na dharme (for dharmābhimukham), which last is puzzling. For abhimukha elsewhere in these poems only takes the accusative or the genitive, not the locative, following normal practice; the locative is perhaps due to the fact that the genitive would not fit in and that the accusative would be ambiguous.

These grammatical details may seem dry, but are indispensable to those who would attempt textual criticism of the two poems. They also show how far afield Asvaghosa extended his search for material, and this remark applies with even greater force to the poet's vocabulary, whose range surpasses that of any writer known to us, not excluding the most assiduous student of the lexica. My notes bear such abundant witness to the fact that I need not inflict detailed proof on the reader. Aśvaghoṣa has not overlooked the Veda and the ritual literature as sources for rare words, and a number of others such as praveraya, yoktraya, rātrisattra etc., are only known to us from occasional use in contemporary works. Naturally he employs many Buddhist technical terms, but in addition to these we find many words peculiar to Buddhism, so far as we know at present, sahīyā, anuśamsa, āmukha, kṛṣṭādaka, pāriśuddhi, moṣadharman, upanī, samgrāhaka etc. Many words again are not recorded from other literature and are only to be found, if at all, in the lexica, among proper

names Samkrandana, Lekharsabha, Māyā and Ambara¹, and among ordinary words avi ('mountain'), avasanga, arthavat ('man'), upakara, dṛpti, vallarī ('feather') etc., while of words only demonstrable otherwise for a much later date I may note rasā and cak (tṛptau). Finally the special kāvya vocabulary, which is so strongly apparent in Kālidāsa and reached its zenith with the later poets, can be seen in these poems in its early stages with the use of words such as prasnigdha, pratiyātanā, karāla, nighna (in the sense of avaśa)² etc.

iv. THE POET.

To estimate the æsthetic quality of poetry, written in a language which is not the critic's own and which has not been a spoken language in common use for many generations, is a precarious venture at best, and yet the improbability of much success is no excuse for evading a plain duty. First we may see if we can gain any idea of what Indians themselves thought of him, and, as no formal judgements on his performance by other Sanskrit writers are available, we can only infer their views by an examination of the passages quoting his works or betraying their influence by imitation. For the Buddhacarita, Rājaśekhara cites viii. 25, at Kāvyamīmāmsā, p. 18, the sole quotation from the poet in works on rhetoric. The Bhojaprabandha takes over iv. 59, wholesale, and the Canakyarājanītiśāstra in the Bhojarāja recension, besides some reminiscences, makes up its verse vi. 81, out of iv. 86ab, and an altered version of 87cd, and borrows ix. 62abc, for its viii. This last verse is quoted in full in the commentary on the Saddarśanasamuccaya, p. 13, and may be the source of

¹ S., x. 9. I think we ought to accept the MS. reading here; Ambara is defined as $n\bar{a}gabhid$, which should mean either Kṛṣṇa or Garuḍa, preferably the former as he is $p\bar{i}tav\bar{a}sas$. It also applies to the lion under the $k\bar{a}vya$ convention that lions kill elephants, for whose occurrence in the poems see below p. lxxxviii, n. 2.

² Besides the *Raghuvamsa* passage quoted in the translation on S., xiii. 33, I have since found a similar use at *Mattavilāsa*, verse 5.

Nyāyasūtra, iv. 1, 22. Verse 13 of canto viii is cited in the Durghaṭavṛtti and by Ujjvaladatta on the Uṇādisūtras and by Rāyamukuṭa on the Amarakośa¹. From the Saundarananda Rāyamukuṭa and Sarvānanda quote i. 24, and the latter and Ujjvaladatta viii. 53, while Bhartṛhari borrowed the second line of viii. 35, altering hālahala (a form used by Śūra also, Jāt., xxxi. 67) to hālāhala, his version recurring several times in literature, while Kṣīrasvāmin quotes it in its original shape, as does Pūrṇabhadra in Pañcatantra (H.O.S., XI), i. 145. None of these verses are in Aśvaghoṣa's more elaborate style, which, it may be inferred, ceased to appeal to later generations.

The question of imitation is important, because in the earlier writers especially borrowing was often intended as criticism of some weakness in the passage so appropriated. But it is more difficult to deal with than direct citation; on the one hand it was the regular practice of Indian poets to lift an idea or a phrase from a predecessor, it being notorious that nāsty acaurah kavijanah (Kāvyamīmāmsā, p. 61), and this was considered permissible as long as a new twist was given to the matter borrowed. On the other hand almost all the kāvya literature between Aśvaghosa and Kālidāsa has disappeared and we cannot be sure that an apparent loan from the Buddhist poet is not really taken from some unknown intermediate work, unless there is a marked individuality in the common features. Moreover imitation is not always conscious; an echo of a passage once read and long forgotten may rise to the mind in the course of composition and lead to appropriation of another's ideas without the borrower's being aware of his indebtedness. Bearing these considerations in mind, we may nevertheless say that for Bhāsa, whom I hold to be the author of the Svapnavāsavadatta and the Pratijāāyaugandharāyaṇa and who cannot be much later in date than Aśvaghoṣa, four passages mark themselves out at once as

¹ For the quotations from Aśvaghosa by the mediæval Bengali school of grammarians see Zachariæ, ZII, 1932, 1ff.

borrowing from B., i. 74, xiii. 60, and xxviii. 15, and S., x. 8. The last of these is interesting as implying that the dramatist considered the verse imitated to be an artificial conceit. The next considerable work of $k\bar{a}vya$ to my mind is the $Rtusa\dot{m}h\bar{a}ra$; for, though eminent scholars still attribute it to Kālidāsa², few students of the niceties of style are likely to accept the verdict, but will rather see in it a halfway house between him and Aśvaghosa, some of whose peculiarities and weaknesses it shares, notably the tendency to repeat words and phrases. Despite the difference of subject, the influence of the Buddhist writer is possible in a number of passages, and probable in iii. 8, $k\bar{a}randav\bar{a}nanavighattitavicimālāh$, and iv. 9, $\dot{s}ar\bar{a}rik\bar{a}dambavighattitāni$ (B., v. 53, and S., x. 38, where note MS. reading), and vi. 24 (or 23), $cittain\ muner\ api\ haranti\ nivṛttarāgam\ (B., iv. 11)$, the idea being repeated at vi. 31 (or 30).

That there was a relationship between Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa did not escape Professor Cowell in editing the Buddhacarita, but if a long list of parallel passages can be drawn up, for few of them can a direct loan be proved to be necessary. An interesting case is the relationship between B., viii. 25, and R., iii. 15, in which the epithets applied by Aśvaghoṣa to women are used of lamps by Kālidāsa, as though he were criti-

¹ For detailed discussion see *Ind. Ant.*, pp. 95-99 and 113-114. *B.*, xxviii. 15, describes the Mallas as rushing furiously out to fight 'like snakes who have been confined in a pot'; we have the same comparison in identical circumstance at *Pratijūāyaugandharāyaṇa*, iv, p. 62 (T.S.S. edn.; ep. *loc. cit.*, p. 113).

² The argument that it might belong to Kālidāsa's juvenilia does not impress me; the artistic conscience of Sanskrit poets has combined with absence of printing facilities to save us from the painful immaturities of genius. Nor does the work bear any of the obvious stigmata of the novice.

³ There has been no critical consideration in adequate detail of Kālidāsa's debt to Aśvaghoṣa, though many writers have touched on the subject. A useful collection of passages in the *Budhacarita* which have parallels in Kālidāsa will be found in Nandargikar's *Raghuvaniśa* (3rd edition, 1897), Intr., 161–196; see also Gawroński, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 1914, Diwekar, op. cit., 49 and 88ff., and Sukumar Sen, *JASB*, 1930, 185, and *Haraprasād Samvarddhan Lekhamālā* (Calcutta, 1932), 172ff.

cising his predecessor's hatatvisah as improperly said of women. The parallels at times assist in the correct interpretation of Aśvaghosa's text, but throw little light on his methods or on Kālidāsa's attitude to him in general, though they do show the much greater technical skill of the later poet. Of his successors Bhāravi and Māgha may be occasionally suspected of referring to the Buddhist writer, but the cases are too indefinite to be susceptible of proof. That Bhartrhari knew him we have already seen, and many passages in Bāṇa's two prose works suggest that he had ransacked these poems to obtain material for similes, some of them being quoted in my notes, but later kāvya writers appear to have no acquaintance with them. Of the rhetoricians I have noted that Rājaśekhara quotes him directly, and I am satisfied that Dandin has B., iv. 33, in mind in his phrase ālakṣyakeśara, Kāvyādarśa, ii. 44, and B., xi. 71, for ib., iii. 120. Bhāmaha may also be referring to him, when he criticises the cacophony of ajihladat (S., ii. 30), but the form also occurs in the Bhattikāvya and in the fragments of the life of the Buddha referred to above at p. xxxvi. These facts indicate that Aśvaghosa exercised only a minor influence on writers subsequent to Kālidāsa, and we may safely assign as the reasons for the comparative neglect of his works not only the decline of Buddhism and the prejudice against his religion, but also a change of taste and a liking for other methods of writing.

If then his style was considered out of date in the classic period, it is best to start its examination by a comparison with older models of $k\bar{a}vya$ writing, that is, inevitably with the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$. We have to treat the epic, in the shape in which it has come down to us, not as the work of a single poet, but as the production of a school, all whose members are inspired by the same ideal. Their most obvious characteristic arises from the fact that the epic was meant for continuous recitation and had to be so planned as to hold the audience without

imposing too great a strain on their receptiveness. It is almost entirely composed therefore in a metre, which flows evenly without obvious division, but which avoids monotony by the endless variations of rhythm of which it is capable; the verses are treated not as units in themselves, but as parts of a whole, and the tension of listening is mitigated by frequent repetitions and recurrences of the same stock phrases and by the slow movement of the story, so that anyone whose attention had wandered for a moment could pick up the threads again without embarrassment. Asvaghosa follows an exactly opposite method. Each verse is a separate unit in itself both grammatically and in sense and is made up of four clearly articulated pādas, in which cross reference and similarity of framework serve equally to bind the whole together and to delimit it from the contiguous verses. He has chosen to point out this difference to us by occasionally taking an epic tag and demonstrating how a verse should be constructed on it. Thus at S., i. 35, a recurrent epic expression is made the basis of a verse with three similar compounds:-

> Baddhagodhāngulitrāṇā hastaviṣṭhitakārmukāḥ I Śarādhmātamahātūṇā vyāyatābaddhavāsasaḥ II

Or he takes ib., 43, the common phrase suvibhaktāntarāpaṇa and builds round it a complicated play on words. When therefore he uses another similar compound hastyaśvarathasamkīrṇam at ib., 52, and the second line consists of two contrasted words starting with nigūḍha and anigūḍha, we see that pāda b, which our MSS. give in the form asamkīrṇam anākulam, must read as a single compound, that is, I should have amended to asamkīrṇajanākulam. The treatment of each verse as a separate whole is properly a reversion to the practice of the Rigveda, and it is remarkable in how many respects Aśvaghoṣa's methods

¹ The same motive explains the simplicity of Kālidāsa's verse in his dramas as compared with their complicated structure in his poems.

hark back to those of the more advanced poets of that collection, notably in regard to rhyme, assonance, repetition of the same words in a verse, the use of refrains tec. I do not wish to suggest that he consciously modelled his work on the older poetry, but that his technique derives from a school of $k\bar{a}vya$ writers, which had possibly been long in existence and whose style had more affinities with the Rigveda than with the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}-yana$, and that the latter's influence should rather be sought ir language, ideas, similes and other rhetorical figures.

When we come to the classical $k\bar{a}vya$, we find this method much developed. The principle that each verse is a separate unit is still more strongly held and, though Kālidāsa occasionally constructs a verse on parallel or contrasted pādas², ordinarily his rhythm is based on the verse as a whole and not on the individual pādas. His practice was followed with more enthusiasm than discretion by later poets, so that ultimately a kāvya epic became little more than a collection of miniature poems loosely strung on the thread of the story. Though Aśvaghosa had not travelled to the end of the road, he found that the creation of a poem out of a number of stanzas, each sharply demarcated from its neighbours, brought certain difficulties in its train. Whether it was an inner compulsion of his nature or the fashion of the day that led him to seek expression in the form of poetry, he had a very definite object in his works, a message to deliver of whose supreme importance he was firmly convinced, and effective narration was therefore

¹ Refrains, which are typical of ballad literature, occur also in the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ yaṇa, but only apparently in the later passages.

² A curious instance of this may be quoted. Aśvaghoṣa sometimes makes a verse with three comparisons, putting the main sentence into c and the last comparison into d and so producing the effect of the final $p\bar{a}da$ being an afterthought, thus B., ii. 20, vii. 8, and xii. 13, against S., viii. 31, xvii. 22, and xviii.•1, where the main sentence closes the verse. This procedure, to which a parallel can be found in the Rigveda, is followed by Kālidāsa, Vikramorvasīya, i. 7, which has a further likeness to B., ii. 20, in that each describes a gradual process.

to him a prime necessity, since by dispersion of interest he might fail to keep his readers' minds directed to the real issue. Further as a dramatist he had no doubt learnt in his plays how to maintain in some form or other that unity, without which the attention of the audience cannot be held, but a kāvya epic provided a medium less suited to the object he had in view. To the classical writers this difficulty did not present itself; they had no message to deliver beyond the appeal of their art and only a secondary interest attaches to their stories, whose unfolding could be and in most cases was neglected. In order then to obtain the unity vital to his purpose, he adopted the procedure of articulating his poems as clearly as each verse. The proportion of space allotted to each episode was calculated with care, and verses were grouped together by various devices, as it were into paragraphs, each with a single subject. The simplest way of doing this is by change of metre, an excellent instance of which is to be found in the passing from Upajāti to Vamsastha at B., xi. 57-58, as the Buddha takes up a new point in his argument; but the possibilities of this were limited. Another expedient is the employment of yamaka to mark the end of a period; thus the description of Kapilavāstu is rounded off with such a verse, S., i. 56, and similarly the speech of the disciple, ib., ix. 49. Nanda's speech, S., x. 50-57, ends with two verses which have yamaka at the end of each pāda, but the aim here is also to indicate strong emotion. Or a whole series of verses are constructed on a similar scheme, with a refrain as at B., xi. 23–33, or with a set of parallel similes, B., vi. 31–34, and xiii. 46–51. More simply S., x. 7, ends with the words vibhūṣaṇam rakṣaṇam eva cadreḥ, and the next four verses describe the vibhūsaņa and the two following the rakṣaṇa, while the purple patch is separated from the sequel by a rhyming verse. Less obvious perhaps is S., xviii. 23-32, where each first line contains adya and describes an achievement of Nanda's and each second line contains hi and supports the first with the enunciation of a general principle. The twelve verses, S., xvi. 53-64, are of a more intricate pattern.

Primarily there are six pairs of verses, each consisting of a statement of the wrong and right procedure in a particular case; the first six verses form a whole, as do the last six, while the first four are interlocked by each having a simile derived from fire and the last six each have a medical simile. The carefully wrought paragraph describing Kapilavāstu in S., i, is interesting as different in method from similar set pieces in later poems and as very much on the lines followed by Bāṇa in his overgrown descriptive sentences, and should be compared with the cruder procedure adopted for the character of Suddhodana in the succeeding canto.

If I have laboured this point, it is because the methods employed by the poet to secure unity of effect with a consecutive flow of thought out of a series of clear-cut stanzas, each cast in the same mould, are partly responsible for the odd exterior which his poems too often present to us. The problem he tackled is in reality insoluble; not even all Spenser's metrical skill and ear for rhythm can make the elaborate stanza of the Faerie Queene anything but monotonous in the mass, and Aśvaghosa was not endowed with the same subtlety of art, But though this artificial framework might advantageously have been modified or made less obvious, nevertheless he does achieve his aim, but by his narrative powers, not by these means; for the great enjoyment which his works give us is due in large measure to their readability as wholes, which again arises from his skill in ordering his matter and in handling the individual episodes. As an instance of the latter, is there anything in Sanskrit literature equal in its own line to the scene between Nanda and Sundarī at S., iv. 12-23? Each verse presents a perfect little picture but is subordinated to its place in the whole, and the tempo is exactly right, neither too hasty nor too long drawn out. Equally it would be hard to beat for vivid and moving presentation the still untranslated episode of the elephant loosed by Devadatta against the Buddha at B., xxi. 40-65. Closely connected with his narrative skill is a remarkable capacity for setting out an argument or explaining a doctrine in clear and convincing fashion. I Tsing's appreciation of this quality has already been quoted, and it seems to have been his gnomic verse which survived longest in the memories of his non-Buddhist fellowcountrymen.

Unfortunately these virtues sometimes fail of their effect; for Asyaghosa is a writer of baffling contrasts, on the one hand the literary artist as story-teller, preacher and poet, on the other the scholar anxious to conform with all the rules and to parade his knowledge. The possession of good qualities implies a liability to the corresponding defects, and among a people who treasured intelligence and learning it is not surprising to find some who lapsed at times, like the Buddhist poet, into pedantry. For if his matter is excellent, his manner is often disconcerting. Take as an example the character of Suddhodana in \tilde{S} ., ii; read in translation, we see it to be an admirable picture of an ideal king, free from gross hyperbole and attractive in details, and often reminding us of the account that Aśoka gives of himself in his edicts 1, but our enjoyment of the original is obstructed by its unhappy resemblance to the section of a grammar which sets out the rules for the formation of the various agrists. Or take the formal descriptions in S., vii. 4-11, and x. 8-13; well worked out in detail, they are deficient in inspiration and leave us with the impression of verses made merely to show how well the poet could manufacture this kind of thing.

We can trace the same tendency also in details of technique, especially in his handling of comparisons, which constitute in his case the main ingredient of the rhetoric essential for the execution of long narrative poems. For a bare statement of fact, however well worded, usually fails to convey the emotional content which the author wishes to communicate, and he can obtain his object best by stimulating the reader's imagination, that is, by suggesting more than he says. This he does

¹ See my remarks in the Journal of the Society for Promoting the Study of Religions, May 1933, 15-16.

ordinarily by indirect expression1, which again consists almost necessarily of comparison in some form or other, the very incompleteness of the parallel being a powerful aid to suggestiveness. In a written language in close touch with the spoken word the comparison is often effected by metaphor, which has the advantage of combining economy of phrasing with vividness of language. But the Sanskrit of Aśvaghosa's day was already too remote from conversational speech for him to be able to employ that method to any extent and he is thrown back, like other kāvya writers, on the many varieties of simile. No other Sanskrit poet perhaps is so fond of simile and none certainly draws them from so wide a range, though some of those most familiar in later literature, such as the lotuses that open with the rising of the sun or moon, or the lion that kills the elephant2, are sparingly introduced. To classify them exactly is not possible, but in general they can be divided, following the convenient arrangement of Indian writers on poetics, into those cases where the similarity is purely verbal and those where the comparison is of substance. Those in the former category appeal entirely to the intellect and are devoid of poetic emotion; so far as they are witty and neat and not used too frequently, they are free from objection and capable of giving pleasure. But too often the poet is oblivious to the necessity of fitting his comparison to the emotional situation; some are unmitigatedly pedantic, such as the grammatical similes at S., xii. 9, and 10, others far-fetched conceits as at S., x. 8, 9, 10, or an academical aura envelops them as in the

 $^{^1\,\}mathrm{This}$ is what Bhāmaha meant by vakrokti ; as he says, $K\bar{a}vy\bar{a}la\dot{m}k\bar{a}ra,$ ii. 85 :—

Saiṣā sarvaiva vakroktir anayārtho vibhāvyate | Yatno 'syām kavinā kāryaḥ ko 'lamkāro 'nayā vinā |

² The only instances of the former are B., v. 57, and xii. 98, and of the latter, explicitly, B., xxvii. 9, and, implicitly, B., xxi. 46, where heroic men, following behind the maddened elephant about to charge the Buddha, utter lion-roars to induce him to turn round under the impression that he is being attacked by a lion, and also S., x. 9, if correctly interpreted p. lxxix, n. 1.

type that has been called psychological¹. The other class are often drawn from ordinary life, the regular similes of a preacher, and are brought in with telling effect for moral or didactic purposes, such as the crushed sugarcane dried for burning at S., ix. 31, or the Brahminy bull that cannot be driven out of the corn, ib., xiv. 43. Another favourite type is the complete $r\bar{u}paka$, which is common in the epics and contemporary literature but went out of fashion for the higher class of poetry in later ages; it may reach a certain majestic eloquence a at B., i. 70, but more often its artificial nature becomes too apparent as at S., iii. 14. In general the simplest comparisons are often the best, such as rājyam dīksām iva vahan, S., ii. 6, on which Kālidāsa for once hardly improves, R., iv. 5. Some are taken from nature; thus commonplace perhaps but singularly appropriate the simile of the trembling Sundari clinging to Nanda like a wind-blown creeper to a sāl tree. Though sometimes used pedantically, they often show a real freshness of observation and recall the familiar sights of north-Gangetic India, the water-birds scuttering over the leaves of a jhil (S., x. 38), or the Brahminy ducks rising and falling on a lake as the west wind of March lashes its surface into waves (B., viii. 29). Thus we find in his similes a strange mixture, the poet sometimes, the preacher often, but too frequently the pedant or the academician, and if their variety is refreshing in contrast with the restricted list of subjects for comparison in classical kāvya, Indian poetry has a long road to travel before it reaches the perfect fusion of matter and manner in Kālidāsa.

Besides the various methods of comparison, we find in these poems many other rhetorical figures, whose poetical value is at times open to doubt. Aśvaghoṣa is much given to distributive phrases, thus zeugma of one verb with two nouns, S., ii. 15cd, 16cd, 28 ab, 39ab, or one verb with two pairs of nouns, B., ii. 37, or two verbs with one noun, B., x. 2, or one adjective

¹ See C. W. Gurner, The psychological simile in Aśvaghoṣa, JASB, 1930, 175-180.

Asvaghosa considered the innovations to be lacking in authority and therefore not fit for specific mention. Occasionally on the other hand he takes a point from an earlier work and elaborates it, as in the description of Māra's army in the guise of Hindu ascetics at B., xiii. 21-24, suggested by the $Padh\bar{a}nasutta$, but dropped from the later versions of the story.

Altogether the impression left on my mind is that the poet was careful to use the most authoritative sources open to him and that the Buddhacarita gives us the Buddha-story in the shape which a pious Buddhist of the first century A.D., actuated more by devotion to the Buddha and respect for scripture than by love for the marvellous, would have accepted. The general framework of the plot is apparently dependent on two sources. Cantos i-xx give a continuous narrative of the Buddha's life and mission up to the dedication of the Jetavana vihāra and thus cover the exact period of the story of the 'present' in the Pali Nidānakathā; the latter, as now extant, is late and the poet may be presumed to have used an earlier version, no longer in existence. Canto xxi contains a digvijaya of the Buddha, recounting his conversions of beings of every kind all over northern India and not probably taken from any one source, and ends with the story of Devadatta and the elephant. Cantos xxii-xxviii reproduce the full extent of the Mahāparinirvānasūtra, including the story of the First Council, which in the Pali canon has been severed from the version in the Digha and inserted in the Vinaya. In the Saundarananda also much of the teaching can be traced back to specific sūtras still extant in one form or another, as can be seen from the notes to my translation or from cantos xiii and xiv, whose framework seems to be modelled on the sūtra at Anguttara, IV, 166-168, though the version of the story, on which the poem is based, has still to be discovered.

The conclusion that Aśvaghoṣa had a preference for, or at least mainly used, the earlier sources, is strengthened by an examination of his doctrinal position. We are now able to grasp the Abhidharma system as a whole and to estimate

how far it had travelled from the earlier dogmatism, thanks to Professor de la Vallée Poussin's richly annotated translation of Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa. Even though the Vibhāsā is almost certainly substantially later in the main than the poet, its special views must have been taking shape in his day. The new school arose out of a new angle of vision, the philosophical approach replacing the moral standpoint from which the earlier teachers developed their system. The mechanism of the act, karman, is worked out in connexion with an elaborate theory of causation and the older dissection of the individual into skandhas, āyatanas and dhātus is politely put on one side for the conception of an individual flux of consciousness (saintāna), the elements of which consist of ultimates called dharmas of a fixed number of varieties; the momentary ap-, pearance of the latter in the individual sequence is explained by the special forces prāpti and the samskṛtalakṣaṇas, which determine what dharmas can appear in any given samtana at any given moment and how they appear and disappear. By the kṣaṇikavāda the individual is seen as a series of moments and this analysis of time into its minutest possible division inevitably brings in its train the atomic conception of matter $(r\bar{u}pa)$. In correspondence with these changes the path to enlightenment undergoes a metamorphosis which makes it almost unrecognisable to those accustomed to the older terminology. Definite traces of even the beginnings of these theories are hard to find in Aśvaghosa, except that it is not impossible to read the kṣaṇikavāda into one or two phrases (such as samajanmanistha, which I may have rendered wrongly at S., xviii. 17). He knows nothing of the atomic system, of the samtana, or of the new form of the Path, and his standpoint remains purely moral, free from any attempt at metaphysical speculation.

To give a full outline of his beliefs would involve going over much ground well known to us from other schools of the Hīnayāna, and I limit myself therefore to a few outstanding points. He accepts the orthodox Buddhist conception of the individual as consisting of the five skandhas and as being without a 'soul', and the individual existence is inevitably and always bound up with suffering (duhkha) by reason of its being subject to the power of the act (S., xvii. 19); how then does the act work? The answer seems to be, by reason of the hetu, the This hetu is primarily made up of three factors, raqa, dvesa and moha, and according as the individual's acts cause these three factors to increase or dwindle, so are the nature of his rebirths determined, just as in early Sāmkhya the sphere of rebirth is determined by the relative proportion of the three gunas; and he is only released from rebirth by their disappearance (S., xvi. 20-24). These three factors are called the akuśalamūlāni, the roots of evil, and are recognised in the Pali Abhidhamma as the hetu par excellence. Schematism requires to correspond to them a group of their opposites, the kuśalamūlāni, and though Aśvaghosa never mentions such a trio, its existence is perhaps to be inferred from the fact that the hetu can work for good as well as for evil (B., ii. 56, and xii. 68, and S., v. 17). The above theory is in fact that of the Pali Nikāyas, which habitually describe Nirvāna as attained by the disappearance (khaya) of the roots of evil. In the later Abhidharma the belief in the roots of good and evil persists, but has been allotted so subordinate a position in the analysis of the causal system which governs the individual that it has lost its fundamental significance 1.

Since to obtain salvation the individual must bring about the disappearance of the three factors, through which karman works, he is first, we are told, to train his body by the discipline of śīla and next his mind by smṛti, constant awareness of the process of his thoughts, and then to give himself up to yoga, selecting for meditation according to S., xvi. 53ff., those subjects which are specially adapted for overcoming that one of the three factors which is most active in him. Thus he rids himself

¹ The gotra theory of the Mahāyāna, however, appears to owe something to this doctrine.

of them and obtains Nirvāṇa, the deathless state. It is generally acknowledged now that Buddhism teaches salvation by means of yoga, but there is no extant treatise till we reach the Yogācāra school which lays so much stress on it as the Saundarananda; it is not clear, however, whether this was a speciality of the sect to which its author belonged¹, or whether, in the desire to appeal to non-Buddhists, he was striving to show how similar in respect of yoga Buddhism was to the corresponding Brahmanical doctrine.

The evolutionary process of yogic practice in Buddhism is not yet clear to us. The original term was samādhi, which perhaps did not indicate any of the phenomena associated with the trances of yoga but merely some kind of mental concentration. That the interrelated terms of dhyana, trance, and prajñā, the form of knowledge obtained by trance, came into use later, is shown by their omission from the eightfold path and the consequent difficulty of finding a place for them in that scheme 2. Bhāvanā, which is closely connected with prajñā, is possibly of still later origin and suggests the gradual elaboration of transic methods, such as we find in the Saundarananda. Aśvaghosa's account is not easy to follow, because we have to reconcile the descriptions of method in cantos xv and xvi with those of the application in xvii. He makes three important distinctions, the first between pratisamkhyāna and bhāvanā at S., xv. 4-5; the former corresponds more or less to the darśanamārga of the Abhidharma, but whether it is produced by yoga or not is not specifically stated. The other distinctions are between smṛti and samādhi in xv and bhāvanā in xvi, and between the mundane and supermundane paths in xvii. the last the mundane path consists in preparation of the mind (cetahparikarman, xvii. 5) by means of yoga (xvii. 10, 11) and is transformed into the supermundane path by a thoroughgoing

 $^{^{1}}$ See Demiéville, op. cit., 47, a passage which suggests that the Kaukulikas laid great stress on yogic practices.

² See note in translation on S., xvi. 31-33.

examination of the phenomenal world (ib., 15-21). In practice the three may perhaps coincide, the first of each pair being devoted to suppressing the outward manifestations of the kleśas and the second to rooting out the anuśayas, the latent tendencies to the kleśas. The last pair may also explain a puzzle, which has defeated wiser heads than mine. In canto xvii, after the aspirant has reached the supermundane path, he acquires successively the three stages of srotaāpanna, sakṛdāgāmin and anāgāmin, and it is only thereafter that the four trances are described and they are said to be the immediate precursors of Arhatship. But xvi. 1, in accordance with the view generally prevailing in the schools, shows that the trances are mastered in a preliminary stage before the process of bhāvanā begins; and that they are even accessible to non-Buddhists is the regular belief, which B., xii, shows Aśvaghosa to share. Now B., v. 10, proves the poet to know the distinction between sāsrava and anāsrava (=in practice laukika and lokottara) trances, and it may be therefore that Nanda was unable to obtain the anāsrava trances necessary to Arhatship till he became an Anagamin. But the point remains obscure.

To sum up, we may say that Aśvaghoṣa took his stand on the older dogmatism and was very little affected by the developments of the fullblown Abhidharma, and that to him the kernel of Buddhism lay in personal devotion to the Buddha and in the practice of yoga.

iii. The Scholar.

The traditions of Indian literature require that a poet should have mastered the general principles of all sciences and should display his knowledge of them with accuracy; sarvatodikkā hi kavayaḥ. Aśvaghoṣa observed this rule fervently, not to say pedantically. It is accuracy, not original thought, that is prescribed, and any lapse from correctitude evoked without fail the censure of the critics; we are therefore bound to assume that his learned references are strictly in

accordance with the authorities he used. Since too these authorities are for the most part no longer extant, enquiry into the nature of his knowledge is of considerable interest for the light it throws on the history of Indian thought.

To start with the literature known to the poet, as a Brahman he was presumably taught some portion at least of the Veda, and, leaving aside for the moment the question whether he was influenced by the poetic methods of the Vedic writers, we observe occasionally in his vocabulary unmistakeable signs of his knowledge, such as dvija for Agni at B., xi. 71, or śri in the sense of 'emit (heat)' at S., i. 2. The phrase randhrair nācūcudad bhṛtyān, S., ii. 27, seems to be a reminiscence of the Rigvedic epithet radhracodana, and very ingenious is the hint in B., xiii. 68, of the application of nābhi to Agni and Soma by using the word dhāman with its Vedic sense to be understood secondarily. An allusion to a Vedic legend that was forgotten by the classic age is provided by the name Aurvaseya, B., ix. 9, for Vasistha. Similarly acquaintance with the ritual literature is shown at a few places. The ceremony of measuring out soma is referred to at S., i. 15, and ii. 36, at the latter of which the occurrence of the plain root mā, instead of compounded with vi or ud, suggests the possibility that he knew the Śatapathabrāhmaņa, which is apparently alone in using the verb thus. A knowledge of the finer points of ritual can be inferred from the employment of proksana and abhyuksana at B., xii. 30, for the latter of which in this sense PW and PWK can only quote two Śrautasūtras. The words nivarta, S., xv. 44, and vimad, 'grow sober', S., ix. 30, are only elsewhere substantiated by the Brāhmaņas, to which stratum of literature samāruh at B., iv. 24, seems also to belong; and the reference to Prajāpati's act of creation by tapas at B., ii. 51, may be to any one of a hundred passages in the same class of literature. For the Upanisads, besides a number of possible parallels, the chief piece of evidence is S., xvi. 17, whose resemblance to Śvet. Up., i. 2, can hardly be fortuitous; and, taking into account the remarkable coincidence between

B., xii. 21, and Svet. Up., v. 2, I think it probable that the poet was well acquainted with this work.

When we come to the epics, the wealth of the material is overwhelming and yet uncertain in its bearing; for, if my notes are crammed with references to them for explaining difficulties or giving parallels, we cannot as a rule say that the poet must have known the particular passage quoted and that he might not have taken the phrase from literature no longer available to us. This applies with especial force to the $Mah\bar{a}$ bhārata; thus I have shown in the notes to B. xii, that much of Arāḍa's exposition of the Sāmkhya system has close parallels in the Moksadharma, the connexion in one case extending over several verses of the same passage. But it is more natural to suppose that the common matter goes back to a single original, possibly a textbook of the Varsaganya school. The two portions of the epic of which we might most surely expect the poet to show knowledge are the story of Nala, which is told in a primitive kāvya style, and the Bhagavadgītā. the former the most striking parallels are i. 30, to S., iv. 5, x. 26-7, to S., iv. 42-4 (extending even to the common use of the verb kṛṣ), and xxi. 3, 6 and 7, to B., viii. 18-9; but similar motifs may have occurred in poems intermediate between the two writers and we cannot presume direct influence. As regards the latter I am not among those who attribute a great age to it, but see no conclusive reason why, at least as regards the older parts, it should not have been in existence in Aśvaghosa's day. In any case it is not far apart from him in thought and phraseology, and sometimes the parallelism is close, as between S., xvi. 38, and Gītā, xiii. 10. In one passage, Gītā, ii. 66, has a verse built up just like S., xi. 33, one of the pādas being almost identical; but unfortunately the former verse is omitted in the Kashmiri recension and may be an interpolation, so that no conclusion can safely be drawn from it. We cannot therefore either assert or deny that the poet was acquainted with this work.

As for proper names, allusions to the main characters

are very few, namely to the entire destruction of the Kurus at B., xi. 31, and S., ix. 20, to Arjuna once only and that for the sake of alliteration at B., x. 17, to Bhisma for a story known to the Harivamsa but not to the epic, at B., xi. 18, and S., vii. 44, and to Pāṇḍu as an illustration of fatal attachment to women at B., iv. 79, and S., vii. 45. Many legends are cited, which are to be found in the MBh., but not always in quite the same form. Thus Aśvaghosa is fond of the story of Santanu's love for Gangā (B., xiii. 12, S., vii. 41, and x. 56) which is told in the \overline{A} diparvan, but it is apparent that he knew a version which enlarged on Santanu's grief when Ganga left him, a point not dwelt on in the epic. Many of the stories he alludes to are not to be found in the MBh. and despite the many parallels we cannot establish that Aśvaghosa knew any portion of the epic in the form in which we now have it. it does seem certain that he knew much literature dealing with the legends he quotes, possibly often in kāvya form, which is now irretrievably lost to us; besides a poem on Santanu, which has perhaps left its impress on the MBh. version, and another on the love-story of Surpaka, the fisherman, and the princess Kumudvatī, discussed in the note on B., xiii. 11, I surmise also the existence of a poem or cycle dealing with the legends of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, and there is some reason to think he used sources also exploited by the Harivamsa, presumably a collection of legends such as we have in a later form in the still unedited Bengali recension of the Padmapurāņa, Svargakhanda.

The case is entirely different with the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$, for which an inhabitant of Sāketa, the scene of its most poignant episodes and the capital of its dynasty, could not but keep a warm place in his heart, however his religious beliefs had changed. Aśvaghoṣa never wearies of reminding us that the Buddha belonged to the dynasty of his home and strikes this note in the very first verse of the Buddhacarita. He acknowledges Vālmīki as the $\bar{a}dikavi$ (B., i. 43) and calls him 'inspired' ($dh\bar{i}m\bar{a}n$, S., i. 26). We may therefore expect to find, and we

do find, that he has been strongly influenced by it. In so far as this affects his poetic style, I reserve consideration for the next section, but here it is in place to enquire to what extent he knew the poem in its present form ¹.

The late Professor Gawroński proved, conclusively as I hold, that Aśvaghosa knew certain portions of the second book, the Ayodhyākānda, in very much the condition that we have them in to-day and that he took pleasure in drawing a comparison between the Buddha quitting his home and Rāma leaving for the forest. That he knew the continuation of the story appears from a reference in B., xxviii. 31, but whether in the present form or not is not clear to me from the wording 2. It certainly does seem that there are many fewer passages in the later books likely to have influenced the Buddhist poet and those mostly of a commonplace order, which might have been found elsewhere. The question really turns on whether Aśvaghosa knew some or all of the three passages in the Kām., describing how Hanuman visited Ravaņa's palace and saw the women asleep 3, and, till the epic is critically edited from the best surviving MSS. of all recensions, I would refrain from giving a definite answer.

More definite statements can be made on other points. Jacobi took the view that the original epic started with a passage descriptive of Ayodhyā and of Daśaratha and his court, which survives with additions in the first book ¹. That Aśva-

¹ Cowell raised the question of the relation of the Buddhacarita to the Ram. in the introduction to his edition. For later handling of it see especially Walter, Uebereinstimmungen bei den indischen Kunstdichtern, Leipzig, 1905; Gawroński, Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, pp. 27-40; Gurner, IASB, 1927, 347-368; Diwckar, Les Fleurs de Rhétorique dans l'Inde, Paris, 1930.

² The passage ran in Sanskrit more or less thus:— Sītābhidhānam parigrhya mṛtyum atyutkato 'pi praṇanāša Daityah |

³ See Gurner, loc. cit., 352.

⁴ H. Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaņa (Bonn, 1893), 50ff.

ghosa knew such a description and in a more extended form than Jacobi allowed in his reconstruction seems probable from the many echoes of it in his poems, and it is to be inferred from S., i. 26, that the story of Valmiki's having taught the poem to Kuśa and Lava was familiar to him. But there is a curious proof that he did not know the Bālakānda as we now have it. At B., iv. 20, and S., vii. 35, he quotes the tale of the disturbance of Viśvāmitra's austerities by the Apsaras, Ghṛtācī; our only other authority for this is a verse in almost identical terms at Rām., iv. 35, 7, where it has every appearance of being an interpolation. The story is told at length in the Bālakānda, substituting Menakā for Ghṛtācī and betraying its late date by the unusual agreement between the versions of the different recensions. But the Fo pen hsing chi ching (TI, III, 726b) takes up in its prose the various comparisons of the Buddhacarita passage, replacing Ghṛtācī by Mekayā. As the Chinese characters transliterating ya and na are easily confused, we have evidently a case of corruption combined with transposition and should read Menakā. Why then should the compiler of this work substitute Menakā for Ghṛtācī, unless he knew the Bālakānda, which contains the standard version of the tale? Hence we should presumably infer that the story of Viśvāmitra and Menakā was introduced into the Rāmāyaṇa between the time of Aśvaghosa and that of the compiler of the FP. As regards the Uttarakānda, I can find no reason to suppose that the poet knew any portion of it.

Finally there is another point from which we may deduce an important inference. At B., ix. 9, the poet compares the visit of Śuddhodana's purohita and minister to the future Buddha with the visit of Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva, Daśaratha's purohita and minister, to Rāma in the forest. The epic contains no such episode, but tells at length of Bharata's visit to his

¹ Interpolations in the epic may easily be later than Aśvaghoṣa and show his influence; thus iii. 1, 35, with its application of *nisvana* and śūnya to a hermitage, is probably inspired by S., i. 10, 11, the omission of the verse from the Bombay edition suggesting that it is not authentic.

with two dependent nouns, S., ii. 5. The distributive compounds ($K\bar{a}vy\bar{a}dar\dot{s}a$, ii. 278) are represented several times, B., v. 26, and 42, and ix. 16, S., xvii. 59, and numerical riddles are found four times, B., ii. 41, and xxvii, 11, 26, and S., xvii. 60, and the $parih\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ once, B., xi. 71. The other figures, whose descriptions fill the pages of the treatises on poetics, hardly need notice, as their identification is of no aid in estimating the quality of his poetry, beyond the remark that $arth\bar{a}ntarany\bar{a}sa$, almost Kālidāsa's favourite figure, occurs rarely (a good example at B., x. 26, and a whole string of them at S., xviii. 23ff.).

Of a different order is his fondness for repetition of the same sound in a verse; unlike the later poets, who employ yamaka to prove their knowledge of its varieties as catalogued by the rhetoricians and to show their skill in handling them, the emphatic positions in which, as shown above, he often places them argue that he attributed to them a definite æsthetic value, nor does he always trouble to give a different meaning to the repeated sound. An ordinary form of yamaka is the repetition of two syllables at the end of a pāda, S., i. 56, ix. 49, x. 56, 57, xvii. 16. Approaching rhyme is the repetition of the same syllables at the end of pādas b and d, °ām iva gantukāmāh, B., iii. 22, °ksā iva bhānti vrksāh, S., x. 21, or of a whole pāda, gām adhuksad Vasisthavat, S., i. 3, or to enforce a comparison a verse is repeated almost without alteration, S., xvi. 28 and 29, xvii. 33 and 34, or less exactly at S., xiii. 4, 5 and 6. The number of cases in which the same syllables are repeated in a verse, usually with difference of meaning but not in emphatic positions, is countless, such as śivikām śivāya, B., i. 86, Merugurur gurum, ib., v. 37, darīm three times in S., iv. 41ab, and darī similarly ib., vi. 33. So Yaśodharā's name can never be mentioned without adding one or more compounds ending in °dharā. This phenomenon raises a curious question, how did Aśvaghosa pronounce the compound letters? As is well known, the Chinese translators in transliterating names reduce the compound letters to their Prakrit equivalents, stha to

ttha etc., though the works they translated were mostly written in Sanskrit; but the latest translators, such as Fa Hsien, end of the tenth century A.D., often transliterate all the letters. The Chinese translator of the Buddhacarita was an Indian and must have known how Sanskrit was ordinarily pronounced by learned Buddhists, yet we find him quite clearly at xiii. 7. trying to translate a play of words on 'svattha and svāsthya, as if in the original they sounded alike. If we accept this hint. it is natural to suppose in a number of passages that the poet intended the compound letters to be resolved to the Prakrit forms; thus B., x. 1, sa rājavatsah prthupīnavaksāh, where vatsa and vaksas both become vaccha in Prakrit, an equivalence of which the Jain canonical authors took advantage 1. Similarly the play on words at S., ii. 45, is only complete if śakya. Śākya and Śakra are all pronounced sakka alike. Not to multiply instances, I only adduce one other case, S., ii. 8, śāstra, astra, After all the same principle is applied to some extent in the pronunciation of tatsamas in the modern vernaculars. and if, as I think it should be, it is admitted as proved that Aśvaghosa intended his poems to be so pronounced, some important consequences may be deduced. For one thing the reduction of the heavy consonant combinations would make his lines flow much more lightly in recitation. Also we have presumably the origin here of the later rule which allows the equivalence of long and short vowels and of the various sibilants in plays on words. Further does this explain how it came about that the Prakrits and Sanskrit are combined in the Indian drama? If the pronunciation of the latter was assimilated to that of the former, the plays would have been intelligible to far wider audiences and not necessarily confined to those who had a good knowledge of Sanskrit.

Let us return from this digression to other ways in which the poet's love of recurring sounds finds an outlet. One favourite practice is to take the leading word in a sentence and

¹ See JRAS, 1932, 396.

form a vocative compound of which this word is the base, of the type niḥsamsaya samsayo me, S., xviii. 8. That he saw something formal or hieratic in this turn of speech appears from its being reserved almost entirely for the Buddha, the only instances to the contrary being once to Nanda after he was converted, S., xii. 31, and once to Bimbisāra, B., xi. 2; in both cases the epithets are particularly appropriate to the occasion. It is further natural that a leaning to repetitions of sounds should lead to experiments in rhyme, of which there are several in the Saundarananda. For the Buddhacarita I may note ii. 40, and the imperfect rhyme at iv. 30, at the end of b and d. The other poem has a rhyme inside the $p\bar{a}da$ at vi. 35, and xvii. 6, a more complicated one covering two pādas at x. 11, and also at vii. 5 and 42, and rhymes at the end of all the $p\bar{a}das$ at iv. 46, v. 20, vi. 25, x. 5 (three $p\bar{a}das$ only), x. 13 (the most elaborate one), and xvii. 13. Of a different type is viii. 32ab, where of the six words four end with madā and two with pradāḥ, a not wholly successful effort. But the recurrent beat of rhyme is in little accord with the mood of epic poetry, and all the more so that the long inflexional endings of Sanskrit require the repetition of more than one syllable for the rhyme to become plain to the ear and that therefore monotony is hard to avoid. It is not surprising then that Aśvaghosa's experiments in the Saundarananda were not seriously continued in later poetry till we reach the lyrical outbursts of the Gītāgovinda.

So far I have only touched the fringe of the main question, the nature of Aśvaghoṣa's poetic ear. The classical poets of India have a sensitiveness to variations of sound, to which the literatures of other countries afford few parallels, and their delicate combinations are a source of never-failing joy. Some of them, however, are inclined to attempt to match the sense with the sound in a way that is decidedly lacking in subtlety, and they have perpetrated real atrocities in the manufacture of verses with a limited number of consonants or even only one.

This last trick was fortunately unknown to Aśvaghoṣa, whose nearest approach to it is B., xii. 96:—

Apārapārasainsārapārain prepsur apārayat 🖂

which has only p, s, and r except in the last syllable. The eruder efforts to express the sense by the sound are also missing; otherwise B., xiii, would have been east in a very different mould, perhaps on the lines of the Gandistotra, or think how Māgha would have revelled in such an opportunity. The poet's mastery of the intricacies of rhythm is sufficiently proved by his success in carrying off such long stretches of Upajāti without wearying the reader, and, so far as I can see, his verse is melodious in general, if not reaching the subtleties of later $k\bar{a}vya$. Occasional lines are particularly happy in their collocation of consonants; thus S., x. 64cd:—

Tato muniḥ pavana ivāmbarāt patan pragṛhya tam punar agaman mahītalam #

derives its success from the heaping up of labial sounds. Or take x, 17cd:—

Kva cottamastrī bhagavan vadhūs te mṛgī nagakleśakarī kva caiṣā »

where the effect of protest depends on the use of the gutturals and sibilants, and consider how the line would be spoilt if we substituted taru for naga. On the other hand he seldom hesitates to subordinate agreeableness of sound to the display of learning and will use a word such as ajihladat, whose cacophony offended the ear of that excellent critic, Bhāmaha. Till we know with more certainty how he intended his poems to be read, it is wiser to defer a final judgement on this point, and best of all perhaps to leave it to his fellowcountrymen.

Reference should also be made to his habit of using words in more meanings than one, sometimes in a recondite fashion that baffles the reader; the notes to my editions are so full of examples that I need hardly quote any here. Interesting and unusual is the ironical application of this method, after the way of Indian drama, to the unconscious foreshadowing of

future events unknown to the speaker but not to the reader; the passages in question are B., iii. 4, viii. 34 and 40, x. 25, and xiii. 63. Occasionally also he seems to avail himself of the ambiguity of a negative a disappearing by elision or saindhi to enable a statement to be understood according to either Brahmanical or Buddhist ideas, B., iii. 25, and xii. 82. I Tsing was unquestionably right in saying that he clothes manifold ideas in few words; for, besides this habitual use of words in two or more meanings, every single word almost in his poems is pregnant and should be given its full value in translation. In no other Sanskrit poet, it seems to me, is the construction of the sentence so packed and tight, and continually we come across compounds which in later poets would have further members added to them for ease of understanding and lightness of effect. But if he habitually eschews the cheville, to use a convenient French term, in two respects his handling of language falls below the standard of the classical writers. His inordinate use of conjunctions is often wearisome, in particular the perpetual recurrence of tatah at, for instance, B., iii. 1-9, and S., i. 30-41, and iv. 12-35. His motive perhaps was to make clear the articulation of his argument, but the obviousness of the artifice gives some passages the semblance of a formally stated proposition of Euclid. He is also wont to repeat the same word in successive verses or continually to bring in certain phrases. As examples I may quote vayo'nurūpa, B., ii. 22 and 23, nāthahīna, ib., ix. 24 and 27, samkuc and pranāda, ib., xiii. 52 and 54, °vāhanastha, S., xvii. 23 and 24, pṛṣatka, ib., 38 and 39, and for phrases samparivārya tasthuh, B., i. 17, iv. 3, vii. 37, and xiii. 27, and manasīva codyamānah, ib., v. 71 and 87. I have already noted that the Rtusamhāra has the same trick of speech, evidence of its relatively early date; for to the later poets repetition is anothema and argues poverty of diction and imagination.

This analysis of Aśvaghoṣa's technique suggests that, if we call him rough, the Ennius to Kalidasa's Vergil, we do not quite find the centre of the target; if an analogy must be found in European poetry, I would rather seek it in Milton, equally a scholar and equally fond of displaying his learning, who similarly sought to express his religion within the limits of an epic. For where Aśvaghosa's text survives undamaged, he is polished enough and his work is usually highly wrought and well finished. But his intricacy and elaboration are those of the primitive, not of the sophisticated writer; not for him the subtle relations of Kālidāsa's verse or its exact harmonics of tone, still less the 'slickness' of later $k\bar{a}vya$. He reminds me often of some Italian painter of the fifteenth century, who in his excitement over the new possibilities of representation will upset the balance of his picture to direct our attention to his skill in depicting the musculature of a man drawing a bow or in foreshortening an upturned head. Or, to take an Indian parallel, the Muhammadan architecture of Ahmedabad, seen in bulk, leaves on the visitor's mind the impression of singularly elaborate decoration, while the Taj Mahal, in reality far more adorned, seems simple in comparison; it is only a question of the extent to which the decoration is not merely applied ornament but has been subordinated in function to the general scheme of the structure. Similarly Aśvaghosa's insistence on symmetry, his exposure of the framework and his non-functional decoration are characteristic of early work, not of a time when the greatest art is so to conceal the art that the reader is unconscious of its presence pervading the whole poem. The correct view, I would maintain then, is that Aśvaghosa is a primitive in his art, just as he is in religion and philosophy.

But there is nothing wrong in being primitive; our enjoyment of primitive work is merely different in kind from that which more advanced art affords us, and we shall fall into grievous error if we insist on looking in these poems for what we find in classical $k\bar{a}vya$, instead of concentrating on that which the author himself intends us to see. For it is not only in technique but also in feeling that the difference is seen between a primitive and a mature writer. The latter is like some well-

-bred person in a highly civilised society, who prides himself on knowing everything and being able to do everything without either parading his knowledge or appearing to make any effort. He must conceal the labour with which he achieves his results, as if his perfect skill were inborn and his work produced without toil. Above all enthusiasm is taboo and good taste his god, so that he seems almost to show a certain lack of feeling, an air of disillusionment, to insinuate, as it were, that such studied perfection is hardly worth while. But in the early stages of an art the opposite prevails. Just as the primitive artist delights to experiment with new forms and test their possibilities, so he gives his depth of feeling free rein in his work, and enthusiasm excuses an occasional lapse of taste or failure of It is this freshness, this zest, which casts an abiding charm over early work, and here surely is the secret of the hold Aśvaghosa's poems take on us. In his verses we catch glimpses of a man of artistic temperament and strong passions, delighting in everything that appeals to the senses, yet finding no sure foothold anywhere till he seeks refuge in Buddhism. The zeal of the convert informs every word he writes, and by his intense conviction of the importance of his message he still carries away readers of different faith and alien civilisation, however inadequate to them his philosophy of life may seem. His skill in narration keeps us interested, but the real appeal derives from the spontaneous emotion which overflows in his poetry.

This emotion may be traced to two sources, the first being his ardent devotion to the person of the Buddha. Though the noble panegyric in canto xxvii of the Buddhacarita is no longer available to us in the original, the bright flame of his faith shines through every line of the two poems and redeems the driest passages. Equally insistent throughout is his sense of the impermanence of all mundane phenomena, however delightful they be, and the strength of this feeling is the measure of the ptll which the world exerted on him; for the passion with which he denounces the ordinary joys of life draws its force not merely from a revulsion of feeling, but also from the necess-

ity of convincing himself. When he comes to deal with that which lies at the core of his being, he sheds his learning and drops all play with rhetorical and pedantic tricks, to speak straight from the heart. Though those who are affected by the feminist tendency of the day may not find the subject of canto viii of the Saundarananda to their taste, yet even they will recognize that Aśvaghoṣa there shows himself to have no superior among Sanskrit poets as a writer of satire. He has all the gifts for the purpose, a command of balance and antithesis, economy and pointedness of phrasing, and above all a furious indignation, a saeva ira, at heart. Listen to these lines, clear-cut and hard as a diamond, but searing like vitriol:—

Vacanena haranti valgunā nišitena praharanti cetasā | Madhu tiṣṭhati vāci yoṣitām hṛdaye hālahalam mahad viṣam || Adadatsu bhavanti narmadāḥ pradadatsu pravišanti vibhramam |

Praņateşu bhavanti garvitāḥ pramadās tṛptatarās ca māniṣu || Guṇavatsu caranti bhartṛvad guṇahīneṣu caranti putravat | Dhanavatsu caranti tṛṣṇayā dhanahīneṣu caranty avajñayā || S., viii. 35, 39, 40.

These are not sparks from the anvil of some wit or courtly epigrammatist, but the outburst of a man in bitter earnest, who has himself suffered from the desires he flagellates. But if the world grips our vitals with longings which we must tear out by the roots, it is also transient, ephemeral, and the poet's spirit rises, as he surveys with noble courage man's brief glory in this existence, his restless flittings from life to life, and contrasts them with the eternal peace to be found in his religion. Again the same simplicity, the same economy of phrase, but now how elevated and majestic:—

Rtur vyatītah parivartate punah kṣayam prayātah punar eti candramāh | Gatam gatam naiva tu samnivartate jalam nadīnām ca nṛṇām ca yauvanam | Irresistibly Catullus' famous lines, beginning Soles occidere ac redire possunt, rise to the mind. Or again:—

Vihagānām yathā sāyam tatra tatra samāgamaļ | Jātau jātau tathāśleṣo janasya svajanasya ca || Pratiśrayam bahuvidham samśrayanti yathādhvagāḥ | Pratiyānti punas tyaktvā tadvaj jñātisamāgamaḥ ||

S., xv. 33, 34.

Or the motif of 'Où sont les neiges d'antan?'

Balam Kurūnām kva ca tat tadābhavat

yudhi jvalitvā tarasaujasā ca ye I

Samitsamiddhā jvalanā ivādhvare

hatāsavo bhasmani paryavasthitāh || S., ix. 20.

On this note let me take leave of Aśvaghoṣa, a Buddhist, a scholar, above all a poet, who sought other ends and struck other strings than the poets of the classical epoch, and let us enjoy what he has to give us without attempting to assign him a precise place in that galaxy.

सन्धमेव जयते

THE ACTS OF THE BUDDHA

CANTO I

BIRTH OF THE HOLY ONE.

- 1. There was a king of the unconquerable Śākyas, Śuddhodana by name, of the race of Ikṣvāku and the peer of Ikṣvāku in might. Pure he was in conduct and beloved of his people as the moon in autumn.
- 2. That counterpart of Indra had a queen, a very Śacī, whose splendour corresponded to his might. In beauty like Padmā, in steadfastness like the earth, she was called Mahāmāyā, from her resemblance to the incomparable Māyā.
- 1. T and C leave it uncertain whether 'unconquerable' (aśakya) is an epithet of the king or the Śākyas; in either case there is a play of words on Śākya and aśakya as in S., ii. 45. In c T's hphrog-byed zla-ba is equivalent to hāriśo or haric-candra, which may either be the famous king not mentioned elsewhere in Aśvaghoṣa or mean 'the moon of the asterism Śravaṇa'; but C has 'the first-born moon' (?='the moon at the beginning of the year'). As it is the moon of autumn that gives joy to men and is the subject of comparison (e.g., S., ii. 14), I conjecture an original śaraccandra. The verse may be tentatively restored as follows:—

Aikṣvāka Ikṣvākusamaprabhāvaḥ Śākyeṣv aśakyeṣu viśuddhavṛttaḥ ¡ Priyaḥ śaraccandra iva prajābhyaḥ Śuddhodano nāma babhūva rājā ¡

2. The translation is not quite certain. The comparison with Māyā the goddess recurs S., ii. 49; C has, 'borrowing the simile, she was called Māyā, but in reality there was no comparison between them'. $P\bar{a}das\ a$, c and d may have run:—

Tasyendrakalpasya babhūva patnī
. |
Padmeva lakṣmīh pṛthivīva dhīrā
Māyeti nāmnānupameva Māyā #

- 3. This ruler of men, dallying with his queen, enjoyed, as it were, the sovereign glory of Vaiśravaṇa. Then without defilement she received the fruit of the womb, just as knowledge united with mental concentration bears fruit.
- 4. Before she conceived, she saw in her sleep a white lord of elephants entering her body, yet she felt thereby no pain.
- 5. Māyā, the queen of that god-like king, bore in her womb the glory of her race and, being in her purity free from weariness, sorrow and illusion, she set her mind on the sin-free forest.
- 6. In her longing for the lonely forest as suited to trance, she asked the king to go and stay in the grove called Lumbini, which was gay like the garden of Caitraratha with trees of every kind.
 - 7. The lord of the earth, full of wonder and joy, recognised
- 3. W's translation of b is impossible, as Śrī was not the wife of Vaiśravaṇa; and c might mean 'like the knowledge of one who possesses $sam\bar{a}dhi$ '. The second line might have been:—

Tataś ca vidyeva samādhiyuktā garbham dadhe pāpavivarjitā sā ${\hspace{1pt}\mathbb{I}}$

- 4. I reconstruct d: na tannimittain samavāpa tāpam.
- 5. The first line ran more or less:—

Sā tasya devapratimasya devī garbheṇa vaṁśaśriyam udvahantī ı

And the second line had probably vītaśramaśokamāyā, for which cp. S., ii. 49, but it is not clear if gtsaṅ-la, 'in purity', refers to Māyā or the forest.

6. The comparison of Lumbinī to the Caitraratha garden recurs S., ii. 53, and is a stock simile in these accounts; cp. Mhv., I, 149, 14, and 217, 2, and II, 19, 16, and $J\bar{a}taka$, I, 52, where $cittalat\bar{a}vanasadisam$ should probably read $cittaratha^{\circ}$. The first line may have been:—

Sā Lumbinīm nāma vanāntabhūmim citradrumām Caitrarathābhirāmām !

7. This verse was somewhat as follows:-

that her disposition was noble from her possession of piety, and left the fortunate city, in order to gratify her, not for a pleasure excursion.

- 8. In that glorious grove the queen perceived that the time of her delivery was at hand and, amidst the welcome of thousands of waiting-women, proceeded to a couch overspread with an awning.
- 9. Then as soon as Pusya became propitious, from the side of the queen, who was hallowed by her vows, a son was born for the weal of the world, without her suffering either pain or illness.
- 10. As was the birth of Aurva from the thigh, of Pṛthu from the hand, of Māndhātṛ, the peer of Indra, from the head, of Kakṣīvat from the armpit, on such wise was his birth.
- 11. When in due course he had issued from the womb, he appeared as if he had descended from the sky, for he did not come into the world through the portal of life; and, since he had purified his being through many zons, he was born not ignorant but fully conscious.
- 9. C gives the precise date, 'the eighth day of the fourth month', for which ep. Przyluski, *Concile de Rājagrha*, 88. For the vows that Māyā took see Windisch, ii. 113ff.
- 10. For Aurva see *MBh.*, i. 6802ff., and for Pṛthu, *ib.*, xii. 2219ff. Māndhātṛ's legend is given at length *Divy.*, 210ff., but Brahmanical legend differs, saying he was born from the side. He is the peer of Indra as occupying half his seat. Nothing is known of Kakṣīvat's birth. The *Fo pen hsing ching* (*TI*, IV, 59, c25ff.) puts the comparisons, omitting Pṛthu, into the mouths of the Brahman soothsayers; FP has all four at 690, a3ff.
- 11. This and the next verse are relative sentences depending on tasya in 10, and explain why the birth was miraculous. Krama means 'the ordinary course of events' (cp. v. 36, 37), Buddhas naturally being born in a supernatural way. Pāda b implies that the Buddha was born free from the ordinary defilements of birth (cp. 16 below), and cyuta is deliberately ambiguous, being regularly used of divine beings descending to earth for rebirth. For samprajānan, see AK., II, 54, Oltremare, Théosophie bouddhique, 129, n. 4, and Windisch, ii, 88, 110, 128; probably it means 'remembering his previous births' in this connexion.

- 12. With his lustre and steadfastness he appeared like the young sun come down to earth, and despite this his dazzling brilliance, when gazed at, he held all eyes like the moon.
- 13. For with the glowing radiance of his limbs he eclipsed, like the sun, the radiance of the lamps, and, beauteous with the hue of precious gold, he illumined all the quarters of space.
- 14. He who was like the constellation of the Seven Seers walked seven steps with such firmness that the feet were lifted up unwavering and straight and that the strides were long and set down firmly.
- 15. And looking to the four quarters with the bearing of a lion, he uttered a speech proclaiming the truth: "I am born for Enlightenment for the good of the world; this is my last birth in the world of phenomena."
- 12. A's gap in a is due to a recent gash, and it may have originally had yo. Co's śriyā is unmetrical and, despite Wohlgemuth, probably not supported by C. Dīpti is the quality of the sun, and dhairya of the earth.
- 13. The first line refers to the illumination of birth-chambers; cp. Penzer, Ocean of Story, II, 168-9, and Padyacūdāmani, iii. 26. As he was born out of doors, not in a sūtikāgrha, is it suggested that the sun took the place of the usual lights? For the golden colour in the second line see Windisch, ii, 136.
- 14. C is uncertain for this verse and may have rendered a by 'upright, straight, with unflustered mind'. Many suggestions, none really plausible except Schrader's anākulānyubjasamuddhṛtāni (read as one word), have been made for emending or explaining the first pāda, which T may have read as in the text or else had something like anākulo nyubjamalojjhitāni. I accept A's original reading and treat it as a single compound, as the non-occurrence of ubja elsewhere is against dividing anākulāny ubja'; this requires us under the poet's principle of balance to read b also as a single compound, so reconciling A and T. For the sense I give to samudgata (C's 'upright'), cp. viii. 52 below. T has a word too much in c, but suggests that eva is doubtful.
- 15. As c refers to the simhāvalokita (LV., 84), gati is hardly 'gait' here, possibly 'lionwise'. I translate bhavya according to C's 'piercing through to the true meaning', the sense being known to the lexica but not recorded in literature. T's equivalent, snod-ldan-rnams-kyi (W reads stod-ldan,=ślāghya) is unintelligible and presumably corrupt.

- 16. Two streams of water, clear as the rays of the moon and having the virtue, one of heat, one of cold, poured forth from the sky and fell on his gracious head to give his body refreshment by their contact.
- 17. He lay on a couch with a gorgeous canopy, feet of beryl and framework glistening with gold, and round him the Yaksa lords stood reverently on guard with golden lotuses in their hands.
- 18. The dwellers in heaven, themselves remaining invisible, held up in the sky a white umbrella and, bowing their heads in obeisance before his majesty, muttered the highest blessings that he might obtain Enlightenment.
- 19. The mighty snakes in their thirst for the most excellent Law fanned him and, with eyes shining with devotion, bestrewed him with *mandāra* flowers, offices they had performed for the Buddhas of the past.
- 16. T renders subhre 'white' and C 'pure'. In c perhaps samparka for samsparsa. This use of antara, though close to the classic use defined as tādarthya (e.g. R., xvi. 82, and Slokavārttika, Arthāpattipariccheda, 7), is only found in Buddhist works, and then only in the phrase kim antaram (Mhv., I, 360, 11, and II, 66, 15, and Samyutta, I, 201, and Childers s.v.). The point is that the Buddha at birth is not covered with the impurities of the womb and does not need the usual bath for cleansing purposes. The connexion of this idea with miraculous birth goes back to RV., v. 11, 3, of Agni.
- 17. T's reading in a may be correct; cp. $K\bar{a}d.$, 127, avanipālašayanair iva simhapādānkitatalair...pādapaiḥ, and Mudrārākṣasa, ii. 11, hemānkam. simhāsanam. Note also Yasht, 17, 9, of a couch zaranyapakhštapad. In c Lüders' amendment may be right, the difference from A being only an easily omitted dot.
- 18. The restoration of the first five syllables in a cannot be exactly determined, adrśya, avyakta or nigūḍha being compounded with bhūtāḥ or bhāvāḥ. Cp. Suttanipāta, 688 (of Asita's visit), marū...na dissare cāmara-chattagāhakā, Mahāvamsa, xxxi. 89–90, Jātaka, VI, 331 (of Indra), HC., ch. i, 9, 18, adrśyamānavanadevatāvidhṛtair bālapallavaiḥ, and MBh., ii. 1406. In c vyadhārayan would be best, but T's kun-nas supports the text.
- 19. Bhaktivisiṣṭanetrāḥ has been much criticized, but is certified by C's chuan (Giles, 2702). The sense of 'characterized by 'is natural and satisfactory, and contrasts with viśeṣa in the first line. But there may be a secondary

- 20. And gladdened by the virtue of his birth in this fashion, the Suddhādhivāsa deities rejoiced in their pure natures, though passion was extinct in them, for the sake of the world drowned in suffering.
- 21. At his birth the earth, nailed down as it was with the king of mountains, trembled like a ship struck by the wind; and from the cloudless sky there fell a shower perfumed with sandalwood and bringing blue and pink lotuses.
- 22. Delightful breezes blew, soft to the touch and wafting down heavenly raiment; the very sun shone more brightly and the fire, unstirred, blazed with gracious flames.
- 23. In the north-eastern corner of the royal quarters a well of clear water appeared of itself, at which the household in amazement carried out their rites as at a holy bathing-place.

meaning. For T translates gzir, which properly means 'troubled', and it uses mi-gzir (prasanna?) of the Buddha's eyes at 38 below; in view of the latter passage it cannot mean 'wide-open' (so W) here. Bacot's Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary however shows gzir to have meanings not recorded by S.C. Das and Jäschke, but seems to be corrupt here unfortunately. Divy., 518, has yathaiva stimite jale 'sya netram visiste vadane virājate, where visista corresponds to stimita and ought to mean 'untroubled', 'clear'; also SP., xxiv. 20, prajāājāānavisistalocanā. In the circumstances I translate freely. C translates avyajan as if ayajan.

- 20. $Tath\bar{a}gata$ cannot mean primarily the Buddha here, as Aśvaghoṣa does not apply such terms to him till he reached bodhi; it must be taken as an adjective to $utp\bar{a}da$, the use being presumably intended to suggest the derivation of the name. By this construction a relative yasya can be understood through ca to connect the verse with the preceding and following ones. The Suddhādhivāsa deities are incapable of going elsewhere (AK., II, 216), and their presence on earth on this occasion is possibly not suggested therefore here; the Mahāyāna however does not accept this limitation on their powers.
- 21. Gawroński compares CII, III, 75, 13; note also Kād., 113, calita-kulaśailakīlitā...ācakampe medinī. This probably explains Vasubandhu's kīṭādri (AK., II, 147), i.e. kīlādri misread by the Chinese and Tibetan translators as kūlādri.
 - 22. Cp. R., iii. 14.

- 24. And troops of heavenly beings, petitioners for the Law, thronged the grove to wait on him, and in their wonderment they cast flowers from the trees, though out of season.
- 25. At that time the noxious creatures consorted together and did each other no hurt. Whatever diseases there were among mankind were cured too without effort.
- 26. The birds and deer did not call aloud and the rivers flowed with calm waters. The quarters became clear and the sky shone cloudless; the drums of the gods resounded in the air.
- 27. When the Guru was born for the salvation of all creatures, the world became exceeding peaceful, as though, being in a state of disorder, it had obtained a ruler. Kāmadeva alone did not rejoice.
- 28. On seeing the miraculous birth of his son, the king, steadfast though he was, was much disturbed, and from his affection a double stream of tears flowed, born of delight and apprehension.
- 29. The queen was filled with fear and joy, like a stream of hot and cold water mixed, because the power of her son was other than human on the one hand, and because she had a mother's natural weakness on the other.
- 24. Darsana implies a formal visit to an idol or a ruler and is still so used in Hindi. A and T are against Gawroński's kautūhaleneva in c, and, as the word cannot be applied to the trees without iva, T must be translated as above. Whether C so understood it is not clear. The last word is a verb compounded with ni, equivalent to srams or vyadh, possibly nipātitāni.
- 26. In c T's phyog-rnams rab-snan=diśah praseduh, and dge-ba, the epithet of the sky, probably stands for śuci as in xii. 119; C has 'in the sky was no cloud-screen'.
- 27. The translation of the third pāda follows C, on whose authority I amend T's improbable thar-paḥi to thar-phyir, equivalent to jagadvinokṣāya guruprasūtau.
- 29. C has for a, 'the queen saw her son born not by the ordinary way', and this probably is the sense underlying T's ambiguous phrase.

- 30. The pious old women failed in penetration, seeing only the reasons for alarm; so, purifying themselves and performing luck-bringing rites, they prayed to the gods for good fortune.
- 31. When the Brahmans, famed for conduct, learning and eloquence, had heard about these omens and considered them, then with beaming faces full of wonder and exultation they said to the king, who was both fearful and joyful:—
- 32. "On earth men desire for their peace no excellence at all other than a son. As this lamp of yours is the lamp of your race, rejoice and make a feast to-day.
- 33. Therefore in all steadfastness renounce anxiety and be merry; for your race will certainly flourish. He who has been born here as your son is the leader for those who are overcome by the suffering of the world.
- 34. According to the signs found on this excellent one, the brilliance of gold and the radiance of a lamp, he will certainly become either an enlightened seer or a Cakravartin monarch on earth among men.
- 35. Should he desire earthly sovereignty, then by his might and law he will stand on earth at the head of all kings, as the light of the sun at the head of all constellations.
- 36. Should he desire salvation and go to the forest, then by his knowledge and truth he will overcome all creeds and stand on the earth, like Meru king of mountains among all the heights.
- 30. Some details are uncertain, but the general sense is clear. 'Pious', lhag-ma spans-te, adhimuktāḥ or adhimucyamānāḥ.
- 31. Wohlgemuth quotes a parallel to this passage from the Fo pen hsing ching (TI, IV, 59, c15, the last quartet, etc.).
 - 32. In Hindustan a house without a son is still said to be without a lamp.
 - 33. 'Be merry', lit. 'dance'; W translates otherwise.
- 34. T's text in d is doubtful and hard to translate; C has the better sense, 'should he practise enjoyment in the world, certainly he will become a cakravartin'.

- 37. As pure gold is the best of metals, Meru of mountains, the ocean of waters, the moon of planets and the sun of fires, so your son is the best of men.
- 38. His eyes gaze unwinkingly and are limpid and wide, blazing and yet mild, steady and with very long black eyelashes. How can he not have eyes that see everything?"
- 39. Then the king said to the twice-born: "What is the cause that these excellent characteristics should be seen, as you say, in him, when they were not seen in previous great-souled kings?" Then the Brahmans said to him:—
- 40. "In respect of the wisdom, renowned deeds and fame of kings there is no question of former and latter. And, since in the nature of things there is a cause here for the effect, listen to our parallels thereto.
- 41. The science of royal policy, which neither of those seers, Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras, the founders of families, made, was created, Sire, in the course of time by their sons, Śukra and Bṛhaspati.
- 42. The son of Sarasvatī promulgated again the lost Veda, which the men of old had not seen, and Vyāsa arranged
- 37. 'Fires', dud-byed, dhūmakara. 'Men', rkan-gñis, dvipad; C's literal translation is misunderstood by Wohlgemuth.
 - 39. I take zhes in c as=kila; so C, 'if it is as you say'.
- 40. C makes c clear, 'every product by the nature of things arises from a cause'. In d nidarśanāni is an uncertain restoration, but T shows a plural word which, whatever it is, cannot be fitted in with A's atraiva; the latter therefore must be wrong.
- 41. In a read Aṅgirāś ca? There is no need to take the irregular sasarjatuḥ to the Dhātupātha root, sarj, since the epic has such forms sporadically (MBh., iii. 11005, 12540, and vi. 3695); moreover Mahābhāsya, I, 48, 9-10, says some grammarians allow them. Sukra and Bṛhaspati are regularly coupled together as the authors of the first treatises on political science.
- 42. These stories are discussed at length by Dahlmann, Das Mahābhārata als Epos u. Rechtsbuch, 144ff., and are referred to at S., vii. 29 and 31. At the latter Vyāsa is called vedavibhāgakartr, which is to be understood of the Vedas, not of the MBh. For the double meaning in d Vasiṣṭha had a son, Śakti, and so was saśakti, though aśakta in respect of the Veda; cp. MBh., i. 6640, putra-

it in many sections, which Vasistha for lack of capacity had not done.

- 43. And Vālmīki was the first to create the verse, which the great seer, Cyavana, did not put together, and the science of healing which Atri did not discover was later proclaimed by the seer Ātreya.
- 44. And the Brahmanhood which Kuśika did not win was obtained by the son of Gādhin, O king. And Sagara set a limit for the ocean which the previous descendants of Ikṣvāku had not fixed.
- 45. Janaka reached the position, attained by none other, of instructing the twice-born in the methods of Yoga; and Śūra and his kin were incapable of the famous deeds of Śauri.
- 46. Therefore neither age nor family decides. Anyone may attain pre-eminence anywhere in the world; for in the case of the kings and seers the sons accomplished the various deeds their ancestors failed to do."
- 47. Thus was the king cheered and congratulated by the trustworthy twice-born, and, discharging his mind of unwelcome suspicions, he rose to a still higher degree of joy.

vyasanasamtaptah saktimān apy asaktavat. C did not understand pūrve (for which $P\bar{a}n$., i. 1, 34) and transliterated it as a proper name.

- 43. The reference in the first line has been correctly explained by Leumann; Cyavana, on an occasion similar to that which caused Vālmīki to make the first śloka, failed to make his outery in the metre. Sovani observes that the Ātreya Sanhitā now extant was composed by Agniveśa and re-edited by Caraka, who was, according to Chinese tradition, physician to Kaniṣka; he thinks the verse may be intended as a compliment to the latter.
 - 44. Lüders' $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}$ in b may well be right.
- 45. Śauri as the name of Kṛṣṇa appears also in $Laṅk\bar{a}vat\bar{a}ra$, x. 785, under the corruption of Maurī (the MSS. have Saurī). C seems to have read te svabalā in d.
 - 46. In a A's kālaḥ could easily be a corruption from vamśaḥ.
- 47. I should have preferred to accept *pratyayito* in a in the sense of 'convinced', but there is no real authority for this meaning and *pratyāyito* breaks the metre.

- 48. And in his gratification he gave with full courtesy rich gifts to the best of the twice-born, wishing that his son might become lord of the earth as prophesied and that he should not retire to the forest before reaching old age.
- 49. Then by reason of the signs and through the power of his austerities the great seer Asita learned of the birth of him who was to put an end to birth, and came to the palace of the Śākya king, thirsting for the holy Law.
- 50. He was the chief among the knowers of the Absolute and shone with the majesty of priestly power and with the majesty of asceticism. Accordingly the king's spiritual director brought him into the regal palace with reverence and honour.
- 51. He entered the precincts of the royal women's dwelling and the rush of joy that he felt was occasioned only by the birth of the prince; for from the intensity of his austerities and the support afforded by old age he remained otherwise unmoved, deeming himself to be, as it were, in a forest.
- 52. Then the king rightly honoured the sage, when seated, with water for the feet and the proper offerings, and then addressed him with due courtesy, as Antideva of old did Vasiṣṭha:—
- 48. C expands the second line and makes the king desire to go to the forest, while his son rules, i.e. it read $y\bar{a}y\bar{a}\tilde{n}$ $jar\bar{a}m$.
- 50. In a I accept T's reading and interpretation and compare Brhaddevatā, iii. 133, mantravinmantravittamaḥ, also Pañcaviṁśabrāhmaṇa, xiii. 3, 24, mantrakṛtāṁ mantrakṛtā āsīt. Jāt., i. 5, is not a parallel, though perhaps influenced by this passage. The first line gives the reason why it was possible to admit him to the women's quarters and C expatiates on this.
- 51. This use of samjñayā is common in Buddhist writings, e.g. Mhv., III, 153, 12, Bodhicaryāvatāra, vi. 6, and Majjhima, III, 104. For the sense cp. S., iii. 17, and Bodhicaryāvatāra, v. 21, pramadājanamadhye 'pi yatir dhīro na khandyate.
- 52. Antideva is usually called Rantideva in Brahmanical works; the confusion is probably due to the expression *Sāmkṛtir Antidevaḥ* being taken as a single word *Sāmkṛtir-Rantidevaḥ*, similar cases occurring in the Purāṇas (Pargiter, 129). For the comparison see *MBh.*, xii. 8591, and xiii. 6250.

- 53. "Fortunate am I and honoured this house that Your Holiness should deign to visit me. Be pleased to command what I should do, O benign one: I am your disciple and you should show confidence in me."
- 54. When the sage was invited in this befitting fashion by the king with all cordiality, his large eyes opened wide in admiration and he spoke these profound and solemn words:—
- 55. "It indeed accords with your great soul, your hospitality, your generosity, your piety, that you should thus show to me a kindly disposition, so worthy of your nature, family, wisdom and age.
- 56. And this is the course by which those royal seers, acquiring wealth by the subtile Law, ever continued giving it away according to rule, thus being rich in austerities and poor in worldly goods.
 - 57. But hear the reason for my visit and be rejoiced.
- 53. In a T seems to have read dhanyam to agree with kulam; its last word in this $p\bar{a}da$ I read as des, not $\dot{n}es$.
- 54. T takes a as one word, but it might be better to divide sa vismay. comparing S., x. 35.
- 55. Lévi and Formichi take c as applied by Asita to himself, on the ground that $j\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$ and vayah could not apply to Suddhodana. This seems to me very difficult in every way; vayah means 'age', not necessarily 'old age', but equally 'youth', and the implication here is that the king shows Asita the respect due from a younger man to the older one. C also takes it as referring to the king.
- 56. Formichi takes te as=tava, which can hardly be right, but points out, correctly probably, that nrparṣayah refers to Śuddhodana's ancestors. For sūkṣma dharma see note in my translation on S., ii. 37; it is equivalent to 'the highest', 'most recondite'. Schrader takes it to mean 'hidden (=prenatal) merit', which is indicated by C and may also be intended. T's yajanto in c may be correct, but tyaj is common enough in the sense 'give away'; Śiśupālavadha, xiv. 20, combines both, yājyayā yajanakarmino 'tyajan dravyajātam apadiśya devatām. I construe babhūvuh with tyajantah (SS., § 378). For d cp. MBh., v. 1613, anāḍhyā mānuṣe vitte āḍhyā daive tathā kratau.
- 57. The voice was addressed to the king, though not heard by him, and was only understood by Asita, when he went into yoga.

In the path of the sun I heard a divine voice saying, "To thee is born a son for Enlightenment."

- 58. As soon as I heard the voice, I put my mind into trance and understood the matter through the signs. Then I came here to see the lofty banner of the Śākya race uplifted like the banner of Indra."
- 59. When the king heard him speak thus, his bearing was disordered with delight, and he took the prince, as he lav on his nurse's lap, and showed him to the ascetic.
- 60. Then the great seer wonderingly beheld the prince, the soles of his feet marked with a wheel, the fingers and toes joined by a web, the circle of hair growing between his eyebrows and the testicles withdrawn like an elephant's.
- 61. And when he saw him resting on the nurse's lap, like the son of Agni on Devi's lap, the tears flickered on his eyelashes and, sighing, he looked up to heaven.
- 62. But when the king saw Asita's eyes swimming with tears, he trembled from affection for his son, and sobbing with his throat choked with weeping, he clasped his hands and bowed his body, asking him:—
- 58. For Indra's banner, see *MBh*. (new Poona edition), i. 57, and Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, § 69; later descriptions in the *Brhatsamhitā* and *Bhaviṣyotta-rapurāṇa*.

सत्यमेव जयते

- 59. Lokur suggests that the $dh\bar{a}tr\bar{i}$ is Māyā, which corresponds to T's reading; at 61 T has $dh\bar{a}tr\bar{i}$.
- 60. It is still disputed whether the jāla on the fingers and toes means webbing or meshed lines; latest discussion, Acta Or., VII, 232, and X, 298, out AAA., 526, 8, read with 529, 23, shows later Buddhist writers to have inderstood webbing. Nandargikar points out that the last mark mentioned s still considered a sign of great strength in India; cp. Mahāvaṁsa, xxiii. 5, tosohitavatthaguyho, of a particularly strong child.
- 61. Devi may mean Svāhā or Pārvatī or be taken as a plural for the livine mothers who nursed Skanda. Nandargikar remarks on c that to have et the tears fall would have been a bad omen. The root canc, hitherto only known, except for Pāṇini, in the later classical literature, has not been recorded compounded with vi.

- 63. "Why are you, who are so steadfast, tearful on seeing him who differs little in form from the gods, whose brilliant birth has been attended by many miracles and whose future lot you say is to be the highest?
- 64. Will the prince be long-lived, Holy One? Surely he is not born for my sorrow? Shall the two handfuls of water have been obtained by me with such difficulty, only for Death to come and drink them up?
- 65. Is the treasure of my fame inexhaustible? Is the dominion to last for ever in the hands of my family? Shall I win bliss in the next world, even in the sleep of death having one eye open in the shape of my son?
 - 66. Is this young shoot of my family, just sprung up,
- 64. The meaning of the second line is that the king wishes to know if his son will survive him to offer the handfuls of water to the dead. Labdhā, periphrastic future used in a passive sense, the earliest recorded instance; see SS., § 340, Rem. 2, and ZDMG, 64, 316, and Renou, Grammaire sanscrite, 493. It occurs sporadically, usually from labh, in later literature, twice possibly in Kālidāsa (Meghadūta, 24, see Mallinātha thereon and Trivandrum S.S., LXIV, 20, and at Mālavikāgnimitra, i. 7, according to Kātayavema's reading), Kirātār junīya, ii. 17, and iii. 22, Śiśupālavadha, ii. 116, Bhattikāvya, xxii. 4, 20, several times in the Brhatkathāślokasaṅgraha (xx. 109 and note thereon), etc.
- The last pāda is an unsolved crux. The possible readings are as in the text, as in A, or as in Co. (supte 'pi putre). C has, 'When I die, shall I with happy mind be born peacefully and happily in the other world, like the two eyes of a man, the one closed and the other open?' This seems to imply supto and to take it in the sense of sleep=death; that is, the king will die, but his life on earth will continue by means of his son, and with much reserve I translate accordingly. The straightforward meaning that the king is so fond of his son that he keeps one eye open on him even in sleep is inconsistent with his being in the other world, and animisa suggests that he is a deva in heaven. But the passage undoubtedly hints at the common statement that kings should be awake even when asleep, e.g. Rām., iii. 37, 21, nayanair yah prasupto 'pi jāgarti nayacakṣuṣā (cp. ib., v. 34, 19), R., xxii. 51, Kāmandakīyanītisāra, vii. 58, and xiii. 29. To take a commonplace and give it a new twist is typical of kāvya procedure, though the number of demonstrable instances in Aśvaghosa is few.
 - 66. See the Introduction for the combination of singular and plural in d.

fated to wither without flowering? Tell me quickly, Lord, I am all uneasy; for you know the love of fathers for their sons."

- 67. The seer understood how the king was troubled by the thought of misfortune and said: "Let not your mind, O king, be disturbed; what I have said is not open to doubt.
- 68. My agitation is not over aught untoward for him, but I am distressed for my own disappointment. For my time to depart has come, just when he is born who shall understand the means, so hard to find, of destroying birth.
- 69. For he will give up the kingdom in his indifference to worldly pleasures, and, through bitter struggles grasping the final truth, he will shine forth as a sun of knowledge in the world to dispel the darkness of delusion.
- 70. With the mighty boat of knowledge he will bring the world, which is being carried away in affliction, up from the ocean of suffering, which is overspread with the foam of disease and which has old age for its waves and death for its fearsome flood.
- 71. The world of the living, oppressed with the thirst of desires, will drink the flowing stream of his most excellent Law, which is cooled by concentration of thought and has mystic wisdom for the current of its water, firm discipline for its banks and vows for its Brahminy ducks.
- 72. For to those who, finding themselves on the desert-tracks of the cycle of existence, are harassed by suffering and obstructed by the objects of sense, he will proclaim the way of salvation, as to travellers who have lost their road.
- 73. Like a mighty cloud with its rain at the close of the summer heat, he will give relief with the rain of the Law to men burnt up in the world with the fire of the passions, whose fuel is the objects of sense.

^{67.} Asmi for aham is well established, e.g., Kirātārjunīya, iii, 6, and Bodhicaryāvatāra, iii. 7.

^{69.} The Peking edition supports W's rnam for rnams in c.

^{71.} The first line covers the eightfold path (S., xvi. 31-33).

- 74. With the most excellent irresistible key of the good Law he will throw open for the escape of living beings the door whose bolt is the thirst of desire and whose leaves are delusion and the darkness of ignorance.
- 75. And, as king of the Law, he will reach Enlightenment and release from prison the world which is entangled in its own snares of delusion and which is overwhelmed by suffering and destitute of refuge.
- 76. Therefore be not grieved for him; in this living world that man is to be deplored who through delusion by reason of the sensual pleasures or through intoxication of mind refuses to hear his, the final, Law.
- 77. Therefore, though I have obtained the trances, I have not won through to the goal, in that I have fallen short
- 74. This verse was imitated in the verse quoted from the Svapnavāsavadatta by Abhinavagupta; and both have a parallel difficulty in the meaning here of $t\bar{a}da$ (which can be read as $t\bar{a}la$), there of tadana. Primarily it must refer to some part of the door. $T\bar{a}laka$ properly is the lock of a door, Hindi $t\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, cp. Divy., 577, and HC., ch. vii, 54; similarly $t\bar{a}la$ at KA., xiv. 3, 65, and defined as $dv\bar{a}rasyodgh\bar{a}tanayantraka$ by Kalpadrukośa (Gaekwad's O.S., XLIV), p. 17, 84. But this is impossible here. Avadānaśataka, II, 56, has however $t\bar{a}da$ undoubtedly in the sense of 'key', and I think it best to accept this meaning. C is no help, and T takes it in the sense of śabda, given by the PW for $t\bar{a}da$ from the lexica; or else it read " $t\bar{a}lena$, 'handclap', or " $n\bar{a}dena$. Probably a secondary sense of " $t\bar{a}lena$ is intended. A has a marginal gloss of vighāṭayiṣyati in c; this would be distinctly better according to the above interpretations and suggests the opening of the two leaves. Vipāṭayiṣyati should mean 'break down' and requires $t\bar{a}da$ in the sense of 'blow'. Lokur says Peterson suggested 'hammer' for $t\bar{a}da$.
- 75. Does svaih in a imply delusion about the self? Dharmarāja is also to be understood in the technical sense of ideal ruler.
- 76. The readings in b are uncertain. I take T's gnas to stand for asti, and the restoration suggested is palæographically sound. The second letter of the hidden character in A might be va, which from C would indicate śocasva, but T shows śocyah definitely; or A might have had originally śocyas sa. Kāmasukha refers to the pleasures derived through the five senses (see S., iii. 34, note in translation, and ix. 43).

of this merit. For, since I shall not hear his Law, I hold even rebirth in the triple heaven to be a disaster."

- 78. Hearing this explanation, the king with his queen and friends was quit of his dejection and rejoiced; for he deemed it to be his own good fortune that his son should be such.
- 79. But his heart busied itself anxiously with the thought that his son would follow the path of the sages. It was most certainly not that he was opposed to the side of the Law, but that he saw the danger arising from failure of issue.
- 80. Then when the seer, Asita, had made known the truth about his son to the king who was troubled about him, he departed, as he had come, by the path of the wind, while they looked up at him with all reverence.
- 81. Then the saint, who had attained right knowledge, saw his younger sister's son and straitly charged him in his compassion, as if he were his own dear son, to listen to the words of the Sage and to follow his teaching.
- 82. The king too, delighted at the birth of a son, threw open all the prisons in his realm and in his affection for his
- 79. I follow C against A and T in a, as sa and ya are easily confused in mediaval Nepali scripts. (p. Theragāthā, 1102, isippayātamhi pathe vajantam, of an Arhat. Strictly $\bar{a}rsa$ applies to what is done by an Arhat, not by a suddha (AKV., i, 10, 1.20).
- 80. In $c \ r\bar{u}pa$ is pleonastic to heighten the honorific effect of the preposition ud ($P\bar{u}v$, v. 3, 66). This usage with present participles is not uncommon in Pali, e.g., $D\bar{v}gha$, II, 202, and $Ud\bar{u}na$, 61; ep. also ASPP., 449.
- 81. This verse is almost certainly spurious, since C would hardly omit a point of such purely Buddhistic interest. *Miti* is a rare word, meaning 'right knowledge', and T's reading is more probable; in the latter case all *pāda b* should be construed as governed by *kṛtamatim*.
- 82. Pāda b, which I translate according to C, has a second sense, 'loosening the bonds of the objects of sense'. For the translation cp. KA., ii. 36, 60, putrajanmani vā mokṣo bandhanasya vidhīyate, R., iii. 20, trumping this verse, and Mhv., III, 175, 13. C's 'according to the śāstras and sūtras' may imply śrutisadṛṣʿam in c, but cp. S., i. 25, svavanṣʿasadṛṣʿaḥ kriyāḥ; perhaps therefore, 'according to the use current in his family'.

son caused the birth ceremony to be properly performed for him in the manner that befitted his family.

- 83. And, when the ten days were fulfilled, in the piety of his mind and the excess of his joy, he offered for the supreme welfare of his son sacrifices to the gods together with incantations, oblations and other auspicious rites.
- 84. Moreover for the prosperity of his son he bestowed of himself cows full of milk, in the prime of their age, with gilded horns and healthy sturdy calves, to the full number of a hundred thousand, on the twice-born.
- 85. Thereon, self-controlled, he prescribed the performance of ceremonies directed to many ends which delighted his heart, and when a fortunate, auspicious day had been determined, he gladly decided to enter the city.
- 86. Then the queen, taking the babe, did obeisance to the gods and entered for good fortune a costly ivory litter, bedecked with white *sitapuspa* flowers and lit by precious stones.
- 87. The king then made the queen, attended by aged women and accompanied by her child, enter the city in front of him, and himself also advanced, saluted by hosts of citizens,

सन्धमेव जयते

- 84. For vrddhi, see note on 89 below.
- 85. The European translations omit viṣaya in a as pleonastic. Lokur and Nandargikar translate 'religious observance', a sense given by Apte but for which there appears to be no authority. The definition quoted by Lokur (as=niyama, niyāmaka) implies rather 'limited to'. Joglekar renders 'subject matter', 'details'. The literal meaning is either 'having many kinds of scope', or 'having many kinds of objects' (sacrificial victims?).
- 86. Sitapuṣpa is the name of various flowering trees; all the translators, however, follow Co. in taking the compound to mean 'filled with all kinds of white flowers'. Similarly śivāya has always been construed with pranipatya; not only does its place in the sentence make my translation necessary, but a śivikā was recognized as a lucky object. Thus it was included among the lucky things sent by Aśoka to Devānampiya of Ceylon for his coronation, Dīpavamsa, xi. 32, and Mahāvamsa, xi. 31. The collocation shows that Aśvaghoṣa wrote śivikām, not śibikām.
 - 87. I follow C and T in taking sthavirajanam as feminine.

like Indra, when on entering heaven he was saluted by the immortals.

- 88. The Śākya king thereon proceeded into his palace in good heart, like Bhava on the birth of his six-faced son, and, with countenance beaming with joy, directed every arrangement to be made which would lead to many kinds of prosperity and renown.
- 89. Thus the town named after Kapila rejoiced with its surrounding territory at the prosperous birth of the prince, just as the town of the Wealth-giver, which was thronged with Apsarases, rejoiced at the birth of Nalakūbara.
 - 88. For the second line I accept C's rendering.
- 89. There is a play on words in °vrddhyā, which means technically 'the impurity caused by childbirth', jananāśauca. Ceremonial impurity is not ordinarily a cause of pleasure, but in this case it was so.



CANTO II

LIFE IN THE PALACE.

- 1. Day by day from the birth of his son, the masterer of self, who had come to the end of birth and old age, the king waxed mightier in riches, elephants, horses and allies, as a river waxes with the inflow of waters.
- 2. For then he obtained many treasures of wealth and jewels of every kind and of gold, wrought and unwrought, so as to overload even that chariot of the mind, desire.
- 3. And rut-maddened elephants from the Himalayas, such as even lords of elephants like Padma could not have brought to his stables in this world, served him, and that too without any effort on his part.
- 1. I can find no parallel to Co.'s 'antakasya in a, and so prefer T's reading, for which cp., e.g., Suttanipāta, 401, Buddhena dukkhantagunā. Verses 2-4 and 6 develop c in detail. The reference in d is to a river growing with the accession of tributaries, and T may be right in taking sindhu to mean the Indus here.
- 2. Vinaya, III, 239, gives the definition of wrought and unwrought gold; cp. also Majjhima, II, 71, and MBh., i. 4438 and 8012, and xiii. 2794 and 3261.
- 3. The meaning of mandala is uncertain; but we must exclude 'kheddah', for which the Sanskrit is $v\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$ and which does not seem to have been known in Northern India till a late period (not in Nepal till 1913). The choice lies between 'elephant stables', 'picketing ground', as at v. 23 below, and the common technical use for the turning movements which elephants and horses were, and still are, taught to execute (e.g., Meyer's translation of KA., 732, Zusatz on 214). For the latter note PW's reference to MBh., vi. 1765, for $abhin\bar{\imath}$ of training elephants. Another difficulty lies in iha, omitted in the European translations; possibly 'ordinarily' (Lokur), or else by contrast with Padma, the elephant of the southern quarter ($R\bar{a}m$., i. 42, 16, and MBh., vi. 2866), who does not tame earthly elephants. T may have read mandale (also proposed by Böhtlingk) and took iha=asmin, i.e. 'in his domain', corresponding to asya of the next two verses.

- 4. And his city shook with the tread of horses, adorned with the various marks and decked with trappings of fresh gold, or laden with ornaments and having flowing manes, which he acquired either by his military power, from his allies, or by purchase.
- 5. And so too there were in his kingdom many excellent cows, contented and well-nourished, unspotted, giving pure and abundant milk, and accompanied by well-grown calves.
- 6. His enemies became neutrals, neutrality turned into alliance, allies were united to him with peculiar firmness. He had only two parties; but the third, enemies, did not exist.
- 7. So too for him heaven rained in due time and place, with gentle winds and rumbling clouds, and with the sky adorned with rings of lightning, but without the evils of showers of thunderbolts or falls of meteoric stones.
- 8. At that time fruitful grain grew according to season, even without the labour of tilling; and the very herbs for him became still more abounding in juice and substance.
- 9. Though that hour brings as much danger to the body as the clash of armies, yet women were delivered in due time safely, easily and without disease.
- 10. Except for those who had taken vows of mendicancy, no one begged from others, however wretched his means might
- 4. T does not give the preposition for ${}^{\circ}bh\bar{u}sitaih$, but it can hardly be anything else than vi.
- 5. Arajaska could mean 'docile'; but C translates 'of unmixed colour', i.e. white, not spotted so as to appear grey. White is considered the best colour for a cow (Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, § 1113).
- 7. Co. divides the compound in a so as to apply *śabda* to the winds also. As between Co. and T in b, anga does not fit in well with kundala.
- 8. The three *evas* in Co.'s second line are hardly possible. T substitutes asya for the second one apparently, but $t\bar{a}$ *eva* is none too easy; for it should mean 'the same', whereas there is a contrast between corn and herbs.
- 9. The difference between Co. and T is so great in d, that I think A must have been partly illegible, causing Amṛtānanda to insert a guess of his own.
- 10. Many conjectures, none satisfactory, have been made for the amendment of a from Co.'s text. The restoration of T is certain, and in palæography

be; and at that time no man of position, poverty-stricken though he were, turned his face away when solicited.

- 11. At that time in his realm, as in that of king Yayāti the son of Nahuṣa, no one was disrespectful to his elders, or lacking in generosity, or irreligious, or deceitful, or given to hurt.
- 12. And by constructing there gardens, temples, hermitages, wells, water-halls, lotus-ponds and groves, they showed their devotion to *dharma*, as if they had seen Paradise before their eyes.
- 13. And in the joy of deliverance from famine, peril and disease, the people were as happy as in Paradise. Husband did not transgress against wife, nor wife against husband.
- 14. None pursued love for sensual pleasure; none withheld wealth from others to gratify his own desires; none practised religion for the sake of riches; none did hurt on the plea of religion.
 - 15. Theft and the like and enmity disappeared. His

and sense is sound. C has, 'except for those who took on themselves the four holy seeds (?, or kinds of plants ?)'; the verb shou, 'receive', 'take on one self', is several times used by it in compounds to translate vrata, and, allowing for the corruption or unrecorded sense of the last word, we may justifiably conclude that it had the same text. Prārthayanti is unusual but not without precedent; for a certain use of the active instead of the middle, besides those given in the PW, see Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, iv. 8. For the second line cp. Abhisamayālamkāra (Bibl. Buddh., XXIII), i. 58, kršo 'pi nārthinām kṣeptā.

- 12. T cannot be reconstructed for b and may be corrupt. I understand the verse somewhat differently to the European translators, and would not take $kriy\bar{a}h$ to mean 'ceremonies', the point being that, as people follow dharma to gain Paradise (S., ii. 37, and Aśoka Pillar Edicts passim), such devotion as theirs could only arise, one would think, from an actual vision of Paradise.
- 13. Lokur and Sovani object to the dual verb in the second line as not in accord with the use of $v\bar{a}$; the same objection applies to the text of i. 41ab, where however the defect can easily be removed by amendment.
 - 14. For b cp. S., i. 52c, and note thereon in text.
- 15. This verse, which is not in C, is probably spurious. It is clearly related to $R\bar{a}m$., ii. 119, 10, which shows Anaranya (cp. MBh., xiii. 5661,

kingdom was at ease and independent, free from foreign rule, peaceful and prosperous, like the kingdom of Anaranya of old.

- 16. For then at the prince's birth in the realm of that king, as in that of Manu, son of the Sun, joy prevailed, evil perished, *dharma* blazed forth, sin was quenched.
- 17. Since the prosperity of the royal race and the accomplishment of all objects had been thus brought to pass, the king named his son accordingly, saying "He is Sarvārthasiddha".
- 18. But when queen Māyā saw the vast power of her son, like that of a divine seer, she was unable to bear the joy it caused her; then she went to Heaven to dwell there.
- 19. Then the queen's sister, who equalled her in majesty and did not fall below her in affection and tenderness, brought up the prince, who was like a scion of the gods, as if he were her own son.
- 20. Then the prince gradually grew up in all due perfection, like the young sun on the Eastern mountain, or the flame fanned by the wind, or the lord of the stars in the bright fortnight.
- 21, 22. Then they brought to him from the houses of his friends priceless unguents of sandalwood and strings of jewels, filled with magic herbs, and little golden carts to which deer were harnessed, and ornaments suited to his age and little elephants, deer and horses of gold, and chariots yoked with little oxen, and dolls gay with gold and silver.

7684, and $Maitri\ Up.$, i. 4) to be the king referred to. I should prefer to read $r\bar{a}stram$ as the last word of d, with T's $r\bar{a}j\bar{n}ah$ as an alternative though inferior.

- 16. Co. was probably right in conjecturing kalusam in d.
- 17. Co.'s text in a is so weak and differs so much from T that evidently A was partly illegible here. I accordingly accept T's reading, which is implied by FP and explains how A was misread; C is no help.
 - 18. W thinks T may have read $j\bar{a}taprahars\bar{a}$ in c; I doubt this.
 - 20. All three similes exemplify the ordered growth of brightness.
- 21. For the magic powers of certain herbs, see Formichi's note on this verse and S, v. 31, with note thereon in my translation.
- 22. The words in this verse must be in the same case as in 21, so I have put them all into the accusative. But ācakrire might be passive and then all

- 23. Though but a child and attended in this fashion by the various kinds of sensory pleasure suitable to his age, yet in gravity, purity, thoughtfulness and dignity he was unlike a child.
- 24. He passed through infancy and in course of time duly underwent the ceremony of initiation. And it took him but a few days to learn the sciences suitable to his race, the mastery of which ordinarily requires many years.
- •25. But, as the king of the Śākyas had heard from the great seer, Asita, that the prince's future goal would be the supreme beatitude, he feared lest he should go to the forests and therefore he turned him to sensual pleasures.
- 26. Then from a family possessed of long-standing good conduct he summoned for him the goddess of Fortune in the

should go into the nominative. In d I think putrih, though not authenticated in this sense, is certain for T's 'little figures of men' and better than Co.'s dubious gantrih; but the restoration of c is somewhat speculative. I take $phyu\dot{n}.\dot{n}us$ as $=chu\dot{n}.\dot{n}us$ (both being pronounced alike), comparing phyed.du for ched.du in 18d; and $sa\dot{m}prayukta$ is indicated by T instead of prayukta. For 'little oxen' the alternative to gaputraha is garupaka (so Pali $assa^{\circ}$, hatthirupaka), or even possibly garupaka (cp. vatsavarna, S., xviii. II, and note in translation). Co.'s text is too much at variance with T to be authentic and W's $byu\dot{n}.dus$, though supported by the Peking edition, is surely a wrong reading.

- 23. In d T reads dpal (\acute{sri}) twice; W conjectures dpah for the first, i.e. $\acute{sauryena}$ for $\acute{saucena}$.
- 24. Comparison of Co.'s MSS, with T shows that A here had the first three syllables of b correctly and the next two partially, the rest of the $p\bar{a}da$ being obliterated. T's hdu-byed properly $= sa\bar{m}sk\bar{a}ra$, of which pratipatti is a synonym. Cp. $J\bar{a}t$, 225, 23, $k\bar{a}lakram\bar{a}d$ $av\bar{a}ptasa\bar{m}sk\bar{a}rakarm\bar{a}$, and for the Buddha's initiation S., ii. 63. In d T omits kula and is probably corrupt (read $ra\bar{n}$ rigs rjes-su for $ra\bar{n}$ $da\bar{n}$ rjes-su?).
- 25. The last $p\bar{a}da$ was evidently illegible in A except for the last two syllables, but the restoration of T is not quite certain, apparently vanam for $van\bar{a}ni$. C is no help and I should prefer vanam na $y\bar{a}y\bar{a}d$ iti.
- 26. The wording of d suggests invocations to Śrī (Sir'avhāyana, Dīgha, I, 11), of which Buddhists did not approve. For abhidhāna, see note on iii. 3.

shape of a maiden, Yaśodharā by name, of widespread renown, virtuous and endowed with beauty, modesty and gentle bearing.

- 27. The prince, radiant with wondrous beauty like Sanatkumāra, took his delight with the Śākya king's daughter-in-law, as the Thousand-eyed with Śacī.
- 28. The monarch, reflecting that the prince must see nothing untoward that might agitate his mind, assigned him a dwelling in the upper storeys of the palace and did not allow him access to the ground.
- 29. Then in the pavilions, white as the clouds of autumn, with apartments suited to each season and resembling heavenly mausions come down to earth, he passed the time with the noble music of singing-women.
- 30. For the palace was glorious as Kailāsa, with tambourines whose frames were bound with gold and which sounded softly beneath the strokes of women's fingers, and with dances that rivalled those of the beautiful Apsarases.
- 27. The restoration of a is certain, cp. Jāt., xix. 19, vidyotamānam vapuṣā śriyā ca, and Rām., vi. 35, 1; Mhv., II, 197, 5, has Sanatkumārapratimo kumāro dyntimān ayam.
- 28. The harmya is properly the upper part of the palace. For T's vyādiśati sma ep. iii. 51.
- 29. In b for raūjitesu T has spyòd-pa, which translates car and vrt. This is evidently the right sense, as is shown by bhūmau. For the vimānas are the heavenly mansions in which the devas live, and are always ākāśastha (e.g. Mahāvamsa, xxvii. 13), not on earth. So at B., xviii. 87, the vihāra built by Anāthapiṇḍada is compared to 'the palace of the Lord of Wealth descended (to earth)', and similar comparisons occur elsewhere, e.g. MBh., v. 5180, vimānānīva niviṣṭāni mahītale, Kād., 50, ambaratalāvatīrnābhir divyavimānapanktibhir ivālamkṛtā, and Kathāsaritsāgara, xxxiv. 143. It is very doubtful what the Sanskrit word should be; if the text is correct, we can only get the sense by referring to the Naighaṇtuka's gloss of raj by gatikarman cited in the PW, and this is far from satisfactory. In c T translates āśraya by gzhī, which is used for ālaya, and my translation is corroborated by C ('suited in warmth and cold to the four seasons; according to the time of year they chose a good dwelling') and by many parallels.

- 31. There the women delighted him with their soft voices, charming blandishments, playful intoxications, sweet laughter, curvings of eyebrows and sidelong glances.
- 32. Then, a captive to the women, who were skilled in the accessories of love and indefatigable in sexual pleasure, he did not descend from the palace to the ground, just as one who has won Paradise by his merit does not descend to earth from the heavenly mansion.
- 33. But the king, for the sake of his son's prosperity and spurred on by the goal predicted for him, abode in holy peace, desisted from sin, practised self-restraint and rewarded the good.
- 34. He did not, like one wanting in self-control, indulge in the pleasures of the senses, he cherished no improper passion for women, with firmness he overcame the rebellious horses of the senses, and conquered his kinsmen and subjects by his virtues.
- 31. For the second part of a T is two syllables short and has only rnam hypur-rnams-kyis kyan (=vikāraiś ca). If we read rnam-par rnam etc., the lacuna would be explained and the reading would be vividhaiś ca bhāvair. In d bhrūvañcitair has intrigued some scholars; but it is quite correct and the phrase recurs HC., ch. vii, 57, 1, where Cowell and Thomas translate 'raised eyebrows'. T translates by bskyod-pa, 'agitate', 'move', and we have to do with the root vac, vañc, which originally meant 'move crookedly', 'in curves', then 'move', used in the RV of horses galloping; cp. Cariyāpiṭaka, iii. 9, 10, pādā avañcanā, Bhatṭikāvya, xiv. 74, and other references in PW.
- 32. Karkaśa properly 'firm', 'hard', often of a woman's body or breasts, and then 'experienced', 'indefatigable', as in ranakarkaśa, Ram., v. 44, 5 (=ranakarmaviśārada, ib., 44, 8). Cp. BhNŚ., xxiii. 59, ratikalahasamprahāreṣu karkaśaḥ, and the definition of ratikārkaśya at Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda (ed. Catur-bhāṇī), 21, 16. For punyakarman cp. S., x. 52, and vi. 3.
- 34. T shows Co.'s reading in the much discussed $p\bar{a}da\ b$ to be correct, and takes visamam to mean 'improperly' ($ma\text{-}ru\dot{n}s$). $Janan\bar{\imath}$ I understand as a synonym for $m\bar{a}trgr\bar{a}ma$, the regular Buddhist designation for the female sex; cp. MBh., xii. 11141. The contrast between $jig\bar{a}ya$ and vijigye is presumably a hint at the rule embodied in $P\bar{a}n$., i. 3, 19.

- 35. He did not learn science to cause suffering to others, but studied only the knowledge that was beneficent; for he wished well to all people as much as to his own subjects.
- 36. And for the long life of his son he worshipped the shining constellation, whose regent is Bṛhaspati, and he offered oblations in a huge fire and presented the twice-born with gold and cattle.
- 37. He bathed to purify his body with the waters of the sacred bathing-places and his mind with the waters of •the virtues, and at the same time he drank *soma* as enjoined by the Vedas and observed in his heart the self-produced bliss of religious tranquillity.
- 38. He spoke what was pleasant and not unprofitable; he stated what was true and not disagreeable; for self-respect made him unable to say even to himself a pleasant falsehood or a harsh truth.
- 39. He gave no opening to feelings of partiality or the reverse, according as he liked or disliked his petitioners, and
- 35. Presumably $vidy\bar{a}$ in a implies magic practices and the other forms of knowledge deprecated by Buddhists.
- 36. Syllables 5 to 7 of a are hard to read in A but corroborated by T. The star meant is Pusya, whose divinity is Brhaspati, ep. Divy., 639, Pusyanaksatram... Brhaspatidaivatam, and Brhatsamhitā, xeviii. For the importance of Pusya in the Buddha legend see the text, associated with the Mahāsanghikas, which is translated by Przyluski, Concile de Rājagrha, 88. The word Āngirasa, sometimes applied to the Buddha, also hints at the connexion between him and Pusya. T takes kršana to mean 'gold', a meaning only known from the Naighantuka; in the RV it is usually translated 'pearl'.
- 37. I take papau in d from $p\bar{a}$, 'drink', and from $p\bar{a}$, 'guard'; cp. S. i. 59.
- 39. For dosa = dvesa in b cp. v. 18 below and note on S., xvi. 22 in text; for the idea MBh., xii. 2456, and $J\bar{a}t$., xxiii. 73. The sense of c and d, unlike the text, is certain. In c I follow T, the confusion between $\dot{s}uddha$ and labdha appearing also in Sthiramati's commentary on the $Madhy\bar{a}ntavibh\bar{a}ga$ (Calcutta O.S.). note 655; for $\dot{s}uddha$ as applied to $vyavah\bar{a}ra$, see MBh., xii. 3195. The conjecture in d is supported by C, which translates c twice to bring out the double meaning; it runs, 'He determined to live in solitary retirement and

observed purity of justice as being holy; for he did not esteem sacrifice to be so in the same degree.

- 40. He ever quenched straightway with the water of gifts the thirst of expectant suppliants, and with the battle-axe of good conduct, instead of by fighting, he broke down the swollen pride of his foes.
- 41. He disciplined the one; he protected the seven; seven too he abandoned and he observed five; he won the set of three; he understood the set of three; he knew the set of two and gave up the set of two.
- 42. He did not have the guilty executed, although he adjudged them worthy of death, nor did he even regard them with anger. And he inflicted mild punishments on them, since their release too was looked on as bad policy.
- 43. He carried out the most difficult vows of the ancient seers; he gave up long-cherished feuds, and he obtained renown, made fragrant by virtue; he swept away the dust of defiling passions.

decided litigation with fairness. He deemed better fortune to lie in deciding cases than in vast numbers of sacrifices.'

- 40. As Co. observes, the poet hints at the water poured out in giving gifts. For the second line cp. S., ii. 33, and 36. The reference is firstly to the vices, peculiar to kings and subdued by his good conduct, and secondly to his external foes who submit without fighting, just as a cakravartin conquers by dharma, not by military might.
- 41. This riddle has been variously explained; I understand it as follows. One is his self. The sevens are the contituents of a kingdom and the seven vices of kings (ep. xi. 31, 32 below). Five refers to the five $up\bar{a}yas$ (S., xv. 61, and note thereon in my translation, and also MBh., iii. 11306). The threes are dharma, artha and $k\bar{a}ma$, and either the three śaktis (note $prabh\bar{a}va$, S., i. 45), or the three parties of verse 6 above, or the three conditions, sthāna, vṛddhi and kṣāyā. The twos seem to be good and bad policy (naya and anaya or apanaya), and kāma and krodha (MBh., v. 1160, and xii. 2720; for a Pali reference, see $J\bar{a}taka$, V, 112, 24-5, where the avoidance of kodha and hāsa (=harṣa) constitutes the khattiya vata).
- 43. For c cp. S., i. 59. In d there is a play on words, rajoharana meaning 'duster' (or 'broom'?).

- 44. He did not desire to exact revenue beyond the amount due, he had no wish to covet the goods of others. And he did not desire to expose the wickedness of his adversaries, nor did he wish to bear wrath in his heart.
- 45. Since the monarch behaved thus, his servants and the citizens followed the same course, just as, when the mind of a man in mystic trance has become wholly calm and is compact of tranquillity, his senses become so likewise.
- 46. Then in the course of time the fair-bosomed Yaśodharā, bearing her own fame, bore to the son of Śuddhodana a son, Rāhula by name, with the face of Rāhu's adversary.
- 47. Then the ruler of the earth, in possession of the son he had longed for and fully assured of the prosperity of his race, rejoiced at the birth of a grandson as much as he had rejoiced at the birth of a son.
- 48. Overjoyed at the thought that his son would feel paternal affection, just as he himself felt it, he attended to the various ceremonies at the proper season, as if in his love for his son he were on the point of mounting to Paradise.
- 44. Bali means land revenue; the king takes his one-sixth without adding illegal cesses. For apravrtta in the sense of 'illegal', 'not customary', see KA., ii. 26, 3, and MBh., v. 7534. The verb in d is uncertain, but $aviv\bar{a}k\bar{s}it$ from vah corresponds fairly with T and is the soundest palæographically. Is it merely a coincidence that $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}sya$, III, 279, 10, gives $acik\bar{i}r\bar{s}it$ and $ajih\bar{i}r\bar{s}it$ next to each other as examples of this aorist?
 - 45. Cp. KA., viii. 1, 16, svayam yacchīlas tacchīlāḥ prakṛtayo bhavanti.
- 46. As Leumann points out, Aśvaghoṣa derives Rāhula from Rāhu and /ā, 'take' (='kill'), so that Rāhula has not merely a face like the moon, but his face is that of Rāhu's foe. When Yaśodharā carries her own fame, the reference is presumably to her carrying the Buddha's son in her womb. C has for this word, 'when Yaśodharā grew up gradually in age'; did it read svavayodharāyām?
 - 47. Paramapratīta could also mean 'highly delighted'.
- 48. The precise point of the comparison in d escapes me; Formichi holds that he wanted to go to Paradise, now that he was sure of funeral offerings, and translates putrapriyah, 'beloved of his sons'.

- 49. Abiding in the path of the great kings of the golden age, he practised austerities without even doffing the white garments of ordinary life and worshipped with sacrifices that brought no injury to living creatures.
- 50. Then by his good merit he shone forth gloriously with the splendour of sovereignty and of asceticism alike and was illumined by his family, conduct and wisdom, wishing to diffuse brightness like the thousand-rayed sun.
- 51. And he, whose sovereignty was established, honoured and intoned the holy chants of Svayambhū and performed works of great difficulty, like Ka in the primeval age when he wished to produce creatures.
- 52. He laid aside weapons, he pondered on the $S\bar{a}stra$, he pursued holy calm, he undertook the law of restraint; like one who is self-controlled, he was not a slave to any object of sense; he looked like a father on all his domains.
- 53. For he maintained the kingdom for the sake of his son, his son for his family and his family for his renown, his fame for heaven, heaven for the sake of his self; he only desired the continuance of his self for the sake of *dharma*.
 - 54. Thus he performed the manifold dharma, which is
 - 49. For prāthamakalpika ep. AK., II, 172.
- 50. I question if this, the usual rendering of d, brings out the force of the simile; it can hardly be so jejune. Perhaps teja utsisrksuh, as applied to the king, 'about to abandon sovereignty', or 'martial behaviour' (foreshadowing tatyāja śastram in 52); or else can c be construed to apply to the sun?

सत्यमेव जयते

- 51. The first line is not clear; $\bar{a}rcika$, properly part of the $S\bar{a}maveda$. $Sv\bar{a}yambhuva$ is difficult; perhaps 'revealed by Svayambhū' (so T), or else read svayambhuvam. There seems to be a veiled reference to the Buddha, who is called Svayambhū at AK., II, 56, and repeatedly in the LV and Mahāyāna works. The second line means that he performed austerities, the Brāhmaṇas often saying of Prajāpati, when about to create, that tapo 'tapta. Aśvaghosa applies duskara to tapas below, xii. 94, and at S., iii. 4.
- 52. As Formichi observes, $va\acute{s}i$ in c could mean 'one who bears rule', suggesting the absurdity, 'like a king he possessed no kingdom'. Similarly in d, taking visayān as 'objects of the senses'.
 - 54. For nipāta, a Vedie word, ep. S., xviii. 31.

observed by the religious and is established through revelation, ever hoping that, now that the prince had seen the face of his son, he would not go to the forest.

- 55. Kings who in this world desire to preserve their personal sovereignty guard their sons, but this *dharma*-loving lord of men by letting his son loose among the objects of sense kept him from *dharma*.
- 56. But all the Bodhisattvas, those beings of incomparable natures, first tasted the flavour of worldly pleasures and then, when a son was born to them, left for the forest. Hence, though the motive cause was fully developed in him by the accumulation of past acts, he enjoyed sensual pleasure till he reached Illumination.
- 55. In d I do not follow Co.'s reading, because the collocation of perfect and imperfect is awkward; subscript va and u are easily confused in A. C and the modern translators take the first line to mean that kings who desire to keep the sovereignty in their families guard their sons from evil ways. But KA., i. 17, and 18, suggests a more sinister interpretation. The most dangerous enemy of a king is his son; if he wishes to keep the rule in his own hands $(\bar{a}tmasa\dot{m}sth\bar{a}\dot{m}, \text{ cp. } KA$., viii. 2, 5), he holds him under guard and does not let him go free in his domains $(visayesv\ amu\tilde{n}can)$.
- 56. Anupamasattva implies that the Bodhisattvas were not to be criticized for tasting sensual joys; cp. the discussion and verses quoted AAA., 540 (acintyā hi jinātmajāh). Hetu in c refers to the three kuśalamūlāni; cp. xii. 68 below, and S., v. 16, and remarks on the subject in the Introduction.

CANTO III

THE PRINCE'S PERTURBATION.

- 1. Then upon a time he listened to songs celebrating the forests, with their soft grass, with their trees resounding with koïls' calls, and with their adornment of lotusponds.
- 2. Then hearing of the entrancing character of the city groves, beloved of the womenfolk, he set his heart on an expedition outside, like an elephant confined inside a house.
- 3. Then the king learnt of the state of mind of that heart's desire, styled his son, and directed a pleasure excursion to be prepared worthy of his love and majesty and of his son's youth.
- 4. And, reflecting that the prince's tender mind might be perturbed thereby, he forbade the appearance of afflicted common folk on the royal road.
 - 5. Then with the greatest gentleness they cleared away
- 1. C has 'singing girls told the prince (se. of the forests) with beating their instruments and singing to the sound of lutes' which supports T's reading adopted in the text and also my interpretation of $nibaddh\bar{a}ni$. For the tradition, see RL, 107. C is mostly very free throughout this canto, especially in the description of the prince's progress.
- 3. The verse recurs in a corrupt form, Divy., 408. Co., followed by all the translators except W, Sovani and Nandargikar, takes putrābhidhānasya as=putrenābhihitasya, which, though possible, is somewhat difficult and requires a poorer meaning for bhāvam; ep. ii. 26, and S., ix. 34, x. 3.
- 4. Sanivega as a religious term denotes the first step towards conversion, when perturbation of mind is produced by something and leads to consideration of the inherent rottenness of the world and so to the adoption of the religious life. Thus a phrase is put into the king's mouth, that means more than he intends.
- 5. For the usual rough way of clearing the road for royal personages, see the opening scene of the *Svapnavāsavadatta*. There is a reminiscence of this verse in the passage of the *Divy*, referred to under verse 3 above.

on all sides those whose limbs were maimed or senses defective, the aged, sick and the like, and the wretched, and made the royal highway supremely magnificent.

- 6. Then, when the road had been made beautiful, the prince, after receiving permission, descended at the proper time in full splendour with well-trained attendants from the top of the palace, and approached the king.
- 7. Thereon the ruler of men, with tears in his eyes, gazed long at his son and kissed him on the head; and with his voice he bade him set forth, but out of affection he did not let him go in his mind.
- 8. Then the prince mounted a golden chariot, to which were harnessed four well-broken horses with golden gear, and with a driver who was manly, skilful and reliable.
- 9. Then, like the moon with the constellations mounting to the sky, he proceeded with a suitable retinue towards the road which was bestrewn with heaps of brilliant flowers and made gay with hanging wreaths and fluttering banners.
- 10. And very slowly he entered the royal highway, which was carpeted with the halves of blue lotuses in the shape of
 - 8. For the description of the charioteer, ep. Jat., 226, 12.
- 9. In a the Sanskrit of T's hbras-spos is uncertain; the natural meaning is 'perfumed rice'. The Peking edition's hbras-sbos suggests hbras-so-ba = $\bullet l\bar{a}ja$, but the metre does not allow the extra syllable in T. Possibly hbras-spos should have this sense, for there are countless passages in both epics, the $J\bar{a}takas$, $Kath\bar{a}sarits\bar{a}gara$ and elsewhere showing the use of flowers and $l\bar{a}ja$ at triumphal entries. C however only refers to flowers and I have therefore retained the colourless $\circ j\bar{a}lam$ in the text.
 - 10. A's $k\bar{\imath}ryam\bar{a}nah$ in b is difficult and ought to be $avak\bar{\imath}ryam\bar{a}nah$, as conjectured by Böhtlingk; T does not show the case-ending, though its bkram-pa implies 'filled with', which could only apply to the road, and not 'beshowered with', the meaning required if the prince is meant. C is no help. For my conjecture cp. verse 25 below, $k\bar{\imath}rnam$... $r\bar{a}japatham$...pauraih, and xiii. 32. An exact parallel is $Kath\bar{a}sarits\bar{a}gara$, xliv, 73, 74; but A's text can be supported by ib., xxxiv. 126, and $R\bar{a}m$., vi. 44, 31 ($avak\bar{\imath}$ in both cases), and $R\bar{a}m$., vi. 39, 2 ($k\bar{\imath}$). A's reading makes $abhiv\bar{\imath}ksyam\bar{a}nah$ in d poor, as the idea is already fully expressed by its first line, so that one would have to

eyes open to their widest in excitement, as all around the citizens gazed at him.

- 11. Some praised him for his gracious bearing, others worshipped him for his glorious appearance, but for his benignity others wished him sovereignty and length of days.
- 12. From the great houses humpbacks and swarms of dwarfs and Kirātas poured forth, and from the meaner houses women; and all bowed down as to the flag in the procession of the god.
- 13. Hearing the news from their servants, "the prince, they say, is going out", the women obtained leave from their elders and went out on to the balconies in their desire to see him.
- 14. They gathered together in uncontrollable excitement, obstructed by the slipping of their girdle-strings, as they put their ornaments on at the report, and with their eyes still dazed by sudden awakening from sleep.
- 15. They frightened the flocks of birds on the houses with the jingling of zones, the tinkling of anklets and the clatter

accept T's variant there. Note the comparative sphītatara to show a high degree. Ardha is unusual in these comparisons; the stock word is dala (e.g., S., vi. 26). Compare R., xi. 5, pauradṛṣṭikṛtamārgatoraṇau, where by toraṇar are meant strings of lotuses hung along the sides of the road.

- 12. Humpbacks, Kirātas and dwarfs are regularly mentioned in Buddhis and Jain works and in Sanskrit literature, at least from KA. onwards, as inhabiting the harems. The reference in d is to Indra's banner; S., iv. 46, shows the sense to be that the people bowed down to the Buddha as to the flag, not that their bowing was like the flag's.
- 13. The frequent representations of such scenes in contemporary sculpture shows that 'balconies' best renders the idea of harmyatalāni. The mānya jana are more likely to be the older women of the family than the male head of the household.
- 14. Vinyasta in c can only mean 'put in order', 'arranged', not 'put on awry', as has been suggested. T supports A's reading, and I do not think we should amend (e.g., Speyer's vrthātta', 'taken up at random').
- 15. For a cp. S., vi. 6 and 7, and for c ib., 8, and $R\bar{a}m$., ii. 101, 42. The reading and sense of d are uncertain. Either as above (so Co. and Formichi),

of their steps on the stairs, and reproached each other for jostling.

- 16. But some of these magnificent women, though longing made them try to rush, were delayed in their movements by the weight of their chariot-like hips and full breasts.
- 17. But another, though well able to move with speed, checked her steps and went slowly, modestly shrinking as she covered up the ornaments worn in intimacy.
- 18. Unquiet reigned in the windows then, as the women were crowded together in the mutual press, with their earrings ever agitated by collisions and their ornaments jingling.
- 19. But the lotus-faces of the women, emerging from the windows and mutually setting their earrings in perpetual commotion, seemed like lotuses stuck on to the pavilions.
- 20. Then with its palaces full to bursting with young women, who threw the lattices open in their excitement, the

though samākṣip in this sense is very rare, or 'colliding with each other in their haste' (so Schmidt and others, i.e. "vegāc or "vegais?). For the latter idea ep. R., xvi. 56, and SP., 74, 10.

- 16. The more usual comparison of the hips is to a chariot-wheel, already referred to apparently at RV., x. 10, 7. But cp. Vikramorvasiya, i. 11, rathopamasironyah. The Indian editors suggest taking ratha in the sense of avayava known to the lexica, which is not so good. The comparison presumably is of roundness, the reference being to the two sides of a chariot with rounded tops, as shown in contemporary monuments. PW has no occurrence of sotsuka as early as this.
- 17. T apparently divided hriyā pragalbhā, but is not clear; cp. lajjāpragalbham, Jāt., 116, 16. Rahaḥ here=surata, as in R., viii. 57; cp. rahaḥsamyoga at Brhaddevatā, iv. 57. Contemporary statuary, e.g. at Sanchi, shows naked women with a girdle round the hips, which left the private parts visible; as proved by numerous references in literature, it was not taken off even rahah. Note also iv. 33.
- 19. The verse recalls the fragment of a Buddhist toraṇa, illustrated Vogel, La Sculpture de Mathurā, pl. VIII. The suggestion is that the windows are ponds and the earrings birds among the lotuses.
- 20. In b Kern's amendment should probably be accepted. The context shows that $v\bar{a}t\bar{a}yana$ and $v\bar{a}tay\bar{a}na$ are not the same. The latter is unknown except for Mhv., III, 122, 5, where the MSS also read $v\bar{a}tap\bar{a}na$; this last in

city appeared as magnificent on all sides as Paradise with its heavenly mansions full of Apsarases.

- 21. From the narrowness of the windows the faces of these glorious women, with their earrings resting on each other's cheeks, seemed like bunches of lotus-flowers tied to the windows.
- 22. The women, looking down at the prince in the street, seemed as if wishing to descend to earth, while the men, gazing up at him with upraised faces, seemed as if wishing to rise to heaven.
- 23. Beholding the king's son in the full glory of his beauty and majesty, the women murmured low, "Blessed is his wife", with pure minds and from no baser motive;
- 24. For they held him in reverent awe, reflecting that he with the long stout arms, in form like the visible presence of the god whose symbols are flowers, would, it was said, resign his royal pomp and follow the religious law.
 - 25. Thus the first time that the prince saw the royal

Pali=Sk. $v\bar{a}t\bar{a}yana$ in sense and its latticework shutter (Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art, 111, 196) is mentioned. I take it that Aśvaghoṣa understands by $v\bar{a}t\bar{a}yana$ a kind of oriel window projecting from the wall in which to take the air, and by $v\bar{a}tay\bar{a}na$ or $v\bar{a}tap\bar{a}na$ some kind of shutter, possibly lattice-work, which acted as protection against too strong a wind. The use of $kar\bar{a}la$ here is an extension from compounds like $dainstr\bar{a}kar\bar{a}la$, and, though not fully recognized in the dictionaries, is to be found thus or in the form $kar\bar{a}lita$ in the works of Bāṇa, Daṇḍin, Mayūra, Budhasvāmin, Māgha, etc.; in view of Pali having the word in the form $kal\bar{a}ra$, it seems that the earliest use in this sense is in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela in the expression $sirikal\bar{a}rasar\bar{i}ravat\bar{a}$ (Ep. Ind., XX, line 2 of inscription, which Konow, Acta Or., I, 39, takes otherwise). See also Charpentier, Monde Oriental, xxvi-xxvii, pp. 135-136.

- 21. This verse with its repetition of previous ideas and words can hardly be authentic.
 - 23. The last pāda recurs almost verbatim Divy., 318, 14.
- 24. Puspaketu as a name for Kāmadeva is rare (only one reference in PW, also $Gand\bar{\imath}stotra$, 8); it could also mean 'flower-bannered'.
- 25. The question is whether we should understand punarbhāvam or punarbhāvam in d, on which T is not clear (JRAS, 1929, 539) and C not to

highway, it was thronged with respectful citizens, clad in cleanly sober guise; and he rejoiced and felt in some degree as if he were being re-created.

- 26. But when the Śuddhādhivāsa gods saw that city as joyful as Paradise itself, they created the illusion of an old man in order to incite the king's son to leave his home.
- 27. Then the prince saw him overcome with senility and different in form to other men. His interest was excited and, with gaze steadily directed on the man, he asked the charioteer:—
- 28. "Good charioteer, who is this man with white hair, supporting himself on the staff in his hand, with his eyes veiled by the brows, and limbs relaxed and bent? Is this some transformation in him, or his original state, or mere chance?"
- 29. When the chariot-driver was thus spoken to, those very same gods confounded his understanding, so that, without seeing his error, he told the prince the matter he should have withheld:—
- 30. "Old age it is called, that which has broken him down,—the murderer of beauty, the ruin of vigour, the birth-place of sorrow, the grave of pleasure, the destroyer of memory, the enemy of the senses.

be used safely. I think the poet meant the former to be understood primarily, with the latter as a hidden meaning hinting at the prince's future Enlightenment; but I know no other occurrence of $punarbh\bar{a}va$ without a. I follow T in taking kimcit with d.

- 26. Divy., 408, 18, copies a. The infinitive prayātum, as Bhandari rightly sees, can only be governed by samcodana, the root cud taking the infinitive. In order to apply to the old man, the reading would have to be prayāntam, which is how T takes it.
- 28. T seems to have understood in d, 'is this change in him natural or chance?' So Schmidt, but I prefer to follow Co. and retain the opposition between $vikriy\bar{a}$ and prakrii; a partial parallel at R., viii. 86, and Mallinātha thereon. C accepts the same opposition, but omits $yadrcch\bar{a}$.
 - 30. Cp. S., ix. 33, and Mhv., II, 152, 20.

- 31. For he too sucked milk in his infancy, and later in course of time he crawled on the ground; in the natural order he became a handsome youth and in the same natural order he has now reached old age."
- 32. At these words the king's son started a little and addressed the charioteer thus, "Will this evil come upon me also?" Then the charioteer said to him:—
- 33. "Inevitably by force of time my long-lived lord will know this length of his days. Men are aware that old age thus destroys beauty and yet they seek it."
- 34. Then, since his mind was purified by his intentions in the past and his good merit had been accumulated through countless epochs, he was perturbed in his lofty soul at hearing of old age, like a bull on hearing the crash of a thunderbolt near by.
- 35. Fixing his eye on the old man, he sighed deeply and shook his head; and looking on the festive multitude he uttered these words in his perturbation:—
- 36. "Thus old age strikes down indiscriminately memory and beauty and valour, and yet with such a sight before its eyes the world is not perturbed.
- 37. This being so, turn back the horses, charioteer; go quickly home again. For how can I take my pleasure in the garden, when the fear of old age rules in my mind?"
- 31. Kālena bhūyah is clumsy in b and there is much to be said for amending to $b\bar{a}lena$, to balance śiśutve and $yuv\bar{a}$; C perhaps had this, 'then a boy playing at games', the idea then being of $p\bar{a}\dot{m}sukr\bar{\imath}\dot{q}ita$, playing in the dust, not of crawling.
- 32. I do not think T's *hdar*, 'tremble', necessarily supports Speyer's cakitah for calitah in a.
- 33. As the Indian editors observe, $\bar{a}yu\bar{s}mat$ is the form of address to be used by a charioteer to his rathin; the poet intends it not only thus but also in its full sense.
- 34. \bar{A} saya (for which see AK., index s.v.) means the disposition or attitude taken towards the religious life, not intentions in general. It may imply here the Buddha's resolve in past lives ultimately to become a Buddha, something like the bodhicita of the Mahāyāna.

- 38. So at the bidding of his master's son the driver turned back the chariot. Then the prince returned to the same palace, but so lost in anxiety that it seemed to him empty.
- 39. But even there he found no relief, as he ever dwelt on the subject of old age; therefore once more with the permission of the king he went out, all being ordered as before.
- 41. "Who is this man with swollen belly and body that heaves with his panting? His shoulders and arms are fallen in, his limbs emaciated and pale. He calls out piteously, "mother", as he leans on another for support."
- 42. Then the charioteer replied to him, "Good Sir, it is the mighty misfortune called disease, developed in full force from the disorder of the humours, that has made this man, once so competent, no longer master of himself".
- 43. Thereupon the king's son looked at the man compassionately and spoke, "Is this evil peculiar to him, or is the danger of disease common to all men?"
- 44. Then the chariot-driver said, "Prince, this evil is shared by all. For men feast and yet they are thus oppressed by disease and racked by pain".
- 45. Hearing this truth, he was perturbed in mind and trembled like the reflection of the moon on rippling water; and in his pity he uttered these words in a somewhat low tone:—
 - 40. T may have read distination at the beginning of c, but is not clear.
- 41. For samāśritya cp. $R\bar{a}m$., iv. 24, 2, $tv\bar{a}\dot{m}$ samāśritya $T\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ vasatu, and MBh., v. 5633, $parav\bar{i}rya\dot{m}$ samāśritya.
- 44. T's reading in d is not good, but is connected with its reading in 46d. In neither case has C any hint of it (in 44, 'Who has a body necessarily has pain, yet the stupid contentedly go on rejoicing', and in 46, 'Disease the robber arrives unexpectedly, and yet they feast and rejoice'). The connexion in sense of the two lines is not obvious at first, but the charioteer has in mind the festal crowds around and explains how they too are subject to disease.

- 46. "This is the calamity of disease for mankind and yet the world sees it and feels no alarm. Vast, alas, is the ignorance of men, who sport under the very shadow of disease.
- 47. Turn back the chariot, charioteer, from going outside; let it go straight to the palace of the chief of men. And on hearing of the danger of disease, my mind is repelled from pleasures and shrinks, as it were, into itself."
- 48. Then he turned back with all feeling of joy gone and entered the palace, given over to brooding; and seeing him thus returned a second time, the lord of the earth made enquiry.
- 49. But when he learnt the reason for his return, he felt himself already abandoned by him. And he merely reprimanded the officer in charge of clearing the road, and angry though he was, imposed no severe punishment on him.
- 50. And he further arranged for his son the application of sensual attractions in the highest degree, hoping, "Perhaps he will be held by the restlessness of the senses and not desert us".
- 51. But when in the women's apartments his son took no pleasure in the objects of sense, sounds and the rest, then he directed another excursion outside with the thought that it might cause a change of mood.
- 46. Note ca cdots ca in the first line denoting simultaneity; pasyan therefore should not be taken as governing a, cp. the similar construction in 61ab. T's svasthaś ca is good and may be right. In d (see preceding note) read in T bzhad-gad-byed (=hasanti); W's note 2, p. 27, is based on the misreading qan.

सत्यमेव जयते

- 47. In c ca which T omits is difficult; query śrutvaiva, 'immediately on hearing', or Gawroński's śrutvā hi?
- 48. W's note 3, p. 27, is to be explained by a confusion of hgro and gros (for which see S. C. Das, Tibetan Dictionary, 253a).
- 49. The construction of the second line is difficult as it stands; for nogradandah should mean 'averse from severe punishment', not as above. Simplest would be to amend ca to hi in d. Or take $ca \ldots ca$ as making the first clause dependent on the second, i.e. 'if he merely reprimanded etc., it was that, even when angry, he was averse from severe punishment'.
- 50. For vişayapracāra which is much better than °prakāra, cp. S., xiv. 48, and note ib., xvii. 25.

- 52. And as out of his affection he understood his son's state of mind and took no account of the dangers of passion, he ordered suitable courtesans to be present there, as skilled in the arts.
- 53. Then the royal highway was decorated and guarded with especial care; and the king changed the charioteer and chariot and sent the prince off outside.
- 54. Then as the king's son was going along, those same gods fashioned a lifeless man, so that only the charioteer and the prince, and none other, saw the corpse being borne along.
- 55. Thereon the king's son asked the charioteer, "Who is being carried along yonder by four men and followed by a dejected company? He is dressed out gorgeously and yet they bewail him".
- 56. Then the driver's mind was overcome by the pure-natured Śuddhādhivāsa gods and, though it should not have been told, he explained this matter to the lord of mankind:—
- 52. The question of the readings in b is difficult. A's $sa\dot{m}vegados\bar{a}n$ is odd; either it implies that there was something wrong in $sa\dot{m}vega$, the first step to salvation, which is absurd, or dosa must mean 'danger', a not uncommon meaning (cp. Ind. Ant., 1933, 113), but ambiguous in the context. Combining A and T, $sa\dot{m}r\ddot{a}gados\ddot{a}n$ and the text adopted are the most plausible and better than the reading of either of them, $r\ddot{a}ga$ being preferable to $sa\dot{m}r\ddot{a}ga$. KS., i. 3, 16, enumerates 64 $kal\ddot{a}s$.
- 55. A's reading in d involves taking hriyate as well as avarudyate in the relative clause, which is difficult. T omits the relative and translates esah by pha-gi, 'yonder', so that both verbs are taken in the principal sentence. Like C it employs a phrase meaning 'highly adorned', and vibhūṣita is not strong enough; possibly the intensive bobhūṣita? As I cannot determine the syllable, I leave a gap. There are many references in literature to the decking out of corpses at funerals, especially for kings, such as Avadānaśataka, II, 134, 5, LV., ch. 14, 190, 10, Divy., 28, 1, and 562, 3 (=Majjhima, II, 73), MBh., xii. 5740, and antyamaṇḍana at Kumārasambhava, iv. 22, and R., viii. 70; an explanation of sorts at Chāndogya Up., viii. 8, 5.
- 56. Sya in a is hardly possible, probably derived from a misread tatas sa in the original. Arthavat in the sense of 'man' is known to the lexica

- 57. "This is someone or other, lying bereft of intellect, senses, breath and qualities, unconscious and become like a mere log or bundle of grass. He was brought up and cherished most lovingly with every care and now he is being abandoned."
- 58. Hearing the driver's reply, he was slightly startled and said, "Is this law of being peculiar to this man, or is such the end of all creatures?"
- 59. Then the driver said to him, "This is the last act for all creatures. Destruction is inevitable for all in the world, be he of low or middle or high degree".
- 60. Then, steadfast-minded though he was, the king's son suddenly became faint on hearing of death, and, leaning with his shoulder against the top of the chariot rail, he said in a melodious voice:—
- 61. "This is the end appointed for all creatures, and yet the world throws off fear and takes no heed. Hardened, I ween, are men's hearts; for they are in good cheer, as they fare along the road.

only, but is probably to be recognized at MBh., xiii. 5903, and $J\bar{a}t$., xii. 21 (divide $tav\bar{a}rthavatsu\ carita^{\circ}$, the wording recalling S., xviii. 25). It is used here for the play on words.

- 57. In a guna is ambiguous, 'attributes of buddhi, etc.', or 'objects of sense', or 'qualities' generally. I take the original reading in d to have been priya doubled to express intensity of feeling, a common enough use. T less probably could be read as priyah priyais; FP has 'then, much loved, he is abandoned for ever'.
- 58. Tomits ayam in d and may have had Cappeller's $athav\bar{a}$; it is not certain, as it sometimes inserts similar conjunctions, which are to be understood, though not expressed in the Sanskrit.
- 60. The $k\bar{u}bara$ is the curved rail on the top of the breastwork on each side of the chariot (JRAS, 1931, 577). The exact sense of $nihr\bar{u}da$ or $nirhr\bar{u}da$ seems to be uncertain, but I doubt if it ever means 'loud'. I follow T in translating it, and probably in those passages where it looks as if it might mean 'loud', it means 'thrilling', which would do here. Loudness of voice is obviously out of the question.
 - 61. Adhvan, the road to the next life.

- 62. Therefore, charioteer, let our chariot be turned back; for it is not the time or place for pleasure-resorts. For how could a man of intelligence be heedless here in the hour of calamity, when once he knows of destruction?"
- 63. Though the king's son spoke to him thus, he not merely did not turn back but in accordance with the king's command went on to the Padmaṣaṇḍa grove, which had been provided with special attractions.
- 64. There the prince saw that lovely grove like the grove of Nandana, with young trees in full bloom, with intoxicated koïls flitting joyously about, and with pavilions and tanks beautiful with lotuses.
- 65. Then the king's son was carried off by force to that grove, crowded with troops of beautiful women, and was afraid of obstacles to the religious life like some anchorite novice conveyed by force to the palace of the monarch of Alakā, filled with glorious Apsarases.
- 62. A's ratham must be an error. In b it is not clear if T read °bh $\bar{u}mir$ with A or °bh $\bar{u}mer$; but the construction of the former seems impossible.
- 63. Böhtlingk conjectured "yuktāt tu, and it would be possible to understand T thus or as taking it as an adverb, as Co. does; but either expression seems to me odd and it is better to take viśeṣa in the sense of 'excellence', often found in Aśvaghoṣa, and to understand it as referring to verse 52 above.
- 64. Vimānavat also applies perhaps to Nandana, 'having heavenly mansions'; for vimānas in pleasure groves see Jāt., xxviii. 6, xxxi. 4, and p. 192, 23. In c I follow Sovani in dividing sa kamala'; otherwise the compound is clumsy and a word is wanted to mark the change of subject from 63. For the misplacement of iva in d see the Introduction.
- 65. This verse is of doubtful authenticity. That it is not in C is only a minor point, but it comes in clumsily after the preceding verse. The comparison in the second line is weak and unlike Aśvaghoṣa, and the application of vighnakātara to the prince at variance with the next canto. Kalila and Alakā do not occur elsewhere in the poet's works, and varāpsarovrtam is a faulty expression, cribbed perhaps from iv. 28, where it is used correctly. For Alakā, see W. Wüst in Studia Indo-Iranica, 181-212.

CANTO IV

THE WOMEN REJECTED.

- 1. Then the women went forth from the city garden, their eyes dancing with excitement, to meet the king's son, as if he were a bridegroom arriving.
- 2. And, as they approached him, their eyes opened wide in wonder and they welcomed him respectfully with hands folded like lotus-buds.
- 3. And they stood around him, their minds absorbed in love, and seemed to drink him in with eyes that were moveless and blossomed wide, in ecstasy.
- 4. For the glory of the brilliant signs on his person, as of ornaments born on him, made the women deem him to be the god of love in bodily form.
- 5. Some opined from his benignity and gravity that the moon had come down to earth in person with his rays veiled.
- 6. Enthralled by his beauty, they writhed suppressedly, and, smiting each other with their glances, softly sighed.
- 7. Thus the women did no more than gaze at him with their eyes and were so constrained by his power, that they neither uttered anything nor laughed.
- 4. There are many Buddhist tales of people being born with ornaments on them; cp. $K\bar{a}d.$, 72, $sahajabh\bar{u}$ sanair iva mahāpurusalakṣanair.
- 5. T in the second line has $gsa\dot{n}$, not gsar as in W's text. Iti in d was conjectured by Böhtlingk and is confirmed by C.
- 6. I translate jajrmbhire in the Dhātupāṭha's sense of gātravināma on the strength of T's lus ni rnams (for rnam) ḥgyur-zhin; cp. S., vii. 3, and my notes thēreon, and the gloss at AAA., 316, kāyaparāvartanād vijrmbhamāṇāḥ. Jṛmbhaṇa is a sign of love.
- 7. Laughter is a regular method of attracting love; hence T's jahṛṣuḥ is inferior.

- 8. But the purchita's son, the sagacious Udāyin, seeing them to be so embarrassed by love as to be attempting nothing, addressed these words to them:—
- 9. "You are all of you skilled in all the arts, adepts at captivating the feelings, possessed of beauty and charm, and pre-eminent in your endowments.
- 10. With these gifts you would even grace the Northern Kurus and the pleasaunce of Kubera, much more then this earth.
- 11. You could make even lust-free seers waver, and captivate even gods who are accustomed to the Apsarases.
- 12. And by your knowledge of the sentiments, your blandishments, your wealth of charm and beauty, you have power over women, how much more then over men in respect of passion?
- 13. When with such qualities you are lax, each of you, in your own special accomplishment, and exhibit such conduct, I am displeased with your simplicity.
- 10. Śobhayata and śobhayatha are unmetrical; metre and sense alike require śobhayeta. The Northern Kurus are famous for their love enjoyments; cp. AKV., iii, 213, 15, and AK., 111, 183.
- 11. The missing syllable in c cannot be $\dot{s}c\bar{a}$, as this would be unmetrical. T translates $kalit\bar{a}n$ by $\dot{s}es$ -pa $(j\bar{n}\bar{a})$, and this is the regular meaning given in commentaries (e.g. Mallinātha on $\dot{S}i\dot{s}up\bar{u}lavadha$, ix. 83), also in Prakrit (e.g. $Sapta\dot{s}ataka$, 225). That it thence passes to the meaning given above is shown by $J\bar{a}t$, xiii. 8, $antahpurasundar\bar{u}n\bar{a}m$ vapurvilāsaih kalitekṣaṇo 'pi, 'though his eyes were accustomed to, etc.'
- 12. T shows clearly that b is a single compound; the reading $c\bar{a}tury\bar{a}d$ $r\bar{u}pa^{\circ}$ of Co.'s MSS, is clumsy and $c\bar{a}turyar\bar{u}pa^{\circ}$, indicated by A, against the metre. Evidently therefore we must amend on the lines of 9c above.
- 13. Neither Co.'s conjecture nor T's reading give a good sense in b. Each courtesan has her own special accomplishment as recounted later, and none of them are showing them off. Viyukta is no doubt difficult and the meaning suggested rare (Finot, 'paresseuses'); but it is the only way to get a good sense out of the verse. The sense of $\bar{a}rjava$, 'naiveté', is made clear by the next verse and Udāyin's subsequent recommendation of anrta.

- 14. Conduct such as this of yours would be more proper in brides who narrow their eyes in shame, or even in the wives of cowherds.
- 15. As for the argument that he is steadfast and exalted by the power of his majesty, after all the might of women is great; therefore show determination in this matter.
- 16. Of old time, for instance, the great seer, Vyāsa, whom even the gods could hardly contend with, was kicked with her foot by the harlot, Kāśisundarī.
- 17. Manthāla Gautama, desirous of intercourse with the courtesan, Jaṅghā, and wishful of pleasing her, of old carried forth dead bodies with that end in view.
- 14. Kuc compounded with ni is very rare (samnikuc only in PWK, instances in Schmidt's Nachträge from late $k\bar{a}vya$, and a variant at $BhN\acute{S}$., vi. 57).
- 15. Yad api followed by iti is a regular way of introducing an argument to be rebutted; cp. vi. 21. T's $v\bar{\imath}rah$ in a may be right; A has ayan $dh\bar{\imath}rah$ (the change of m to n in the first word necessitates dh and resolves the ambiguity of the character) and C may have had either, 'now though the prince restrains his mind with great firmness'. In d iti is poor; T so mixes de and hdi up in adverbial formations that it may be taken to read itah here, though atah would be slightly better.
- 16. The story is unidentified and it is uncertain if Kāśisundarī is a proper name or not. Cp. S., vii. 30.
- 17. This verse is most probably not authentic. All the other names in this speech are mentioned by C and are referred to elsewhere by the poet, while FP in its parallel prose passage (p. 726b) also omits it. The story is unknown; I can trace no such name as Manthāla or Mānthala (which latter breaks the metre), and Jaṅghā I can only connect with Jaṅghāri of MBh., xiii. 256, and Jaṅghābandhu, ib., ii. 111. The readings are difficult; bhikṣu is not likely to be used by Aśvaghoṣa of a mendicant other than a Buddhist and has to be taken therefore as a desiderative of bhaj, as is corroborated by its being co-ordinated with piprīṣu by ca. Tadarthārtham is suspicious; T may take it as 'for the sake of her wealth', which does not accord with the rest of the verse, and Formichi ingeniously suggests 'to procure money for her'.

- 18. A young woman, low in caste and standing, gratified the heart of the great seer, Dīrghatapas Gautama, when he was old in years.
- 19. Similarly the sage's son, Rṣyaśṛṅga, who had no knowledge of women, was entrapped and borne off by Śāntā with various wiles.
- 20. And the great seer, Viśvāmitra, though he had entered on mighty austerities, was captivated by the Apsaras, Ghṛtācī, and deemed ten years with her but a day.
- 21. To many such seers as these have women brought emotion; how much more then can they to the innocent son of a king in the flower of his youth?
- 22. This being so, exert yourselves boldly, so that the good fortune of the king's family may not turn away from here.
- 23. For ordinary women captivate lovers of the same class as themselves; but they only are truly women who ensnare the feelings of high and low alike."
- 24. On hearing these words of Udāyin, the damsels were so to speak cut to the heart and set themselves to the task of capturing the prince.
- 25. As if somewhat frightened, the women made gestures designed to cause rapture with brows, looks and blandishments, with laughter, frolicking and movements.
- 18. In Brahmanical works the form of the name is usually Dirghatamas; for the story MBh., i. 4209ff. (Poona ed., i. 98).
- 19. Cp. S., vii. 34. For Rsyaśrnga's ignorance of women cp. $R\bar{a}m$., i. 9, 3, and Mhv., III, 143ff.
- 20. Cp. S., vii. 35, and $R\bar{a}m$., iv. 35, 7. The story is told in full, $R\bar{a}m$., i. 65, substituting Menakā for Ghṛtācī, verses 12-13 recalling this verse.
- 24. Pāda c is difficult. Rashivadekar in Sovani's edition takes ātman in the sense of yatna as given by the lexica (v. PW, s.v. 9). A better alternative is to take samāruh as used in Kauṣītakī Up., iii. 6, prajñayā manaḥ samāruhya, 'setting the mind to work by prajñā'; this develops from the sense 'mount', 'take one's stand on', and goes back to passages such as Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, ii. 3 (JAOS, 16, 144).
- 25. The root lud is so rare and uncertain in meaning, that T's lalitaih in b may be right. Co. translates $\bar{a}ksepik\bar{a}h$ 'significant', which may be right

- 26. But what with the king's command, and the prince's gentleness and the power of intoxication and love, they soon abandoned timidity.
- 27. Then surrounded by the women, the prince wandered through the garden, like an elephant through the Himalayan forest, accompanied by a herd of females.
- 28. In that lovely grove he shone with the women in attendance on him, like Vivasvat surrounded by Apsarases in the pleasaunce of Vibhrāja.
- 29. Then some of the young women there, pretending to be under the influence of intoxication, touched him with their firm, rounded, close-set, charming breasts.
- 30. One made a false stumble and clasped him by force with her tender arm-creepers, which hung down loosely from her drooping shoulders.
 - 31. Another, whose mouth with copper-coloured lower

in view of verse 40 below. The context makes it necessary to take $bh\bar{\iota}tabh\bar{\iota}ta$ in the sense of 'rather frightened', not 'utterly terrified'; cp. $P\bar{a}\mu$., viii. 1, 12, and SS., § 252, 1. The occurrences in literature are mostly ambiguous, but Cowell and Thomas translate the same word 'timidly' at HC., ch. vi, 44, 26 (p. 180 of translation).

- 28. T inserts kumāraḥ in a for which there is no room. Vibhrāja is more commonly called Vaibhrāja, but I can find no trace of any connexion of it with Sūrya, except that vibhrāj is an epithet of the sun in RV., x. 170. Equally the connexion of Sūrya with Apsarases is unusual; but cp. the praveśaka of Vikramorvaśīya, iv, and S. P. Pandit's discussion of the Puranic passages in support (3rd ed., Bomb. S.S., p. 101). Possibly C is right in either reading Marutvān or in taking Vivasvat as a name of Indra.
- 29. The restoration of **T** in ab is hard; it omits tatra and $n\bar{a}ma$, and a possibility, too uncertain to be usable, is $maden\bar{a}n\bar{a}yat\bar{a}s$ $t\bar{a}s\bar{a}m$ tam $k\bar{a}s\bar{c}in$ narmayositah. For $n\bar{a}ma$, 'in pretence', ep. S., iv. 15, 17. The conjecture in d seems best; samhata is a regular epithet of breasts, but sahita is also used in the same sense, ep. viii. 29 below and MBh., iii. 16183 with iv. 392.
- 31. T's reading in d means, 'let us talk together in secret'. For the implication of rahasyam, see note on iii. 17. With the idea cp. Gītagovinda, i. 5, 5, and Amaruśataka (ed. Simon), 41, bhrāntyālingya mayā rahasyam uditam tatsamgamākānkṣayā.

lip smelt of spirituous liquor, whispered in his ear, "Listen to a secret".

- 32. Another, who was all wet with unguents, said as if commanding him, "Make a line here", in the hope of winning the touch of his hand.
- 33. Another repeatedly let her blue garments slip down under the pretext of intoxication, and with her girdle partly seen she seemed like the night with the lightning flashing.
- 34. Some walked up and down so as to make their golden zones tinkle and displayed to him their hips veiled by diaphanous robes.
- 35. Others grasped mango-boughs in full flower and leaned so as to display bosoms like golden jars.
- 36. Another lotus-eyed damsel came from a lotus-bed with a lotus and stood by the side of the lotus-faced prince as if she were Padmaśrī.
- 37. Another sang a sweet song with gesticulations to bring out the sense, reproving his indifference, as it were, with looks that said, "You deceive yourself".
- 32. The point, as appears from S, iv, is that the body is first moistened with unguents and the decorative paint is then put on. Bhakti has a double sense, enforced, as Gawroński points out, by $\bar{a}j\bar{n}\bar{a}payant\bar{v}a$, 'as if commanding him to be devoted to her'. The conjecture in d combines A and T and explains the reason for her action.
- 33. This may be the earliest occurrence in literature of amśuka, but PW s.v. omits the references to MBh., iii. 11093 and x. 25. I cannot restore T in c, except that it had raśanā. For ālakṣyaraśanā ep. Kāvyādarśa, ii. 44, where ālakṣyakesara is equivalent to asamagralakṣyakesara of Mālavikāgnimitra, ii. 10, ā being used in the sense of 'somewhat', not as a preposition. The note on iii. 17, will explain the point of the verse. It seems to have been an accepted method of attraction with loose women, ep. LV, ch. xxi, 321, of Māra's daughters, kāścid guhyaprakāśāni sarvābharaṇāny upadarśayanti sma, Jātaka, V, 434, guyhabhaṇḍakam samcāleti, and R., xiii. 42, vyājārdhasamdar-śitamekhalāni. In T's text of d for phred (or phren) we should probably read hphro=sphur. It changes round the order of 33 and 34.
 - 36. Cp. S., vi. 36, and note in translation.
- 37. Anvartham can also mean 'suitable to the matter in hand' or 'easily understood', but I prefer to combine it with sābhinayam. The root

- 38. Another imitated him by drawing the bow of her brows on her fair countenance and making gestures in mimicry of his solemnity.
- 39. A damsel with fine rounded breasts and earrings shaking with her laughter mocked him out loud, saying, "Finish it, Sir".
- 40. Similarly, as he was retreating, some bound him with ropes of garlands, and others restrained him with words that were like ankuses but were softened with innuendoes.
- 41. Another in order to bring about an argument seized a mange-spray and asked, stuttering with intoxication, "Whose flower now is this?"

vañc in the passive often means 'be disappointed' and so 'miss a good opportunity'; ep. LV., ch. xxi, 323, yadi necchasi kāmasulālasikām susthu suvañcitako 'si, and Candrakīrti on Catuḥśutaka, 72, yo nāma yuvā bhūtvā... yuvatijanam tustyā nopabhunkte sa jīvaloke paramavañcito bhavati.

- 38. I cannot solve the difficulties of this verse. A and T agree in their readings, unless W is right in thinking T had anucacāra (cp. Jāt., vi. 1, cacāra mṛgalīlayā). Anukṛ takes the genitive of the person imitated (S., i. 36, and xviii. 59, and examples in PW) or accusative of the action imitated (Jāt., 233, 13-14, Yamasya līlām anucakāra), so that anucakāra here governs either asya or ceṣṭitam. Prāvṛtya may come from vṛ in the regular sense of 'put on' clothes, but then we ought to read veṣṭitam in the sense of veṣṭanam, 'putting on a royal headdress', and there is no authority for this. So I prefer to take it to vṛt, for which some of the Indian editors give the sense, 'coming forward'. The above translation is based on taking it as equivalent to pravṛtya in the transitive sense (PW, vart, pra+, 14), known only to the epics and always governing an accusative of action.
- 39. Following a suggestion of Sovani's, I take $sam\bar{a}pnotu$ in its plain sense to mean, 'Cap that, if you can', 'Improve on my joke', and as also to be divided $sam\bar{a}=\bar{a}pnotu$, 'Catch me'.
 - 40. Both lines refer to elephants.
- 41. For quarrels in the technique of love, see KS., ii. 3, 18, and 5, 38, and pratiyoga might be translated 'quarrel' here, the literal meaning being 'opposition'. The mango blossom is specifically the flower of Kāma, and the answer to the question is therefore 'Kāma'. Formichi translates pratiyoga 'antithesis', and thinks puspa refers to the prince. This seems far-fetched, but there may be a secondary meaning underlying the principal one, obscene perhaps, as Rashivadekar suggests in the commentary to Sovani's edition.

- 42. One of them, modelling her gait and outward appearance on those of a man, said to him, "Sir, you have been conquered by women, conquer this earth now!"
- 43. Then another with rolling eyes sniffed at a blue lotus and addressed the prince with words that were slightly indistinct in her excitement:—
- 44. "See, my lord, this mango loaded with honey-scented flowers, in which the koïl calls, looking as if imprisoned in a golden cage.
- 45. Look at this aśoka tree, the increaser of lovers' sorrows, in which the bees murmur as if scorched by fire.
- 46. Behold this *tilaka* tree, embraced by a mango branch, like a man in white garments embraced by a woman with yellow body-paint.
- 47. See the *kurubaka* in full bloom, shining like lac just squeezed out, which bends over as if dazzled by the brilliance of the women's nails.
- 48. And look at this young aśoka tree, all covered with young shoots, which stands as if abashed by the glitter of our hands.
- 42. Query *pṛthivīm iti* in d? The earth is female and the woman is referring by innuendo to herself.
- 43. Rashivadekar observes that she smells the blue lotus to indicate that it is proper to enjoy brunettes, impregnated with the perfume of youth, and that her eyes are rolling to spur the prince on.
- 45. The last $p\bar{a}da$ (1) refers to the colour of the flowers, (2) suggests the fire of love, by which even the bees seem to be burnt.
- 47. The word ordinarily used for squeezing lac is niṣpiḍ. Nirbhuj properly means 'press with the teeth', KS., vi. 3, 41, and Kumārasambhava, viii. 49. Mūlamadhyamakakārikās, 318, 3, uses the word of a deed attesting a debt, which is nirbhukta, 'valueless' (Tib. ror-gyur-pa, 'become sediment'?) 'with the juice squeezed out', after the debt has been repaid. T, misunderstanding, translates ma-zos-pa, 'not eaten'. It omits the relative in c and translates nirbhartsita by rma-phab gyur-te, 'wounded'.
- 48. I do not think it necessary to hold with W that T shows *khacita* by *spras-pa*. The genuineness of the verse is open to doubt; the *aśoka* has already been mentioned, and the second line is a weak paraphrase of 47cd.

- 49. See the pond enveloped by the *sinduvāra* bushes growing on its bank, like a woman lying down and clothed in white silk.
- 50. Consider the mighty power of women; for instance, the sheldrake in the water there follows obediently behind his mate like a servant.
- 51. Listen to the sound of the impassioned cuckoo's cry; another koïl calls at once like an echo.
- 52. Can it be that spring brings passion to the birds, but not to the wiseacre who reflects on what he should not reflect on?"
- 53. Thus these young women, to whose minds love had given free rein, assailed the prince with wiles of every kind.
- 54. But despite such allurements the prince firmly guarded his senses, and in his perturbation over the inevitability of death, was neither rejoiced nor distressed.
- 55. He, the supreme man, saw that they had no firm footing in the real truth, and with mind that was at the same time both perturbed and steadfast he thus meditated:—
- 56. "Do these women then not understand the transitoriness of youth, that they are so inebriated with their own beauty, which old age will destroy?
 - 50. T is definitely against reading anuvrtya in d.
- 51. A's anutkah is surely impossible in c. Apte gives 'visible' as a meaning of anvakṣa, which accounts for T's translation of it. For the sense 'directly afterwards', see S., xv. 57, and Yājñavalkya, iii. 21, with the Mitākṣarā's gloss of sadyah.
 - 52. I can make no sense out of A's reading in c.
- 54. In d A's sismiye seems impossible. Vivyathe covers both T's hjigs-pa, 'was afraid', and C's 'grieved'. Cp. S., xi. 7.
- 55. Co.'s conjecture, asamvignena, is at complete variance with the context.
- 56. In c sammattā would be easier, but is farther from A, while T indicates a substantive, not a participle. I take sammattam to be the former, a use common in Aśvaghoṣa; similarly nirudvignāḥ in 58 below, for which Co.'s MSS, substituted nirudvegāḥ.

- 57. Surely they do not perceive anyone overwhelmed by illness, that they are so full of mirth, so void of fear in a world in which disease is a law of nature.
- 58. And quite clearly they sport and laugh so much at ease and unperturbed, because they are ignorant of death who carries all away.
- 59. For what rational being would stand or sit or lie at ease, still less laugh, when he knows of old age, disease and death?
- 60. But he is just like a being without reason, who, on seeing another aged or ill or even dead, remains indifferent and unmoved.
- 61. For when one tree is shorn both of its flowers and its fruit and falls or is cut down, another tree is not distressed thereby."
- 62. Then Udāyin, who was expert in worldly conduct and the śāstras, seeing him to be absorbed in brooding and to have lost all desire for sensual objects, addressed him thus out of friendship:—
- 63. "The king appointed me to be your companion because he considered me competent; therefore I wish to speak to you to justify the confidence he reposed in me.
- 59. T uses $\tilde{n}al$ for $\tilde{s}i$ only, hence I prefer $\tilde{s}ayed$ to svaped, both being irregular. The use of the former in the active goes back to $Aitareyabr\tilde{a}hmana$, iii. 15, 1; ep. LV., ch. xiii, 369, 1. AK., V, 170, n. 2, quotes AKV as using svapet, and svap is used in a parallel passage at $\tilde{S}atapathabr\tilde{a}hmana$, xii. 3, 2, 7. The verse recurs with variations at Bhojaprabandha, 36, quoted by Gawroński.
- 60. Acetas does not mean an imbecile, but something that, unlike a man, has no reasoning faculty ('then he is a man of clay and wood', C), as the supporting instance in the next verse shows; it is the opposite of sacetana in 59.
- 62. Or $n\bar{\imath}ti\dot{s}\bar{a}stra$ can be taken as 'the science of worldly conduct'; for the poet's use of $n\bar{\imath}ti$ cp. S., ii. 28, and xvii. 11.
- 63. The addition of tayā shows that pranayavattayā cannot mean 'affectionately' or 'unreservedly'; it refers the feeling indicated by it to the king.

- 64. The threefold characteristic of friendship is to restrain a man from what is unprofitable, to encourage him to what is profitable and to stand by him in adversity.
- 65. If, after having promised friendship, I should resile from the duty of a man and neglect your interests, there would be no friendship in me.
- 66. Therefore, having become your friend, I say that such lack of courtesy to women ill befits one who is as young in years and beautiful in person as you are.
- 67. The gratification of women, even by the use of falsity, is right, for the sake both of countering their bashfulness and of one's own enjoyment.
- 68. It is humility and compliance that bind women's hearts; for good qualities are the birthplace of affection and women like respect.
- 69. Therefore, O large-eyed prince, however averse your heart be, you should gratify them with a courtesy that corresponds to this beauty of yours.
- 65. C seems quite clearly to have read parānmukhah, and T probably did so. Either reading makes good sense, but with the text reading puruṣa implies 'attendant'.
- 67. The translation of c is uncertain; parihāra properly means 'avoidance', but C understands it to mean 'taking away'. I take a hint from the use of pariharati in philosophical works, 'counters' an objection. To take it in the Buddhist sense of 'guarding', 'looking after' (cp. P.T.S. Pali Dictionary s. pariharati and parihāra) is difficult to reconcile with vrīdā, which means 'embarrassment', not 'modesty' (cp. S., xii. 1, 2). T's reading is inferior. Anrta is no sin in dealing with women, MBh., vii. 8741, viii. 3436, etc., and a Mīmāmsaka verse quoted in Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya (ed. Bibl. Ind.), 262, 5. But here it seems to mean little more than 'insincerity'. For dākṣinya cp. its contrast with sadbhāva at Saptaśataka, 353 (note also ib., 85), and there is an amusing discussion of the relative advantages of dākṣinya and rāpa in a courtesan in Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda (ed. Caturbhānī), 23, 10ff.; one argument is anuvṛttir hi kāme mūlam, sā ca dākṣinyāt sambhavati. See also note, p. 43, on Vikramorvaśīya (B.S.S., 3rd ed.), ii. 4.
- 68. $M\bar{a}nak\bar{a}ma$ is deliberately ambiguous; for $m\bar{a}na$, 'pride', is the regular attribute of women in love.

- 70. Courtesy is the balm of women, courtesy is the best ornament; beauty without courtesy is like a grove without flowers.
- 71. What is the good of courtesy only? Accept them with genuine feeling. For when you have obtained such rare pleasures of the senses, you should not contemn them.
- 72. Knowing that love is the highest good, even the god, Puramdara, for instance, of olden time fell in love with Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama.
- 73. And according to tradition Agastya asked for Rollini, wife of Soma, and thereby obtained Lopamudra who resembled her.
- 74. And Bṛhaspati of the great austerities begot Bharadvāja on Mamatā, the Mārutī, wife of Utathya.
- 71. I am doubtful of the correctness of the translation of the first line, though all the translators understand it so. But there is nothing in the rest of Udāyin's speech to develop the idea and the translators find it necessary to insert a 'but', which is not to be read out of $v\bar{a}$, to justify the harsh transition. The prince in his reply makes no reference to the suggestion, though Aśvaghosa is very careful in all the discussions in this work to see that every point of an argument is answered. T seems to take a and b together, though I am not quite sure about this; and C certainly did not understand the passage as translated above, 'Ought you not therefore to be courteous? You should fully experience these things therefore'. I can find no authority for taking $bh\bar{a}vena$ as 'fully', and I should prefer to read the line as a single sentence, 'Just try accepting them with a feeling that does not go beyond courtesy'. But this use of kim $v\bar{a}$ seems to have no analogies elsewhere and I therefore defer to my predecessors in my rendering.
 - 72. Cp. S., vii. 25. A well-known story.
- 73. The story of Agastya's asking for Rohiṇī is unknown; the best known version of his marriage to Lopamudrā is in the Agastyopākhyāna, MBh., iii.
- 74. The Vedic form of the name is Ucathya; later Utathya is usual. It is uncertain whether we should read sammatāyām with T (cp. MBh. (Poona ed.), i. 98, 6, Mamatā nāma tasyāsīd bhāryā paramasammatā, the readings being doubtful) and whether Mārutī means 'daughter of the Maruts' or 'daughter of Āvīkṣita Marutta'. The legends are very confused, cp. Pargiter, 157-8, and note MBh., xii. 8602, where Marutta gives his daughter to Angiras

- 75. And the Moon, the best of sacrificers, begot Budha of the god-like deeds on Brhaspati's wife, as she was making oblations.
- 76. And of old too Parāśara, with his passions inflamed, approached Kālī, the daughter of a fish, on the bank of the Yamunā.
- 77. The sage Vasiṣṭha through lust begot a son, Kapiñjalāda, on a despised low-caste woman, Akṣamālā.
- 78. And the royal seer, Yayāti, even when his term of life had run out, dallied with the Apsaras, Viśvācī, in the Caitraratha grove.
- 79. And though the Kaurava king, Pāṇḍu, knew that intercourse with a woman must end in his death, yet, allured by Mādrī's entrancing beauty, he gave himself up to the pleasures of love.
- 80. And Karalajanaka too carried off a Brahman's daughter, and, though he thus incurred ruin, he still adhered to his love.
- 81. Men of lofty position such as these for the sake of sexual pleasure enjoyed the objects of the senses, even contemp-

(Bṛhaspati as Āṅgirasa is at times called Aṅgiras). One of Dr. Sukthankar's MSS, in the above passage regularly reads Maratā for Mamatā, perhaps due to some recollection of Mārutī; or did Mamatā originate from a misreading of Mārutī?

- 75. The story is not known to the *MBh.*, and in the Purāṇas Bṛhaspati's wife is called Tārā. Co. however takes *juhvatī* as a proper name, for which there is no authority; if it is a participle, it implies a different version of the tale to that known to us. For *vibudhakarmāṇam*, cp. S., i. 36.
- 76. A well-known story; cp. S., vii. 29. What I believe to be T's reading in c is supported by MBh., xii. 13639, and (Poona ed.) i. 54, 2, and 57, 69.
 - 77. Cp. S., vii. 28.
- 78. Pāda b refers to the extension of life that Yayāti got to enable him to enjoy the Apsarases.
 - 79. A well-known story; cp. S., vii. 45. T quaintly divides vinā śāntam.
- 80. For Karālajanaka, see Charpentier, WZKM, 28, 211ff., and Pargiter, 96, n. 11. The ruin of the kingdom is referred to at xiii. 5 below.
 - 81. Both C and T, like Co.'s MSS., seem to read $evam\tilde{a}dy\tilde{a}$.

tible ones, and all the more so when they were conjoined with excellence.

- 82. You, however, who possess vigour, beauty and youth, despise the pleasures which have come to you of right, and to which the world is attached."
- 83. The prince listened to his specious words, supported by scriptural tradition, and replied to him in a voice like the thundering of a cloud:—
- 84. "Your words make plain your friendship for me and befit you; and I shall satisfy you on the points wherein you misjudge me.
- 85. It is not that I despise the objects of sense and I know that the world is devoted to them; but my mind does not delight in them, because I hold them to be transitory.
- 86. If the triad of old age, disease and death did not exist, I too should take my pleasure in the ravishing objects of sense.
- 87. For if indeed this beauty of women could have been rendered everlasting, my mind would certainly have taken pleasure in the passions, full of evils though they are.
- 82. I understand C to explain nyāyatah prāptān as meaning that the prince had acquired these things as the result of virtue practised in former lives.
- 87. The close agreement of C and T shows that A's second line with the remarkable sasamvitka is a late falsification of the original, which was evidently felt not to be in keeping with the Buddha's character. The restoration of c is certain; in d the difficulty lies in phyogs (=dis). Now Cāṇakyarājanīti-sāstra (Calcutta O.S. no. 2, 1926), vi. 81, is made up out of the first line of verse 86 above and of a line that gives the sense of the second line of this verse, running tadā samsārabhoge 'smin kāmam rājatu me manah. Rājatu is odd here and a form from raj is indicated. T sometimes writes phya for cha (see note on ii. 22), and I conjecture it originally had chags (=raj) which was written phyags; this was not understood and was corrected to phyogs. It is justifiable to quote this anthology in support of my restoration, as it also has ix. 62 in part. The result is not absolutely certain, but is very probable. T apparently misunderstood kāmam, which is to be taken adverbially.

- 88. But seeing that, when their beauty has been drunk up by old age, it will be abhorrent even to them, delight in it could only arise from delusion.
- 89. For a man who, himself subject to death, disease and old age, sports unperturbed with those who are subject to death, disease and old age, is on a level with the birds and beasts.
- 90. As for your argument that those men of might were addicted to passion, that rather must cause perturbation of mind, seeing that they too perished.
- 91. And I do not hold that to be true greatness, which has the generic characteristic of perishing, and in which either there is attachment to the objects of sense, or self-control is not attained.
- 92. As for your saying that one should associate with women, even by the use of falsity, I cannot reconcile falsity with courtesy by any means at all.
- 93. Nor does that compliance please me, from which straightforwardness is absent. Fie upon that union, which is not made wholeheartedly!
- 94. For ought one to deceive a soul inflamed with passion, which is lacking in steadfastness, trusting, attached, and blind to the dangers incurred?
 - 90. It is not quite certain what should be supplied in c.
- 91. I follow Co. in taking the second line as a continuation of b; for, while $v\bar{a} \dots v\bar{a}$ seems to demand an independent sentence, it is difficult to make a satisfactory sense except as above.
- 92. C and T seem to have had a version of this verse, in which d was part of the quotation of Udāyin's argument; but I cannot reconstruct it. C runs, 'As for what you said, "Practise association by devices of pretence in accordance with courtesy", then the practice is truly defilement. Can this be called a device? 'In d dākṣinyena can be understood either 'as associated with courtesy', or 'by the measure of it'; I translate a little freely to get the sense. In T's last line de-min is probably corrupt for bden-min.
- 94. T's reading in b is against the metre. For the construction cp. $Hitopade\acute{sa}$ (ed. Peterson), $Mitral\bar{a}bha$, 57, which traces its ultimate origin perhaps to this verse.

- 95. And surely it is not fit for women to look at men or men at women, when the victims of passion one for the other, if they practise deceit in this way.
- 96. Such being the case, you should not lead me astray to the ignoble passions, when I am afflicted with suffering and my lot is old age and death.
- 97. Ah! Your mind must be very firm and strong, when you find substance in the fleeting passions. While observing creation on the road of death, you remain attached to the objects of sense in the midst of the most terrible danger.
- 98. I on the other hand am fearful and exceeding distressed, as I meditate on the terrors of old age, death and disease. I find no peace or contentment, much less pleasure, as I perceive the world blazing as it were with fire.
- 99. If desire arises in the heart of a man who knows that death is inevitable, I consider that his soul is made of iron, in that instead of weeping he delights in the great danger."
- 100. Then, as the prince uttered this discourse which was full of resolution and controverted recourse to the passions, the lord of day passed to the Western Mountain, with his orb such that men could gaze at it.
- 101. Then their garlands and ornaments worn in vain, their excellent arts and endearments all fruitless, the women
- 99. There have been many attempts to amend A's reading in d on the lines of the word being a participle to agree with mahābhaye; T is against this, and the only possible word, tisthati, is bad palæographically. Moreover, the argument runs incoherently. The word indicated by T is from raj or sajj (the form sajjati being permissible in epic and Buddhist Sanskrit), and the parallelism with rāga in the first line suggests that rajyati is the correct solution.
- 100. Ca...ca denoting simultaneity. The point that men's eyes can look at the sun as it sets without being dazzled recurs in language reminiscent of this verse at Kumārasambhava, viii. 29, and Kirātārjunīya, iv. 4.
- 101. The difficulty lies in c. The emphatic position of eva shows that the translation of sva eva bhāve by 'in their hearts' is too commonplace. T takes manmatha as=Kāmadeva; he is manasija, cittodbhava, to which the word is clearly intended to allude here. Therefore sve refers to him primarily and

suppressed the god of love in his birthplace, their hearts, and returned to the city with their hopes frustrated.

- 102. Then the son of earth's guardian saw the glory of the women in the city garden withdrawn again in the evening and, meditating on the transitoriness of everything, he entered his dwelling.
- 103. But when the king heard that his son was averse from the objects of sense, then like an elephant with a dart in its heart, he did not lie down that night. Thereon wearing himself out with all kinds of counsels with his ministers, he found no means, other than the passions, for restraining his son's purpose.

we must translate literally 'in his being', which is equivalent to 'in their hearts'. To make the thought clear, I translate *bhāva* 'birthplace', and in actual fact the later lexica give this as a meaning of the word. In these circumstances T's *vinigarhya* (*garh* with *vini* not recorded elsewhere) makes no sense and A's *viniguhya* is hardly strong enough. I therefore conjecture *vinigrhya*, which is palæographically the halfway house between the two forms.

- 102. T's reading is perhaps preferable in d, as punah seems required by the sense.
- 103. T's reading is excluded in c, because $\acute{s}r\bar{a}nta$ takes the locative (S., i. 1).

CANTO V.

FLIGHT.

- 1. Though the son of the Śākya king was thus tempted by priceless objects of sense, he felt no contentment, he obtained no relief, like a lion pierced deeply in the heart by a poisoned arrow.
- 2. Then longing for spiritual peace, he set forth outside with the king's permission in order to see the forest, and for companions he had a retinue of ministers' sons, chosen for their reliability and skill in converse.
- 3. He went out, mounted on the good horse Kanthaka, the bells of whose bit were of fresh gold and whose golden
- 1. For the reading adopted in c ep. S., ix. 50, and $J\bar{a}t$., v. 16. In d I follow Co. in taking ati as an adverb applying to the whole compound in preference to taking atidigdha as 'a highly poisoned arrow' (so Schmidt).
- 2. The compound $vanabh\bar{u}mididrksay\bar{a}$ would only be permissible in the classical language, if $vanabh\bar{u}mi$ could be taken as accusative, but Aśvaghosa uses an objective genitive or locative after $didrks\bar{a}$. Such compounds do occur however, S., i. 49, MBh., i. 385, and xii. 9320.
- 3. Probably the earliest occurrence in literature of khalīna, believed to be a Greek loan-word. In the second line I am doubtful of A's reading in c; Kanthaka is specially described later and would hardly be brought in easually here. T's sakambalam may be right, mbba and ntha being palæographically close, and blankets are used for saddles; but I would not accept it till its application to the simile can be explained. C does not help except that it does not give the name Kanthaka, and I can make nothing out of reading A as sakanthakam. For d I follow Schrader and Sovani in taking drumābja as =drumotpala, karņikāra. This tree is compared to human beings, verse 51 below and S., xviii. 5. The question is what meaning to attribute to this. There is perhaps a hint at a comparison with Abhimanyu, who had an emblem of karnikāra flowers on his banners according to the MBh. and is therefore drumābjaketu, ketu meaning primarily the emblem at the top of the flagstaff and only secondarily a flag as a whole (cp. Hopkins, JAOS, 1889, 244-5). But

trappings were beautified with waving chowries, and so he resembled a karnikāra emblem mounted on a flagpole.

- 4. Desire for the forest as well as the excellence of the land led him on to the more distant jungle-land, and he saw the soil being ploughed, with its surface broken with the tracks of the furrows like waves of water.
- 5. When he saw the ground in this state, with the young grass torn up and scattered by the ploughs and littered with dead worms, insects and other creatures, he mourned deeply as at the slaughter of his own kindred.
- 6. And as he observed the ploughmen with their bodies discoloured by wind, dust and the sun's rays, and the oxen in

of itself this does not explain ketum. Buddha is compared S., iii. 25, to a hemamanijālavalayinam dhvajam, but, if we take ketuh as 'banner', no suitable meaning again is left for ketum. For the sense 'comet' seems to me quite unacceptable, unless we go to the length of taking drumābja as='born of wood or water', i.e. Agni, the ketu of Agni being smoke as in xi. 71; this is not only far-fetched but gives no suitable application of the first line to ketum. Further S. C. Das's meaning 'column' for T's tog-can cannot be authenticated in Sanskrit for ketu. Nor do I see how to apply to the simile the fact that the Barhut sculptures show flagpoles with human figures for their flags, the flagbearers being mounted. I can find no alternative therefore to the somewhat unconvincing rendering given above, except to take drumābjaketuh as 'the brilliance of karnikāra flowers'; flowers were actually carried on flagpoles, cp. Ūrubhanga, 9, mālyair dhvajāgrapatitaih. The epithets in the first line can easily apply to a banner (divide kha-lina and note AAA., 180, for the association of bells and flags).

- 4. Vanānta could mean 'on the edge of the forest', but probably anta is purely collective in sense to distinguish the jungle from the city-groves. For vikrsta = viprakrsta, cp. Madhyamavyāyoga (T.S.S.), p. 6, and BhNS., xiv. 23. The jungle is naturally further from the city than the gardens. In c T possibly read $vik\bar{a}ra$ and took it to $k\bar{r}$.
- 5. The Indian editors quote the *Medinikośa* for the form *krimi*; cp. Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, fragment 18, and *AKV*., iii, 149. 16. *Krmikita* is a common combination, e.g. *Manu*, i. 40, and *SP*., iii. 44.
- 6. In b T's reading may be correct. C's 'their bodies covered with dust' suggests that varna should perhaps be taken here as= $r\bar{u}pa$, a common Pali usage.

distress with the labour of drawing, the most noble one felt extreme compassion.

- 7. Then alighting from his horse, he walked slowly over the ground, overcome with grief. And as he considered the coming into being and the passing away of creation, he cried in his affliction, "How wretched this is."
- 8. And desiring to reach perfect clearness with his mind, he stopped his friends who were following him, and proceeded himself to a solitary spot at the root of a $jamb\bar{u}$ -tree, whose beautiful leaves were waving in all directions.
- 9. And there he sat down on the clean ground, with grass bright like beryl; and reflecting on the origin and destruction of creation he took the path of mental stillness.
- 10. And his mind at once came to a stand and at the same time he was freed from mental troubles such as desire for the objects of sense etc. And he entered into the first trance of calmness which is accompanied by gross and subtle cogitation and which is supermundane in quality.
- 11. Then he obtained possession of concentration of mind, which springs from discernment and yields extreme ecstasy and bliss, and thereafter, rightly perceiving in his mind the course of the world, he meditated on this same matter.
- 8. $Viviktat\bar{a}$ has also here the sense of 'solitude'. It is impossible to decide between $niv\bar{a}rya$ and nivartya in d; many passages could be cited in support of each.
- 9. In a I combine A and T. The prince enters on the meditation known as dharmapravicaya in the Abhidharma. There may be a hint in ālalambe of the technical meaning of ālambana, which is to the mind what viṣaya is to the senses.
- 10. Asrava cannot be satisfactorily translated; for my rendering, see note on S., xvi. 3, in my translation. The phrase does not usually occur in descriptions of the first trance, but Divy., 391, calls it anāsravasadria on this very occasion, and according to Hīnayāna dogmatics this trance can be either sāsrava or anāsrava. T is possibly corrupt and may originally have had rab-spyod-pa, i.e. anāsravapracāram, which would be quite good.

- 12. "A wretched thing it is indeed that man, who is himself helpless and subject to the law of old age, disease and destruction, should in his ignorance and the blindness of his conceit, pay no heed to another who is the victim of old age, disease or death.
- 13. For if I, who am myself such, should pay no heed to another whose nature is equally such, it would not be right or fitting in me, who have knowledge of this, the ultimate law."
- 14. As he thus gained correct insight into the evils of disease, old age and death, the mental intoxication relating to the self, which arises from belief in one's strength, youth and life, left him in a moment.
- 15. He did not rejoice nor yet was he downcast; doubt came not over him, nor sloth, nor drowsiness. And he felt no longing for sensual pleasures, no hatred or contempt for others.
- 16. While this pure passionless state of mind grew within his lofty soul, there came up to him a man in mendicant's clothes, unseen of other men.
- 17. The king's son asked him, "Tell me, who are you?" On this he explained to him, "O bull among men, I am a śramaṇa, who in fear of birth and death have left the home life for the sake of salvation.
- 12. Vijugupsa is recorded by the PW only in a single verse from the older Upanisads and then only with the ablative in the sense of 'feel disgust for'. Pali however has vijugucchuti with the accusative (see P.T.S. Dict. s.v.) in the sense of literally 'despising' and so 'thinking nothing of'. 'taking no heed of'. Here it really means 'fail to draw the moral from'. The construction of jugupsa in Sanskrit with the accusative is parallel, and to translate here 'despise' misses the point.
 - 13. Hi perhaps merely expletive to emphasize the predicate.
 - 14. For mada and the second line ep. S., ix. 1-34.
- 15. The $k\bar{a}magunas$ are the five gunas or objects of the senses in that aspect in which $k\bar{a}ma$ is felt for them.
- 16. Rajas in $n\bar{i}rajaska$ means $r\bar{a}ga$ and dvesa as described in the preceding verse; ep. note in translation on S., iii. 39.

- 18. Since the world is subject to destruction, I desire salvation and seek the blessed incorruptible stage. I look with equal mind on kinsman and stranger, and longing for and hatred of the objects of sense have passed from me.
- 19. I dwell wherever I happen to be, at the root of a tree or in a deserted temple, on a hill or in the forest, and I wander without ties or expectations in search of the highest good, accepting any alms I may receive."
- 20. After saying this, he flew up to the sky before the prince's very eyes; for he was a heavenly being who in that form had seen other Buddhas and had encountered him to rouse his attention.
- 21. When that being went like a bird to heaven, the best of men was thrilled and amazed. And then he gained awareness of *dharma* and set his mind on the way to leave his home.
- 22. Then he, who was Indra's peer and had conquered the horses of the senses, mounted his horse with the intention of
- 18. There are many parallels to c, e.g. Kāśyapaparivarta, 29, p. 56, putre ca śatrumhi ca tulyamānaso. Doṣa for dveṣa again (see note on ii. 39).
- 19. I translate āyatana 'temple', as Indian tales so often mention wandering mendicants as living in deserted temples.
- 20. The difficulty in the second line lies in tadvapuh, which T takes as nominative; but the order of its words is such that kyis may, as often, be a •mistake for kyi, which would make it compounded with anyabuddhadarśi, hardly a good reading. C is not clear. Formichi ingeniously takes it as accusative, 'assumed that form', much the best sense, if authority for such a use of i with samā were available. For anyabuddhadarśin cp. pūrvabuddhadarśin, LV., ch. xxii, 350, 16, and Śikṣāsamuccaya, 13, 1, and 189, 13; darśin properly 'who was in the habit of seeing'. For smṛtaye, see the Introduction.
- 21. The use of upalabh, which is specially used of perception by the senses, shows that $samj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ has the technical sense of the action of the mind in forming ideas or conceptions, based on the perceptions presented to it by the senses. As Speyer notes, the expression, $dharmasamj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$, is common in $J\tilde{a}t$, though I take it in a somewhat different way to him.
- 22. For the horses of the senses cp. S., x. 41, and note in translation. I do not agree with W that T reads parivārajane 'py abhīkṣamāṇe and I believe it indicates the text (read mthon-ba for hdod-pa?). In S., īkṣ with ava is used

entering the city; but out of regard for his following he did not go straight to the longed for forest.

- 23. Though he entered the city again, it was not out of any wish to do so, since he desired to make an end of old age and death and had fixed his mind in all attention on the forest life; his feelings were those of an elephant returning to the picketing-ground from the jungle.
- 24. A nobleman's daughter, looking up at him, as he entered along the road, folded her hands and said, "Happy indeed and blessed is that woman, whose husband is such in this world, O long-eyed one!"
- 25. Thereon he, whose voice was like that of a mighty thunder-cloud, heard this announcement and was filled with supreme calm. For on hearing the word "blessed", he set his mind on the means of winning final beatitude.
- 26. In stature like the peak of the golden mountain, in arm, voice and eye resembling an elephant, a thunder-cloud and a bull respectively, in countenance and step like the moon and a lion respectively, he next proceeded to the palace with yearning aroused for the imperishable dharma.
- 27. Then with the gait of the king of beasts he approached his father in the midst of his corps of ministers, like Sanatkumāra in the third heaven approaching Maghavat, as he shines in the assembly of the Maruts.

several times where one would expect apa, and I construe it thus here. The natural rendering of the second line in C is given in Beal, but probably it really intended what I believe the Sanskrit to mean. The point is that the retinue would have got into trouble with the king, if they did not bring the prince back with them; and this would be brought out more clearly by reading hy for tv in c.

- 26. The first line of 27 shows that *vikrama* means primarily 'gait' here; it may mean 'prowess' secondarily. The poet plays again on $k \approx aya$ at S, x. 57.
- 27. For the simile to be exact Sanatkumāra should be the son of Indra and C has 'the son of Śakra'; does Sanatkumāra stand for Jayanta, just as at *Chāndogya Up.*, vii. 26, 2, Sanatkumāra and Skanda are identified?

- 28. And prostrating himself with folded hands, he said "O king, graciously grant me permission. I wish to become a mendicant to seek salvation; for separation is inevitable for me."
- 29. Hearing his words, the king shook like a tree struck by an elephant and, grasping him by his hands folded like a lotusbud, he spoke to him thus in a voice choking with sobs:—
- 30. "Refrain, dear one, from this intention. For it is not yet the time for you to give yourself up to *dharma*. For they say the practice of *dharma* in the first flush of youth, when the intelligence is still unbalanced, is full of dangers.
- 31. When a man is young with senses liable to excitement over the objects of sense and with resolution unfit to cope with the hardships of the life governed by vows, his mind shrinks back from the forest, especially so when he has had no experience of solitude.
- 32. But, O lover of *dharma*, it is now my time for *dharma*, after I have devolved the sovereignty on you, the cynosure of all eyes; but if you were forcibly to quit your father, O firmly courageous one, your *dharma* would become non-*dharma*.
- 33. Therefore give up this your resolve. Devote yourself for the present to the duties of a householder. For entry to the penance grove is agreeable to a man, after he has enjoyed the delights of youth."
- 30. Mati seems to be used here for $praj\tilde{n}a$ (AK., 1, 154); it is so used at S., iii. 11, where correct translation accordingly.
- 31. Kutūhala as an adjective is odd; query kutūhalīndriyasya? Viveka in its usual double sense.
- 32. It is uncertain whether in b we should read lakṣa, lakṣya or lakṣma; I prefer the last as closest in sound to lakṣmī. Lakṣmabhūta (lakṣya° wrongly in text) recurs S., iv. 8. Cp. Tantrākhyāyikā, iii. 126, lakṣmabhūto vanānām... pādapendrah. The meaning is doubtful here, perhaps 'the apple of my eye'. I follow T in taking the last line as a single sentence, not with Co. as two, which makes vikrameṇa difficult. Like ix. 66, and x. 25, this passage suggests the poet to understand by vikrama 'the wrong course of action', as opposed to krama 'the right course'.

- 34. Hearing these words of the king, he replied in a voice like the *kalavinka* bird's: "I will refrain from entering the penance grove, O king, if you will be my surety on four points.
- 35. My life is not to be subject to death. Disease is not to injure my health. Old age is not to impair my youth. Disaster is not to take away this my worldly fortune."
- 36. To his son, who had propounded a matter so hard of fulfilment, the king of the Śākyas made reply: "Give up this idea which goes too far. An extravagant wish is ridiculous and unfitting."
- 37. Then he, who was as grave as Meru is weighty, said to his father: "If this is not possible, then I am not to be stopped; for it is not right to hold back a man who wishes to escape from a house, that is being consumed by fire.
- 38. And seeing that separation is the fixed rule of the world, is it not better to make the separation myself for the
- 36. Read atipravrddhām in c? The text in d is doubtful and C not definite enough to help. Krama means 'the proper, natural order of things' (common in Jāt., e.g. p. 85, 21; xvii. 9; xix. 1; xxxii. 42; and of the due order of the Buddha's life at Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra, xix. 79). Akrama could therefore mean 'impossible' as contrary to the natural order of things ('widernatürlich', PWK), but the more normal sense seems to be 'unfitting', e.g. LV., ch. xxvi, 416, 16, Śrigāraśataka, 51 (where coupled with anucita), Abhişekanāṭaka, i. 17. T's reading is clearly wrong and Co.'s difficult to translate.
 - 37. As Speyer pointed out, niścikramisuh alone is grammatically possible.
- 38. In a T's yadā is typical of the poet's style. One can read either nanu or na tu in b and c, and varam svayam or varam tv ayam in b without affecting the general sense. C and FP are hard to translate; the former has, 'Separation is the permanent law to which everyone is subject. It is better to go away in accordance with dharma than undergo destruction oneself in the future. If one does not go away in accordance with dharma, who can grasp (dharma), when death comes?' This suggests dharmena and svayam in b. FP is free, 'Since one sees all things to be definitely impermanent, the law of all that exists is separation ultimately. It is better to bear separation from one's earthly relations; since death is about to come, the business must be accomplished'. In c na tu would be difficult, since Aśvaghoṣa only contrasts two nouns, not a noun and a verb, in the construction varam...na, and else-

sake of dharma? Will not death sever me helplessly, still unsatisfied before I attain my goal?"

- 39. When the lord of the earth heard this resolve of his son who was longing for salvation, he said "He shall not go", and arranged for an increased guard on him and for the choicest pleasures.
- 40. But after the ministers had duly instructed the prince according to the śāstras with respect and candour and his father with floods of tears had stopped him from going, then he entered his dwelling in grief.
- 41. The women looked up at him with restless eyes, like young hinds, as their earrings, swinging to and fro, kissed their faces, and their bosoms heaved with uninterrupted sighs.
- 42. For, bright as the golden mountain, he bewitched the hearts of the best of women, and captivated their ears, limbs, eyes and beings with his voice, touch, beauty and qualities respectively.
- 43. As the day departed then, he mounted, blazing like the sun with his beauty, to his palace, even as the rising sun climbs Meru, in order to dispel the darkness with the splendour of his self.
- 44. Going up to a chamber which was filled with incense of the finest black aloe and had lighted candelabra glittering
- where he only uses na or na ca, not na tu, after varam. Atrpta is probably equivalent here to avītarāga.
- 39. T takes $bh\bar{u}yah$ with d, C apparently both with d and with the preceding words.
- 40. Nidarŝita implies that they enlivened their discourses with illustrations from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas.
- 42. For ātmabhāva, see attabhāva 2 in Andersen and Smith's Pali Dictionary; the usage is common in Buddhist Sanskrit. Cp. S., iii. 16, for the simile. Timira in the double sense of tamas.
- 44. I follow W who understands T as above. Abhiruhya requires an object, which can only be garbham, unless alternatively vimānam is supplied from the previous verse. To take this compound as referring to the couch makes nonsense; for its interior would not be filled with incense, and we should

with gold, he repaired to a splendid golden couch inlaid with streaks of diamond.

- 45. Then the noblest of women waited with musical instruments on him, the noblest of men, the peer of Indra, just as the troops of Apsarases wait on the son of the Lord of Wealth on the moon-white summit of Himavat.
- 46. But even those splendid instruments, like though they were to the music of the gods, failed to delight or thrill him; the one desire of the saintly prince was to leave his house in search of the bliss of the highest good, and therefore he did not rejoice.
- 47. Thereon the Akanistha deities, supreme in austerities, taking cognisance of his resolve, all at once brought sleep there over the women and distorted the gestures of their limbs.
- 48. So one, as she lay there, supported her cheek on an unsteady hand, and, as if angry, abandoned the flute in her lap, dear though it was to her, with its decoration of gold leaf.
- 49. Another, lying with her bamboo pipe in her hands and her white robe slipping off her breasts, resembled a river with lotuses being enjoyed by a straight row of bees and with banks laughing with the foam of the water.

सन्धमेव जयते

have to read something like "gandhim suggested by C's 'a seven-jewelled couch," fragrant with the best sandalwood '. Garbha in the sense of 'room' seems unknown in classical Sanskrit except in compounds such as prāsādagarbha, but occurs in Pali (see P.T.S. Pali Dict. s. gabbha, Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art, III, 191, and also Mhv., II, 316, 8).

- 46. The alternative of taking the second line as one sentence governed by yatah with reme in the sense of 'stopped' is difficult. How T understood it is not clear, but it translates reme' rejoiced', as apparently did C. Aśvaghoṣa uses yatah elsewhere to introduce a final clause at the end of a verse, e.g. S., v. 15, and xviii. 2.
- 47. The Akanisthas are the supreme deities of the Rūpadhātu, the highest of the five Śuddhāvāsa classes.
- 49. The bees are the flute, the lotuses the hands, the banks the breasts and the foam the white robe. Laughter is white in comparisons.

- 50. Similarly a third was sleeping, clasping her drum, as if it were her lover, with arms tender as the hearts of young blue lotuses, so that the bright golden armlets had met together.
- 51. So others, decked with ornaments of fresh gold, and wearing peerless yellow garments, fell down helpless with deep sleep, like *karnikāra* boughs broken by an elephant.
- 52. Another lay, leaning against the side of a window with her beautiful necklaces dangling, and seemed with her slender body bent like a bow as if turned into the statue of a śāla-plucker on a gateway.
- 53. Another again had her lotus-face bowed down, thereby causing the jewelled earrings to eat into the lines of paint, so that it took the likeness of a lotus with its stalk half-curved, as it is shaken by a kārandava bird standing on it.
- 54. Others lay in the position in which they had sat down, and, embracing each other with intertwined arms decorated
- 50. For the idea cp. $R\bar{a}m$., v. 13, 44. I take samgata, which T omits, to mean that the arms were clasped so tight as to bring the armlets on both of them together. In a I follow T for garbha; cp. the gloss madhya for garbha at AAA., 182, 20.
- 51. A's reading in c seems to me hopeless. My text is sound palæographically and legitimately deducible from T. Navahāṭaka is presumably gold of a very light colour to resemble the whitish flowers of the karnikāra; the $p\bar{t}ta$ clothes stand for the rubescent shoots.
- 52. The verse is an exact description of the statues below the crossbars on the Sanchi gateways, cp. Vogel, *Acta Or.*, VII, 208. This seems to be the only occurrence in literature of *bhuj* with *vi*.
- 53. It is difficult to choose between "pattralekham and "gandalekham; many parallels to both. I have opted for A's probable reading, because at S., iv. 23, višeṣakānta replaces this word in a similar compound. Ganda is specially suitable too, because it means 'stalk' in Buddhist works (Avadāna-sataka, II, 133, n. 4, Mhv., I, 21, 9, and Bodhisattvabhūmi, 99), and among parallels I note Aupapātikasūtra, §12, kundal'ullihiyagandalehā. In c perhaps ivāgravakranādam, comparing S., v. 52; and in d there is much to be said for T's cakampe, pa in A being not unlike śa. The face is the lotus, the earring the bird, the neck the bent stalk.
- 54. If the verbs in this and the preceding verses mean 'appear beautiful', as the negatives show them to do in 57, 60 and 61, we should have the con-

with golden bracelets, appeared to have their bodies bent down under the load of their breasts.

- 55. Yet another clasped her mighty parivādinī, as if it were her friend, and rolled about in her sleep, so that her golden threads shook and her face had the pendent strings on her ears all disordered.
- 56. Another young woman lay, bringing her paṇava, whose beautiful netting had slipped from her armpit, between her thighs, like a lover exhausted at the end of his sport.
- 57. Others, though really large-eyed and fair-browed, showed no beauty with their eyes shut, like lotus-beds with their flowerbuds closed at the setting of the sun.
- 58. Another too had her hair loose and dishevelled, and with the ornaments and clothes fallen from her hips and her necklaces scattered she lay like an image of a woman broken by an elephant.
- 59. But others, helplessly lost to shame despite their natural decorum and endowment of excellent beauty, lay in immodest attitudes, snoring, and stretched their limbs, all distorted and tossing their arms about.

tradiction that the women were attractive in these attitudes. The last line of T has two syllables in excess; gnas-te is clearly an interpolation.

- 55. T translates yoktraka by śog-dril, 'roll of paper', which W understands to be the palmleaf rolls worn in the ears, quoting Grünwedel, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien (1920), 187, n. 16. I know no authority in Sanskrit for this and it does not fit the use of the word at viii. 22 below, or S., vi. 3.
- 56. The exact meaning and reading of the compound in b is uncertain, but passing p
- 58. The reference perhaps is to the dummies used to train elephants in killing, implied by KA., ii. 32, and alluded to in the HC. (Cowell and Thomas's translation, 190 and 220, where understood rather differently). One Indian editor gives kanthas utra the meaning it has in erotics. For pratiy uta na eq. R, xvi. 17.
- 59. T is not clear in the second line, because gya-gyu, 'twisting', 'crooked', may correspond to jajrmbhire in the sense gātravināma (cp. iv. 6) or to ulbaṇam; in the latter case gsal-bar must be corrected to glal-bar with W. Anulbaṇa is common in the sense of 'modest', 'decent', of dress or behaviour, and ulbaṇam is to be understood accordingly.

- 60. Others looked ugly, lying unconscious like corpses, with their ornaments and garlands cast aside, the fastening knots of their dresses undone, and eyes moveless with the whites showing.
- 61. Another lay as if sprawling in intoxication, with her mouth gaping wide, so that the saliva oozed forth, and with her limbs spread out so as to show what should have been hid. Her beauty was gone, her form distorted.
- 62. Thus these womenfolk, lying in various attitudes according to their natures, family and breeding, presented the appearance of a lotus-pond whose lotuses have been blown down and broken by the wind.
- 63. When the king's son saw the young women lying in these different ways and looking so loathsome with their uncontrolled movements, though ordinarily their forms were beautiful, their speech agreeable, he was moved to disgust:—
- 64. "Such is the real nature of woman in the world of the living, impure and loathsome; yet man, deceived by dress and ornaments, succumbs to passion for women.
- 65. If man were to consider the natural form of woman and such a transformation produced in her by sleep, most certainly
- 60. Co. divides in b visrta-agranthana; I follow T in dividing visrta-āgranthana, but the latter word does not seem to occur elsewhere. Visrta, lit. 'come apart', very apt for a cloth knotted round the waist. In c śukla, as the mention of corpses shows, must mean 'the white of the eyes'; animīlita, lit. 'not disappeared'.
- 61. Vivrddhagātrī is difficult; I translate according to T, which gives what is evidently the proper sense. The only analogous use of vivrddha that I have noted is at Avadānaśataka, I, 265, 4, perhaps not quite on all fours.
- 62. My conjecture in a accounts by the likeness of nva and nu for A's omission of two syllables. Anvaya may mean 'training' here.
- 63. A and T agree in valgubhāṣā in a and are supported by C's 'their laughing words'; otherwise Speyer's phalgubhāso might have been preferable.
 - 64. Cp. S., viii. 48, and ix. 26.
- 65. The authenticity of this verse is a problem; for it is unlike C to omit so moral a statement and the repetition of the ending is clumsy. On the other hand the language and thought of abc at least are not unlike Aśvaghosa's.

his heedlessness in respect of her would not increase; yet, overcome by his impressions of her excellence, he succumbs to passion."

- 66. Thus he recognised the difference and there arose in him a desire to escape that night. Then the gods, understanding his purpose, caused the doors of the palace to fly open.
- 67. Thereon he descended from the palace roof, contemning the women lying there, and, having descended thence, he went out unhesitatingly to the first courtyard.
- 68. He awoke the groom, the swift-footed Chandaka, and addressed him thus: "Quickly bring the horse Kanthaka; I desire to depart hence to-day to reach deathlessness.
 - 69. Since contentment arises in my heart to-day, and since

That FP should quote this verse and 64 together is in its favour, but its differing version of d is more appropriate and may represent the original of which the present text is a corruption. Notice the play on Sāmkhya phraseology, prakṛti, vikāra, and guṇa. Svapnavikāra also means 'a transformation as unreal as a dream'. Pramāda is a term occurring frequently in S., and implies heedlessness to the considerations that turn a man to the religious life. The distinction between samkalpa and parikalpa is a fine one; the latter is the conception formed by the mind about an object, impressions of which are presented to it by the senses. The former seems particularly to mean the impressions produced on the senses by an object; thus S., xii. 5, samkalpāšvo manorathaḥ (the usual word being indriyāšva), and xiii. 35, samkalpaviṣadigdhā hi pañcendriyamayāḥ śarāḥ. Guṇa therefore is employed here in the secondary sense of 'object of the senses', as in a certain stage of Sānkhya development and in the word kāmaguṇa.

- 66. Antara also means 'opportunity' here, as well as the difference between svabhāva and outer adornment.
- 67. The accusative after *vinirgam* is odd. The first courtyard is the outermost one where the stables would be.
- 68. C expands and has equivalents for both $yiy\bar{a}s\bar{a}$ and $pip\bar{a}s\bar{a}$; it may have had the latter, understanding it literally for amrta, 'nectar', and metaphorically for amrta, 'the deathless country'. The metaphorical use is unusual, not occurring in classical Sanskrit and employed only by Buddhists in compounds in a bad sense (= $trsn\bar{a}$); so with some hesitation I keep A's reading.
- 69. For the construction of the relative cp. vii. 57, and S., vi. 47, and remarks in the Introduction.

my resolve is fixed in my mind and since I have as it were a guide even in loneliness, most certainly the longed for goal has come into my view.

- 70. Since these women lay in my presence without regard to their own modesty or to respect for me, and since the doors opened of themselves, most certainly it is the time to-day for me to depart hence."
- 71. Then the groom accepted his lord's bidding, though he was aware of the purport of the king's orders, and, as if spurred on by another in his mind, he decided to bring the horse.
- 72. Then he brought for his master that noble steed, who was endowed with strength, mettle, speed and breeding. A golden bit filled his mouth and a light stall-blanket covered his back.
- 73. His chine and rump and fetlocks were long, while his hair, tail and ears were short and kept still; his back and flanks
- 70. In d ito perhaps is better, but ato corresponds more closely to A palæographically.
- 71. Parena in c implies not only Co.'s 'higher power', but also 'as if incited by a foe' to do a deed that would damage the king, his master.
- 72. I follow Hopkins, who quotes the MBh., in translating śayyāstaraṇa, but it may mean 'a blanket for riding on '.
- 73. It is difficult to determine the readings of this verse, as our authorities for the points of a horse are all much later and cannot be exactly reconciled. I have consulted Brhatsamhitā (Br.), lxvi, Jayadatta's Aśvavaidyaka (J.), ii. and iii. and Nakula's Aśvacikitsā (N.), vi, both in the Bibl. Ind., Śukranīti (ŚN.), iv. 7, ed. J. S. Desau, Bombay, 1912, and the Śālihotraśāstra (ŚŚ.), sthāna i, adhyāya 8, in I.O. MS. 2536 (=Eggeling 2762), ff. 41-48. The last is full and the best authority, but corrupt in reading. C has, 'With high . . . (? kingfisher ?), long mane and tail, short hair and ears, belly like a deer, neck like a rājahamsa, forehead broad, nose round like a gourd, throat like a dragon, kneecaps and breast square, true and sufficient marks of high breeding', which cannot be made to square exactly with the Sanskrit.

Each $p\bar{a}da$ for balance must consist of a single compound, therefore I accept in b $nibhrtahrasva^{\circ}$, which may have been T's reading. Further the text of d agrees with all authorities; note that the horses chosen by Nala for

were depressed and raised, and the point of his nose, forehead, haunches and chest were broad.

Rtuparna were prthuprotha, MBh., iii. 2784. In b the Indian editors object to pṛṣṭha on the ground that a short back is not a good point in India. only mention of the length of back is J., iii. 25, nātidīrgham; but I agree with them, partly because nibhrta could not apply to the back, and partly because it is adequately dealt with in c. Their proposal to substitute kukşi (ŚN., iv. 7, 75, hrasvakuksikhuraśrutih) will not do, because nibhrta does not apply, and no one else supports $\dot{S}N$, in this point except a quotation from a certain Parāsara in the commentary (Viz. S.S. edn.) on Br.; ŚŚ., 46b, and N., vi. 16. do not give it in their lists of members that should be short. The former's list is protha, the ears, puccha, dasanau (probably for vrsanau), the kustikās. the hoofs, guda and medhra. The obvious one to which nibhrta applies and which is good palæographically is puccha, the bony part of the tail. Br. also requires it to be short, but the hair of the tail should be long according to SS. 45b, pucchain na (corrupt for ca, as appears from the list of short points) hrasvain By nibhrta I understand that the tail does not swish or the ears twitch (acalitau, ŚŚ., 44a, and nibhrtordhvakarna, Śākuntala, i. 8, quoted by Gawroński). The length of the hairs of the tail would account for C's divergence.

The other two compounds have several knotty points. The trika, the lower part of the backbone with the pelvic bones that join it, to which perhaps the corrupt word in C corresponds, should be prthu (Br. and SS.), near enough to pratata, perhaps. Pucchamula is defined $J_{.}$, ii. 28, and in the commentary on Br. (Viz. S.S. edn., 817), but not described anywhere; C suggests that a word for neck should stand here, and Br, and SS, require that member to be long. T may have read pūrvamūla, but it is difficult to see a word for 'neck' in that and I have let A's text stand. Pārṣṇi is defined J., ii. 2, as khurasya pārśve, but is nowhere described. T's reading of pārśva agrees with ŚŚ., 46b, giving it as one of the eight long limbs. As this word occurs again in c and C gives no help, I have kept pārsni and understand 'fetlock'. In c T is at fault in reading vitatonnata, for SS., 45a, has prestham ca suvinītam ca m īṣadbaddham samunnatam vinatam ca prasastam syāt, and J. and ŚN. also support vinata. It is quite uncertain if kuksipārśva is to be taken as one word or two; the application of vinatonnata in either case is difficult and it is not clear whether kuksi stood at all in T, which understood only one thing to be mentioned in the $p\bar{a}da$. C's 'belly like a deer' has a curious parallel in $\dot{S}\dot{S}$. 45a and b, where the two pārśvas are described as mrgavat and the kuksi as mṛgasyopacitam yathā. In this uncertain state the verse must be left, till better MSS, of the $\dot{S}\dot{S}$, are forthcoming and critically edited.

- 74. The broadchested prince embraced him and patted him with a lotus-like hand, and ordered him in a gentle-toned voice, as if he were about to plunge into the middle of a hostile array.
- 75. "Oftentimes, I have been told, has the king, after mounting you, overthrown his enemies in battle. So act, O best of steeds, that I too may obtain the deathless stage.
- 76. Easy it is to find companions for battle, for the pleasure of acquiring the objects of sense and for the accumulation of wealth; but hard it is for a man to find companions, when he has fallen into distress or attaches himself to *dharma*.
- 77. Moreover as for those who are companions in this world whether in action that brings defilement or in resort to *dharma*, undoubtedly they too, as my inner soul realises, take their share of the fruit.
- 78. Understand therefore, O best of steeds, this my departure from here to be connected with *dharma* for the benefit of the world, and strive with speed and courage in a matter which concerns your own good and the good of the world alike."

सन्धरमव जयत

- 74. S., viii. 34, pravisanti ca yac camūmukham, suggests on the strength of T the reading dhvajinīmukhyam.
- 75. The first line recalls Varāhamihira's remark in the passage quoted on 73 that a horse with these points is nrpatch satrunāsāya. In the second line yathāvat is difficult, but supported by T. As it stands, one ought to take api as initiating a wish, 'Would that I might, etc.! Do that'; but this does not seem probable. The correct construction would be yathā...tathā, but S., x. 57, has yathā...tat. If one must amend, Gawroński's yathā tat is better than Speyer's yathā yat. In c C's 'ford of amrta' suggests amrtam taram, but padam is Aśvaghoṣa's regular word in this connexion.
- 76. Avāpta in b is best taken as a noun; Gawroński compares atyārūḍha at R, x. 42. For the sentiment, see $J\bar{a}t$, xx. 31.
- 77. I cannot determine T's reading in b, and I do not agree with W that it read ${}^{\circ}bh\bar{a}g\bar{a}h$ in d.
- 78. For parigam, 'understand', ep. S., v. 32, xvi. 42, and xviii. 43. The verse refers to the legend of Kanthaka's being reborn as a god.

- 79. Thus the best of men, beautiful in form and shining like black-tracked Agni, instructed the white horse, the best of steeds, in his duty as though he were a friend, and mounted him to go to the forest, just as the sun, blazing like fire, mounts a white autumnal cloud.
- 80. Thereon the good horse suppressed all noise, that would seem terrifying in the night-time or might awaken the attendants; his jaws were soundless and he silenced his neighing, as he went forth with steady steps.
- 81. Then the Yakṣas bowed down their bodies and bore up his hoofs off the ground with the tips of their hands, that thrilled with joy; their forcarms were adorned with golden bands and their hands were like lotuses, so that they seemed to be throwing lotuses beneath him.
- 82. The city gatehouses, which were closed with gates furnished with heavy bars and which could not easily have been forced even by elephants, opened noiselessly of their own accord as the king's son passed along.
- 80. Cakitavimukta, lit. 'devoid of trepidation', so 'steady', explained by C' did not rush impetuously'. Ttakes cakita to mean 'a frightening noise', which gives the correct effect but is not literal. A's correction in d may indicate "kramair.
- 81. A's reading in b seems correct, T being uncertain (kamalān viprakṛtya, or viprakṣrya?); the forearms presumably represent the stalks of the lotuses. In d cakita is difficult, and T takes it in the sense tṛptau of the Dhātupāṭha. The root significance is 'tremble', and one can tremble with joy as well as with fear, hence the extension of meaning. There are a few other passages where the same meaning is possible, Padyacūḍāmaṇi, ix. 65, Vāsavadattā, 287, where the commentator glosses cakitā with tṛptāḥ samśayitā vā, and the Khalimpur copperplate inscription, verse 11, Ep. Ind., IV, 248. Cakitagati occurs at Daridracārudatta, iv. 6, in an uncertain sense.
- 82. T renders pratoli 'gatehouse', obviously right here and adequately authenticated. In KA. the word is used of constructions along the wall between towers for providing access from inside to the wall. References in P. K. Acharya's Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, s.v.; see particularly Vogel, JRAS., 1906, 539.

- 83. Then he went forth out of his father's city, in the firmness of his resolve quitting without concern his father, who was devoted to him, his young son, his affectionate people and his unequalled magnificence.
- 84. Thereon he, whose eyes were long like stainless lotuses born of the mud, looked back at the city and uttered a lion-roar: "I shall not be entering the city named after Kapila, till I have seen the further shore of life and death."
- 85. Hearing his words, the troops of the court of the Lord of Wealth rejoiced, and the hosts of gods with joyful minds foretold the fulfilment of his resolve.
- 86. Other heavenly beings of fiery forms recognised his purpose to be of the greatest difficulty and, like moon-beams piercing a rift in a cloud, produced a bright light on his frosty path.
- 84. In a it is perhaps not easy to reconcile palæographically the vimala indicated by C with A's vikaja, but it gives much the best sense. The word pankaja suggests that the poet is referring to the well-known comparison between the Buddha, who lives in the world but is not stained by the lokadharmas (such as the feelings detailed in 83), with the lotus, which springs from the mud but is unstained by the water. Vimala brings this out; ep. S., xiii. 5 and 6. I do not think we should understand pravestā as for pravestāsmi. Though it is convenient here to translate it by the future, the agental form implies habitual action (Pāņ., iii. 2, 135) and therefore with a negative is more forcible than the future.
 - 85. \bar{A} sams in the sense 'foretell', which the context indicates as better than 'wish', is rare and only found in the active. Therefore \bar{a} sasamsur asmai?
 - 86. The heavenly beings with fiery forms recall the aggikhaindhāni, which Aśoka's practice of dharma caused his people to see (Fourth Rock Edict); cp. also AK., III, 229, n. 3, and AAA., 116, 19. Hence the epithet svayamprabha of the heavenly inhabitants at S., x. 32, and cp. MBh., xii. 6789ff. for the deities who live above the sun and moon and are svayamprabha and agnivarcas. A's akuruta is difficult; it can hardly be held that the poet is illustrating an unknown grammatical rule allowing the use of a singular verb with a plural subject. Adadhata will not do, because T shows kr and it is the fiery bodies of the deities that cause the light. Joglekar takes akrsata to $k\bar{r}$, 'scatter', but the form is known to the grammarians from kr also; and I take it to the latter.

- 87. But that steed, like a steed of the Sun, speeding on as if spurred in mind, and the prince travelled very many leagues, before the stars in the sky grew discoloured with the dawn.
- 87. That T is right in taking harituraga to mean the sun, not Indra, is shown by the mention of Aruna in the second line. T's reading in b means 'as if speeding on (or, considering) as if transformed by mind', for which I cannot find the Sanskrit. A's reading is not good and is a reminiscence of 71 above. The construction in the second line is unusual; pāda c seems to be a kind of accusative absolute of time covered. For the combination of paruṣa and aruna ep. Brhatsamhitā, iii. 38, paruṣarajo'runīkrtatanu of the sun; also the curious use of paruṣa at Vikramorvaṣiya, v. 4. The verb with two subjects and attracted into the singular by the nearer has parallels, viii. 33 below, S., viii. 2, Manu, ix. 23, and Daridracārudatta, i. 18.

CANTO VI

THE DISMISSAL OF CHANDAKA.

- 1. Then the world's eye, the sun, rose in a moment, and the best of men saw the hermitage of the descendant of Bhrgu.
- 2. When he saw it with the deer sleeping in perfect trust and the birds sitting at peace, he felt, as it were, rested and as if the goal were attained.
- 3. In order to eschew arrogance and to show honour to asceticism, and in accordance with his politeness he dismounted from the horse.
- 4. And alighting, he patted his steed, saying, "Your task is accomplished", and well-pleased he said to Chandaka, bedewing him as it were with his eye:—
- 5. "In following this horse, whose speed is like that of Tārkṣya, you have shown, good friend, both loyalty to me and your own prowess.
- 6. Although I am entirely given up to other matters, I am gripped to the heart by you, who possess equally this devotion to your master in such a degree and also capability.
- 3. C and T agree in giving vismaya the sense of 'arrogance', which the context demands. C has in c, 'keeping his deportment'.
- 5. Tārkṣya is a name for Garuḍa, to whom speedy horses are often compared, e.g. Divy., 444, MBh., viii. 687, Karṇabhāra, 13, Vikramorvaśīya, i, p. 9.
- 6. W understands hrdi to refer to Chandaka's heart, but T does not require this and grah takes the locative of the place caught hold of. The conjecture in d is almost certain. Gawroński's $\bar{\imath}dr\dot{\imath}s\bar{\imath}$ would do but is not so close to A. I suspect T of having read $\bar{\imath}dr\dot{\imath}sasya$ eva, two syllables short, corrupted from an original $\bar{\imath}dr\dot{\imath}sas$ sa or $\bar{\imath}dr\dot{\imath}sas$ sa, ssa and $\dot{\imath}sas$ being liable to misreading with a ya as second member.

- 7. A man, though not devoted, may be capable, or though not capable, may be devoted; but it is hard to find in the world a man like you who is at the same time loyal and capable.
- 8. Therefore I am well-pleased with this your noble action in displaying towards me this feeling, which takes no count even of possible rewards.
- 9. Who would not be favourably disposed to a man in a position to reward him? In the opposite case even kinsfolk for the most part become strangers.
- 10. The son is cherished to continue the family; the father is honoured to obtain maintenance. The attachment of the world is always due to some motive. No feeling that this or that person is one's kin subsists without a cause.
- 11. Why speak many words? In short, you have done me a very great kindness. Return with the horse. I have arrived at the desired spot."
- 12. With these words the mighty prince unloosed his ornaments and gave them to Chandaka, whose mind smarted with sorrow, in order to do him a benefit.
- 8. C and T's parāmukhah in d is essential for the sense; in fact Chandaka was more likely to be punished than rewarded for his action. If we read $dr\acute{s}yate$ in c with A, 'pi in d perhaps should be amended to hi, but I do not like the omission of te or its equivalent in the line.
- 9. For $jan\bar{\imath}bhavati$, against which A has an old marginal gloss apara, cp. the use of jana at S., xv. 31.
- 10. There seems to be no parallel to this use of svatā; Co. understands asvatā, 'unselfishness', but T divides as in the text. Gawroński takes svatā =mamatva of 48 below. The literal meaning seems to be the feeling that something is one's own, and here the context demands that the something should be one's relation to others. For W's translation of this verse, see his note on the Tibetan of ix. 10.
- 11. If it were not for C, I should have supposed T's gnas in d to be a mistake for nags, the equivalent of A's reading.
- 12. Anuśamsa, the regular form, is indicated by T, but \bar{a} nuśamsa and \bar{a} nuśams \bar{a} also occur in Buddhist Sanskrit; the Pali form \bar{a} nisamsa supports A's spelling. For the meaning cp. the use in the Divy. (see index s.v.); C

vi. 20]

- 13. Taking from his diadem the blazing jewel, which performed the function of a light, he stood like mount Mandara with the sun on it, and uttered these words:—
- 14. "With this jewel, Chanda, you must make repeated obeisance to the king, and in order to abate his grief you must in full confidence give him this message from me:—
- 15. "I have entered the penance grove to put an end to birth and death, and not forsooth out of yearning for Paradise, or out of lack of affection or out of anger.
- 16. Therefore you should not grieve for me, since I have left my home for this purpose. For a union, however long it has lasted, in time will cease to be.
- 17. And since separation is inevitable, therefore my thoughts turn to salvation, in order that there may be no more severing from my kindred.
- 18. You should not grieve for me, who have gone forth to leave grief behind. It is rather the slaves of passion, enthralled by those sources of grief, the loves, for whom grief should be felt.
- 19. And since this, they say, was the firm determination of our ancestors, grief should not be felt for me who am travelling along the hereditary road.
- 20. For when a man passes away, there are heirs to his wealth; but heirs to dharma are hard to find on earth or do not exist at all.

renders 'comfort'. As appears from the opening scene of the Śākuntala, it was not proper to enter a hermitage wearing ornaments.

- 14. Co. takes amuktaviśrambham to refer to the king, but T rightly applies it to Chandaka, who has every reason to be afraid of delivering the message.
- 15. A's $jar\bar{a}^{\circ}$ for $janma^{\circ}$ is a natural corruption; at xii. 17, janma is almost indistinguishable from $jan\bar{a}$. For the second line $J\bar{a}t$., xxxii. 41.
- 17. My conjecture in d is palæographically sound and necessitated by the sense; A's ° $\bar{a}dibhih$ is improbable.
- 19. Formichi's defence of $d\bar{a}y\bar{a}dabh\bar{u}tu$, 'divenuto dell' erede' and so 'ereditario', is contrary to Aśvaghoşa's use of $bh\bar{u}ta$ in compounds.

- 21. Should it be argued that this person has gone forth to the forest at the wrong time, I reply that there is no such thing as a wrong time for *dharma*, seeing how uncertain life is.
- 22. Therefore my determination is that the supreme good must be sought by me this very day. For when death is present as our adversary, what reliance can be placed on life?"
- 23. In such wise, my good friend, should you speak to earth's guardian and also strive that he should not even think or me.
- 24. You should also tell the king that I am lacking in virtue. Lack of virtue causes the disappearance of affection; when affection has vanished, there is no sorrowing."
- 25. On hearing these words Chanda was overcome with anguish and, folding his hands, replied with a voice strangled with sobs:—
- 26. "At this disposition of yours, O my lord, which must cause distress to your kinsfolk, my mind sinks down like an elephant in the mud of a river.
- 87. To whom would not such a determination as this of yours cause tears, even if his heart were of iron, how much more when it is faltering with love?
- 28. For this delicacy of limb, fitted only for lying in a palace, is not compatible with the ground of the penance grove, covered by sharp blades of *darbha*-grass.
- 29. But as for my bringing this horse to you after hearing your resolve, it was some divine power, O my lord, that forcibly caused me to do it.
- 30. For if I had been in command of myself, how could I, on knowing this your resolve, have brought you the horse, the bale of Kapilavāstu?
- 26. T's chu-boḥi ḥgram-na (nadītīre) is so obviously a mistaken spelling for ḥdam-na (panke), that I have not included it among the variants. Similarly ḥgyur-ba (bhavati) may be a mistake for rgud-pa (sīdati), or, as it is preceded by an unnecessary ḥdi (idam) not in the Sanskrit, ḥdi ḥgyur may be a corruption of yi-mug, which would give the metaphorical sense of sīdati.

- Therefore, O mighty prince, you should not desert, as a nihilist the good Law, your loving aged father, who yearns so for his son.
- 32. Nor should you forget, like an ingrate kind treatment, the queen, your second mother, who exhausted herself in bringing you up.
- You should not abandon, like a coward the sovereignty he has obtained, the virtuous princess, mother of a young son, devotedly faithful to her husband and of illustrious lineage.
- 34. You should not abandon, like a vicious man his excellent repute, the young son of Yaśodharā, worthy of praise and best of the cherishers of fame and dharma.
- Or if, O my master, you are determined to abandon your father and your kingdom, you should not abandon me. For your feet are my sole refuge.
- I cannot leave you in the forest, as Sumantra did Rāghava, and go to the city with burning heart.
- For what will the king say to me, if I return to the capital without you? Or what shall I say to the women of your household, since I am in the habit of seeing what is proper.

सत्यमेव जयते

- 34. In b T is ambiguous; I think it agrees with C in reading varam, whereas W takes it to indicate vara. The former is the better, as Chandaka usually calls the prince by some formal title of respect such as bhartr or natha.
- 35. I follow Gawroński in taking bandhu as 'father' here, a meaning occurring several times in canto ix.
- C is undoubtedly right in keeping the traditional form of Sumantra's name. The simile foreshadows the poet's imitation in canto viii of the account of Sumantra's return to Ayodhyā.
- 37. The meaning of ucitadarśitvāt is uncertain and the renderings of my predecessors unconvincing. Darkin means a person who sees or is in the habit of seeing, physically or mentally, as in dirgha° and dosa°, and ucita can only signify 'what is proper' or 'what is wonted'. The word may be applied either to Chandaka, in which case, as Böhtlingk pointed out, it signifies knowledge of the proprieties, or to the palace women, when we might understand it similarly or else take it as expressing Chandaka's not being accustomed to appear before the ladies except in attendance on the prince. T, despite W's

- 38. As for your saying that I am also to tell the king of your lack of virtue, am I to say what is untrue about you, as about a sinless sage?
- 39. Or if with halting tongue and shame in my heart I should so speak, who would believe it?
- 40. For only the man who would tell of, or believe in, the scorehing power of the moon, would tell of, or believe in, the existence of faults in you, who know the faults.
- 41. To desert the affectionate ill befits him who is always compassionate and ever feels pity. Turn back and have pity on me."
- 42. The best of speakers heard these words of the grief-stricken Chanda and spoke to him, self-possessed and with the utmost firmness:—
- 43. "Quit this affliction, Chanda, over parting from me; separation is the fixed law among corporeal beings, in that they are subject to different births.
- 44. Should affection lead me not to quit my kinsfolk of myself, still death would part us one from the other against our wills.
- 45. My mother bore me in her womb with pains and great longing. Her efforts have been fruitless. What am I to her now or she to me?

translation, is ambiguous, but C possibly took the last view, 'Or, if all the palace people reproach me, with what words can I reply to them?' Or had it a different reading?

- 40. Possibly we should read $dosaj\tilde{n}ah$ in c; T is ambiguous, and A often omits visarga. The propriety of a groom so addressing his master is open to question and is not supported by the formal use the poet makes of this style of address elsewhere.
- 43. Niyatah is perhaps better in c. The idea is that expressed in S., xv. 32; those who are kinsfolk in one birth are separated from each other in the next birth. For nānābhāva ep. Majjhima, III, 242 (=Samyutta, II, 97).
- 44. If C's text had had $mumuk say \tilde{a}$, it is not likely he would have omitted it; and T's text with the opposition of svayam and $avas \tilde{a}n$ is stronger than A's.

- 46. As birds collect on the roosting tree and then go their separate ways again, so inevitably the union of beings ends in their parting.
- 47. And as the clouds come together and depart asunder again, so I deem the meeting and severance of creatures that draw breath.
- 48. And since this world is in a state of continuous separating, therefore the feeling that 'this is mine' is improper with regard to a coming together that is transitory as a dream.
- 49. Trees are parted from the colouring of their leaves, though it is connate with them. How much more then must there be a severance of one thing from another that is separate from it?
- 46. For the first line cp. 8., xv. 33, and for $v\bar{a}sayrksa$ note in translation on S., i. 54.
- 47. Gawroński would read *matau* in d as more in accord with Aśvaghosa's syntax. I doubt this; he uses a singular verb with a double subject several times.
- A difficult verse. Vipralabhya is used in the sense of vipralambha, the 'parting' of lovers, an extension from 'deception', 'disappointment'. T gives the literal sense of 'deceive' and also the derived sense of 'separate'; and C renders by kuai (Giles 6326), used in this text for 'separate', e.g. vii. Yāti with the gerundive implies continuous or habitual action, possibly here in a passive sense, 'is being continually separated', as is apparently the construction at S., vii. 15. A's parasparam is difficult and T's curious phyir-na, while apparently indicating the text reading, would perhaps be better amended to phyi-ma. C translates 'separating of their own accord'. For mamatva, see note on svatā on verse 10 above; C, as I understand it, has 'It is not proper to reckon relatives as mine'. I follow Schmidt in taking samāgame as dependent on mamatvam. It should be noted that FP quotes this and the two preceding verses and follows them with seven more verses on the same subject, which are not in our text, though the simile of verse 49 is included in them. This is the only case where in a quotation by FP of a passage from this poem verses not to be found in our text are added, and it is hard to account for them. A, T and C agree in the extent of the text, but verse 49 is laconic in argument, as C evidently felt, and perhaps the author of the original of the FP or someone else expanded the passage to make it clear, without the addition being received in the standard text.

- 50. Since such is the case then, my good friend, be not afflicted; go your way. But if your affection tarries, still go and then return again.
- 51. And you should say to the folk in Kapilavāstu, who keep regard for me, "Quit your love for him and hear his resolve.
- 52. Either, he says, he will quickly come back, after destroying birth and death; or, lacking in right effort and failing to reach the goal, he will perish.""
- 53. On hearing his speech, Kanthaka, the finest of steeds, licked his feet and shed scalding tears.
- 54. With his webbed hand, which was marked with svastikas and bore the wheel sign on the palm, the prince stroked Kanthaka and spoke to him as if he were his comrade of like age:—
- 55. "Do not shed tears, Kanthaka; you have displayed the qualities of a good horse. Be patient; this your toil will soon bring forth its fruit."
- 56. Then he resolutely took from Chanda's hand the sharp sword which had a jewelled hilt and was decorated with gold inlay, and drew it from the scabbard, as if he were drawing a snake from a hole.
- 51. A's reading in a is nonsense, and T and C are clearly right in indicating that "kṣepam is an inversion of "pekṣam; cp. the similar variant in Co.'s ix. 71. It would be closer palæographically to A, if we amended byas to bcas in T, i.e. cāsmāsu sāpekṣam. Kapilavāstu is preferable to "vastu; cp. verse 30 above and the MSS. of S.

सन्धर्मव जयते

- 52. I accept C's reading in b as the best; cp. note on verse 15 above. For \tilde{a} rambha, see S., xiv. 22.
- 53. Cp. Mhv., II, 166, and, for the next verse as well, the description in Vimānavathu, 81.
- 54. According to tradition Kanthaka was born on the same day as the Buddha, hence vayasyavat is significant.
 - 55. The absence of iti is unusual; bhaved iti or bhavatv iti?
- 56. How did Co.'s MSS. come to have T's reading, not A's, in b? C has 'the prince', but cannot be relied on in such matters. The practice of letting down a bait on a line into a snake's hole and drawing the snake out by it is said still to persist in India.

- 57. Having unsheathed it with its blade dark blue as a blue lotus petal, he cut off his decorated headdress with the hair enclosed in it and tossed it with the muslin trailing from it into the air, as though tossing a goose into a lake.
- 58. And the inhabitants of Heaven caught it reverently, as it was thrown, with the intention of worshipping it, and the divine hosts paid it due adoration in Heaven with celestial honours.
- 59. But when he had divorced his ornaments and sheared off the royal splendour of his head, he looked at his garments with their embroidery of golden geese, and in his steadfastness longed for a hermit's robe.
- 60. Then an inhabitant of Heaven of purified nature, knowing his thoughts, took on the form of a hunter of deer and
- 57. C's 'dark hair' implies that he construed utpalapattranīlam with "keśam, but it is better to take it with T to the sword and it thus gives point to the unusual niṣkāṣya, i.e. he causes as it were the bud of the lotus to open out to show the blue petal. On the verse generally, see Coomaraswamy, JRAS., 1928, 822. The difficulty lies in amśuka, which may mean silk cloth or may, as T takes it, be equivalent to amśu; parallel ambiguities occur elsewhere, but only when amśuka is at the end of a compound. By itself it is probably not equivalent to amśu, as Apte gives it, but is amśu with ka added for the purpose of ending a compound. Cp. R., x. 9, Śiśupālavadha, v. 52, vi. 27, etc. Vāsavadattā, 92, Kād., 72. If it is from amśu, it cannot refer to the actual threads of the cloth, for they were not cut. The Buddha's hair was bound up in the headdress and he cuts through the hair below it. Amśuka is therefore to be understood as (1) 'cloth', i.e. the muslin wrapped round the framework of the headdress like a modern pagrī, and (2) amśu in the sense of rays of light only.
- 59. Compare b with the more elaborate imagery of S., v. 51-52. Vipravāsa comes primarily from vas, 'cut', as pravāsyamāna does in that passage (see notes in text and in addenda of translation), and secondarily implies 'banishment', the sense T gives it; for the latter ep. Vinaya, III, 198, 263. The implication of $\delta r\bar{\imath}$ is too obvious to need explaining. For the embroidery of geese Leumann compares a Jain passage, and Gawroński Kumārasambhava, v. 67; see also SP., iii. 82, HC., ch. vii, p. 53, l. 12, R., xvii. 25.
 - 60. Viśuddhabhāvaḥ, i.e. a Suddhāvāsa deity, as C expressly states.

approached him, wearing ochre-coloured clothes. To him the scion of the Śākya king spake:—

- 61. "Your holy ochre-coloured robe, the mark of a seer, does not go with this murderous bow. Therefore, good sir, if you are not attached to it, hand it over to me and accept this one of mine."
- 62. "O giver of desires", the hunter said, "although by this garment I cause the deer to trust me near them and then kill them, yet if, O Sakra-like prince, you have any use for it, take it then and give me the white one."
- 63. Then with the greatest joy he took the hermit's dress and gave up the silk raiment. But the hunter, assuming his heavenly form again, went to heaven with the white clothes.
- 64. Then, when he departed thus, the prince and the groom marvelled greatly and straight entertained all the more reverence for the forest dress.
- 65. Then he dismissed the weeping Chandaka and, wearing the ochre robe and bearing the fame of his steadfastness,
- 62. T indicates nihanmi in b, not nihanyām ('I can kill'), which is perhaps closer to A palæographically. Ārāt apparently must mean 'near' here, a well authenticated meaning, but its use with viśvāsya is a little difficult and perhaps it should be taken with nihanmi; or could it mean 'giving them confidence from far off'? Its signification at S., v. 13, is also doubtful. The point is that, as countless authors down to Rudyard Kipling tell us, deer are not afraid of holy men and associate with them; the robe is intended to deceive them into thinking the hunter a rsi. Aupapātikasūtra, §74, oddly enough mentions a class of ascetic known as migaluddhaga. T's kāmasārāt seems hopeless.
 - 64. \overline{A} su expletive; cp. S., vi. 9, and note in text.
- 65. The reading in b is uncertain, though T and C show clearly that A's samvid stands for a word meaning 'wearing'. Samvid can hardly have this sense, and samvit, better paleographically, seems more forced, if to be taken as equal to kāṣāyasamvita of LV., ch. xxiv, 382, than the sambhit which I have preferred. Dhitikirtibhit is apparently C's authority for his 'carefully considering and scanning his steps', that is, dhiti is equivalent to śīla, which prescribes this method of walking; dhiti corresponds in fact to śīla at S., iii.

 11. In d uḥurāja should stand for the moon (cp. Kād., 72), not for the sun,

moved majestically to where the hermitage was, resembling the monarch of the stars enveloped in a sunset cloud.

- 66. Then when his master went thence to the penance grove in his discoloured clothes and free from desire for rule, the groom flung up his arms and, wailing bitterly, fell to the ground.
- 67. Looking back once more, he wept aloud and clasped the horse, Kanthaka, with his arms. Then in despair he lamented again and again and started for the city with his body, but not with his mind.
- 68. Sometimes he brooded and sometimes he lamented, sometimes he stumbled and sometimes he fell. So journeying in grief under the force of his devotion, he performed many actions on the road in complete abandon.

as the word $sa\dot{m}dhy\ddot{a}$ would lead one to expect; C mentions both and so does not commit himself.

66. Did T take ° $v\bar{a}sasi$ to vas, 'shine'? Vivarna should not be translated 'mean'; it refers to the $k\bar{a}s\bar{a}ya$ colour, cp. S., v. 53, and $J\bar{a}t$., xii. 19, and 122, 9.

CANTO VII

ENTRY INTO THE PENANCE GROVE.

- 1. Then since his state of longing for the forest had freed him from all attachments, Sarvārthasiddha left the weeping tear-faced Chanda and proceeded to the hermitage, overpowering it with his beauty, as if he were a Siddha.
- 2. With the gait of the king of beasts the prince entered that arena of deer, himself like a deer, and, though he had given up his royal trappings, the majesty of his person was such as to hold the eyes of the anchorites.
- 3. For the wheel-bearers, accompanied by their wives and standing with their yoke-poles in their hands, gazed, just as they were, in their excitement on him who was like
- 1. Sarvārthasiddha is probably to be understood in its actual sense as well as a proper name, and siddha in d means not only the mythical rsis referred to also at S., x. 6, but a man who has reached enlightenment.
- 2. T may understand $mrgar\tilde{a}ja$ as 'king of the deer', but C translates 'lion'. The point of mrgavat in b is not obvious; perhaps it refers to the colour of the prince's dress as being like that of a deerskin (or of a lion?), so accounting for FP's substituting for b that he was 'clad in a $k\bar{a}s\bar{a}ya$ robe only'.
- 3. For the following description, see Eggers, Das Dharmasūtra der Vaikhānasas (Göttingen, 1929), pp. 18ff., but it is difficult to determine the class referred to in this verse, as they cannot be definitely identified with any of the various kinds of ascetics who are accompanied by their wives. It is natural to take cakradhara as meaning those who are branded with the discus of Viṣṇu and to understand yuga as a 'carrying-pole', which wandering ascetics carried (Dīgha, I, 101, and Eggers, op. cit., 88, note on iii. 8) and which explains the comparison to oxen with heads bowed down under the yoke; the practice of branding is called cakradhāraṇa at Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha (ed. A.S.S.), 53. The word cukradhara occurs for a kind of ascetic at MBh., xiv. 429, and Utpala on Brhajjātaka, xv. 1, gives it as a synonym of caraka (cp. Brh. Ār. Up., iii. 3, 1). So cakradhara may be the same as cakracara mentioned at MBh.,

Indra, and did not stir, like beasts of burden with half-bowed heads.

- 4. And though the Brahmans, who had gone out to fetch fuel and had returned with their arms full of wood, flowers and kuśa grass, were pre-eminent in austerities and had their minds fully trained, yet they went to see him and did not go to their huts.
- 5. And the peacocks rose up in delight and uttered cries as at the sight of a black rain-cloud; and the restless-eyed deer and the ascetics who grazed like deer let their grass fall and stood facing him.
- 6. And although the cows, that gave milk for the oblations, had already been milked, yet such was the joy produced in them at the sight of him, the lamp of the Iksvāku race, shining like the rising sun, that their teats flowed again.
- 7. "Is he the eighth Vasu or one of the Aśvins come down to earth?" Such were the voices raised loud by the sages there in their amazement on seeing him.

xiii. 6493-6497, and perhaps also the same as $c\bar{a}krika$ of ib., xii. 2646. The commentary on the latter glosses $c\bar{a}krika$ with $\dot{s}\bar{a}katika$. The KA. also alludes to cakracaras at iv. 4 (see Meyer's translation, 330, n. 3, and additional note, p. 816) and vii. 17, 63, at the latter of which their $\dot{s}akatas$ are mentioned. $Pa\tilde{n}car\bar{a}tra$, i. 9, cakradharasya dharmasukat $tat{t}m$, has probably something else in mind. These passages suggest that Co. may have been right in taking yuga literally as 'yokes', but if so, in view of C's 'making the weights carried on their shoulders to be held by their hands' and of the fact that yokes are not ordinarily held in the hand, the reference may be to ascetics who drew carts like oxen. As I am not certain of the sense, I leave the translation ambiguous. Tathaiva seems pointless, and the translation 'just as they were' open to doubt; read tatraiva?

- 4. T's reading in a may well be correct. In b it takes pavitra in the sense of 'pure' and I may be wrong in following Co.'s rendering. With the reading havir in a, pavitra should perhaps be translated 'clarified butter' a meaning so far known only to the later lexica.
- 5. Unnam is often used of clouds, but C and T are both agreed against A's reading.
 - 6. T is two syllables short in c, omitting the word for 'cows'.

- 8. For like a second form of the chief of the gods, or like the magnificence of the world of moving and stationary beings, he illumined the entire grove, as if he were the sun come down of his own accord.
- 9. Then, when those hermits duly honoured and invited him, he in return did honour to the supporters of *dharma* with a voice like a cloud full of rain.
- 10. Then he, who desired liberation, traversed the hermitage which was crowded with folk, desirous of Paradise and working to accumulate merit, and steadfastly he viewed their various austerities.
- 11. And when the benign one had viewed the various austerities of the ascetics in that penance grove, he thus addressed a certain anchorite who was following him, in order to ascertain the truth:—
- 12. "As I have never seen a hermitage till to-day, I am unacquainted with this method of *dharma*. Will you therefore kindly explain to me what is your resolve and to what point it is directed?"
- 13. Then the twice-born, who took delight in austerities, described in due order to the bull of the Śākyas, a very bull in prowess, the particularities of the austerities and the fruit thereof:—
- 14. "Uncultivated food, that which grows in the water, leaves, water, fruit and also roots, this is what the sages live
- 8. This seems to be the only occurrence in literature of Lekharşabha as a name for Indra, though appearing in the lexica as early as the *Amarakośa*.
- 9. I have preferred $s\bar{a}mbho'mbu'$ in d, because it is closer to A and because repetitive expressions such as sajalajalada seem to occur more in less stylish work.
 - 11. Vikāra in a may imply 'extravagances'.
- 13. Or rsabhavikramāya, 'stepping like a bull'. Though C and T agree against A in d, I do not consider their reading usable.
- 14. Salile prarūdham refers to śaivāla (Eggers, op. cit., 22). C has for b, 'Some eat roots, stalks and leaves; others again eat flowers and fruit', omitting toya.

on in accordance with the scriptures; but there are various separate alternatives.

- 15. Some live like the birds by what they can pick up from the ground, others graze on grass like the deer, and others pass their time with the snakes, turned into anthills by the forest wind.
- 16. Some gain their subsistence by laborious pounding with stones, others eat only what has been husked by their own teeth, and some again cook for others and meet their needs on anything that may be left over.
- 17. Some with their coils of matted hair soaked with water twice offer oblations to Agni with sacred texts; others plunge into the water and dwell with the fishes, their bodies scored by turtles.
- 18. With such austerities accumulated for the due time, they win by the higher to Paradise, by the lower to the world of men. For bliss is obtained by the path of suffering; for bliss, they say, is the ultimate end of dharma."
- 15. The second line implies no doubt that they lived on air, C's 'air-inhaling snake-ṛṣis', and one could construe vartayanti vanamārutena as 'feed on the forest-wind'. But as I understand it, the wind piles up earth round the motionless ascetics lying on the ground, turning them into anthills, and thus giving them an additional resemblance to snakes who are often mentioned as living in anthills. For vanamāruta, Bodhicaryāvatāra, viii. 86.
- 16. The asmakuttas are described in a and the dantolūkhalikas in b. C's version of a and T's 'what they pick up with their teeth' in b are therefore inferior.
- 17. The exact point of the first line escapes me; is the reference to those who live in wet clothes in winter? But a parallel passage at xxiii. 22, suggests a reference only to bathing three times and making oblations twice a day. The reading in d is doubtful and T may be preferable. C is no help ('fish-ṛṣis practising water-dwelling').
- 18. For c ep. Majjhima, I, 93, and II, 93, and Milindapañha, 243. Whether one should read duhkham as suggested by A or T's sukham in d depends on the meaning given to mūlam. The point is settled by Manu, xi. 235, tapomūlam idam sarvam daivamānuṣakam sukham; so the commentary on KS., i. 2, 47,

- 19. The child of the lord of men listened to these and the like statements of the anchorites; though he had not yet reached the perception of reality, he was not satisfied and said these words in an undertone to himself:—
- 20. "Seeing that asceticism in its varied kinds is suffering by nature, and that the reward of asceticism is Paradise at the highest, and that all the worlds are subject to change, truly this labour of the hermitages is to small effect.
- 21. Those who forsake their dear kindred and worldly pleasures to practise restraint for the sake of Paradise, truly they, when parted from its delights, will travel again to far greater bondage.
- 22. And he, who by the bodily toils known as austerities strives for the continuance of being in order to indulge passion, does not perceive the evils of the cycle of existence and seeks by suffering nothing but suffering.
- 23. Living creatures are ever in fear of death and yet they aim by their efforts at a fresh birth; and with the persistence of active being death is inevitable. Therefore they drown in that very thing of which they are afraid.
- 24. Some enter into labour for the sake of this world, others undergo toil for the sake of Paradise. Truly living beings, making themselves miserable in their hopes of bliss, miss their goal and fall into calamity.
- 25. It is not indeed that I blame the effort, which leaves aside the base and is directed to a higher object, but rather the wise with a like toil should do that in which the need for further effort ceases.

dharmamūlah smṛtah svargah, and cp. BhNŚ., xxii. 142, and a quaint skit Mattavilāsa, verse 8. FP's 'therefore suffering is the cause of all pleasure' leaves its reading uncertain.

^{19.} S., viii. 14, repeats d almost verbatim in a different metre.

^{21.} Viprayuktāh I take to mean 'when parted' from the joys of Paradise, cp. RL., 156. Gantukāma merely expresses the future.

- 26. But if mortification of the body in this world is *dharma*, then the body's pleasure is contrary to *dharma*; if pleasure is obtained in the hereafter by means of *dharma*, then *dharma* in this world bears as its fruit what is contrary to *dharma*.
- 27. Inasmuch as it is under the direction of the mind that the body acts and ceases to act, therefore it is the taming of the mind only that is required. Apart from the mind the body is nothing but a log.
- 28. If merit is held to derive from purity of food, then merit accrues also to the deer and even to those men who are excluded from the rewards of *dharma* and on whom by some fault of their destiny wealth has turned its back.
- 29. But again, if it is the intention that is the cause of acquiring merit in the case of suffering, should not the same intention be applied in the case of pleasure? Or if the intention is no criterion in the case of pleasure, is not the intention no criterion in the case of suffering?
- 30. Similarly for those who sprinkle water on themselves to purify their deeds, acting on the assumption that it is a *tīṛtha*, in that case too their satisfaction is restricted to the feelings; for water will not make a sinner pure.
- 31. For if whatever water has been touched by the virtuous is claimed as a *tīrtha* on earth, then it is only the virtues that I regard as the *tīrtha*, but beyond all doubt the water is just water."
 - 26. Sukha is defined by the Abhidharma as 'bodily pleasure' in contrast to saumanasya, 'mental happiness'.
 - 27. Manas, cetas and citta are synonyms in this verse.
- 28. I take the reference in c to be to those who under the rules of caste could not practise the higher forms of Brahmanical religion. The implication, explicitly stated by C, is that they are too poor to afford anything but food such as hermits live on.
- 30. The heart is the seat of the feelings; hence the translation in c. If T's 'sya is right in c, we must amend in ab to $yah \dots spr \acute{s}aty \dots pravrttah$.
 - 31. Cp. the play on the meanings of tirtha in S., i. 8.

- 32. As he thus discussed various points with provision of many arguments, the sun went to its setting. Then he entered the grove, where was the holy quiet of austerities and where the trees were discoloured by the smoke of the oblations.
- 33. It was in full activity, a workshop as it were of *dharma*, with the transference elsewhere of the blazing sacrificial fires, with its throngs of seers who had completed their ablutions and with the shrines of the gods humming with the din of prayers.
- 34. And there he, who resembled the night-making orb, passed several nights, examining the austerities, and after considering them all and forming a judgement on them, he departed from that place of austerities.
- 35. Then the hermits followed him, their minds drawn to his beauty and majesty, just as great seers follow *Dharma*, as it withdraws from a land overrun by infidels.
 - 36. Then he saw the ascetics with their fluttering coils
- 32. Tapahpraśānta was translated by Co. as if praśāntatapah, which has been generally rejected except by Speyer. The point is settled by the use of śānta at S., i. 27.
- 33. The same points are selected for the description of a hermitage in S., i. 11. Gawroński was the first to see the real sense of the verse, but karmānta is not exactly a 'forge', but a 'workshop', a sense common in KA.; Medhātithi on Manu, vii. 62, defines it as including sugar mills, distilleries and the like. It is an extension of meaning from the sense common in Buddhist Sanskrit and Pali of 'business', 'occupation', to the place where the business is carried on. The reference here is to a place where gold or other metal is worked by heating it, quenching it with water and hammering it (ep. S., xv. 66-69, and xvi. 65-66). Agnihotra in the sense of 'sacrificial fire' is very rare. For kostha ep. kosthaka in KA., ii. 4.
- 34. The third $p\bar{a}da$ is hopelessly corrupt. I translate T which cannot be put back into Sanskrit (paricchidya the most probable), but C is perhaps nearer the original reading. For the context requires something approaching the adverse judgement on austerities in S., iii. 2. Possibilities are sarvam pratiksipya tapaś ca matyā and sarvam pratiksepyam ataś ca matvā, but it is not a case for putting a conjecture into the text.
- 36. I have retained the difficult "khelān in a, as T has it also, but should prefer Hultzsch's "celān. It may however be merely a way of writing "kheḍān,

of hair and clothes of bark, and in deference to their austerities he stopped by a beautiful auspicious tree on the roadside.

- 37. Thereon the hermits approached the best of men and stood round him, and the oldest of them addressed him respectfully with soft conciliatory words:—
- 38. "When you arrived, the hermitage became as it were full, with your departure it turns as it were into a desert. Therefore, my son, you should not quit us, as the loved life should not quit the body of one who wishes to live.
- 39. For in front stands the holy mountain Himavat, frequented by Brahman seers, royal seers and celestial seers; and by its neighbourhood these very austerities of the ascetics become multiplied in efficacy.
- 40. So too all round are holy pilgrimage places, very stairways to the sky and frequented by the celestial seers and the great seers who are self-controlled and whose beings are compact of dharma.
- 41. And from here again it is proper to pursue only the northern direction for the sake of the highest *dharma*, but it would not be fitting for the wise man to move even a single step towards the south.

सन्धमेव जयते

- 'clothes', unfortunately not adequately authenticated. T in fact inserts another word zur-phud (=sikhā) into the compound and may thereby indicate the Sanskrit word khela by rol-pa and the meaning by the other. Asvaghosa uses anurodha for 'liking', 'having a friendly feeling for', S., xiii. 48; hence the translation. To render anurudhyamāna 'considering' or 'approving' would go against the context.
 - 37. T appears to be corrupt in d, having hdi rab-tu hdi for the text's iti.
- 40. For b cp. CII, III, 44, svargasopānarūpam. In the last line of T chen-po-rnams is probably copied from the previous line in place of dan-ldan-rnams, which would give the text. Here again Co.'s MSS. have T's reading-against A.
- 41. The idea of the north being auspicious and the south inauspicious is so frequently mentioned in the Upanisads and elsewhere that references are unnecessary.

- 42. But if you do not wish to live in the penance grove, because you have seen here one who neglects the rites or is impure from having fallen into an adulterated *dharma*, mention it and just be pleased to dwell here.
- 43. For we here desire to have you, who are as it were a depositary of asceticism, for our companion in asceticism. For to abide in company with you who are like Indra would bring success to Brhaspati."
- 44. When the chief of the ascetics had thus spoken in the midst of the ascetics, he, the chief of the wise, declared his inward feelings, inasmuch as he had made a vow for the annihilation of existence:—
- 45. "At such a display of their feelings towards me on the part of the upright-souled sages, the supporters of religion, whose delight in hospitality makes them like one's own kindred, my joy is extreme and I feel highly honoured.
- 46. To put it in a word, I am as it were bathed by these affectionate words, which touch my heart, and, as I am a novice in *dharma*, my pleasure now shows itself doubled.
- 47. When I reflect that I am about to go away, leaving you thus engaged, who are so hospitable and have shown me.
- 42. T divides $sainkirnadharm\tilde{a}=apatito$. I understand $y\bar{a}vat$ as= $t\bar{a}vac$ ca, this use of the relative being not uncommon in Aśvaghosa.
- 43. Nidhāna means ritually the 'putting down' of the sacred fires, and tapah is perhaps to be understood therefore as the 'heat' of a fire. In d Lüders' reading is better than the text, but not adequately substantiated by T.
- 46. Co., followed by the other translators, understands that the joy felt by the Buddha when he first grasped the idea of dharma is redoubled; but I do not see how this can be extracted from the Sanskrit, which as it stands means that the Buddha as a novice in dharma (Gawroński first pointed this out as the meaning of navagraha) is particularly gratified at his treatment, as if he were already a leader of ascetics. I am not quite sure however that the text is in order and should like to amend samprati to tam prati (i.e. towards dharma), which would be clearer and agree more closely with C's 'Hearing what you say, still more I take pleasure in reverence for dharma'.

such very great kindness, I feel indeed as much grief as I did when quitting my kinsfolk.

- 48. But your *dharma* aims at Paradise, while my desire is for release from rebirth and leads me not to wish to dwell in this grove. For the *dharma* of cessation from activity is apart from the continuance of active being.
- 49. It is not for dissatisfaction on my part or for an offence committed by anyone else that I am going forth from this grove; for you are all like the great seers, in that you take your stand on a *dharma* that conforms with the primeval ages."
- 50. Thus the prince spoke words, gracious and full of meaning, very gentle yet determined and dignified; and the ascetics then felt the highest degree of reverence for him.
- 51. But a certain twice-born there, who was in the habit of lying in the ashes, tall and with his hair in a tuft, clothed in tree-bark, with reddish eyes and a long thin nose, and carrying a waterpot in one hand, spoke to him thus:—
- 52. "Wise sir, noble in sooth is your resolve, in that, young as you are, you have seen the dangers of birth; for he who, on a right consideration of Paradise and final salvation, decides for final salvation, only he truly exists in reality.
- 53. For those who are possessed by passion desire to go to Paradise by means of all those sacrifices, austerities and
- 48. I follow Co. in d; alternatively, 'the dharma of niviti is destroyed by praviti'.
- 50. I know of no suitable sense for T's garbhitam. Garvitam, if the original reading, would seem to be treated as a formation from guru; but I can find no exact parallel for the meaning I give it, except viii. 57 below.
- 51. Bhasmaśāyin shows that he was a Śaiva ascetic. In the second line A is much rubbed and of the third letter of d only the loop of ka is visible.
- 52. The exact meaning of so 'sti, which, though rewritten and difficult to read in A, is corroborated by T, is uncertain in d; C omits the $p\bar{a}da$.
- 53. There can be no doubt that the phraseology here is deliberately Sāmkhya; rāga is for rajas, and sattva for the first guna. Arāḍa is a Sāmkhya teacher of mokṣa according to canto xii, and it is to be remembered that Buddhism had its counterpart to the theory of the gunas, as elaborated by pre-

restrictions; but those who have absolute goodness battle with passion as with an enemy and desire to attain liberation.

- 54. If therefore this is your settled purpose, go speedily to Vindhyakoṣṭha. There dwells the sage Arāḍa, who has gained insight into final beatitude.
- 55. From him you will learn the path of the tattvas, and, if it pleases you, you will follow it. But since your resolution, I see, is such, you will depart, rejecting his theory also.
- 56. For this face of yours has a straight high nose, large long eyes, a red lower lip with white sharp teeth, and a thin red tongue; and as such, it is sure to drink up to the very last drop the ocean of what is to be known.

classical Sāmkhya, in its doctrines of the three roots of good, $ku salam \bar{u} l\bar{a}n i$, which correspond to sat ka, and of the three roots of evil, $aku salam \bar{u} l\bar{a}n i$, which correspond to rajas and tamas. The last finds no place here, because the verse deals only with those who use effort for some good purpose. This interpretation is borne out by B., xxvi. 10, which describes as the Sāmkhya view that rajas plus tamas leads to evil, and tajas plus tamas leads to evil.

- 54. Did Sāmkhya teachers specially frequent the Vindhyas? There was a Sāmkhya teacher known as Vindhyavāsin, and the Sāmkhya system, or a special school of it, is called *Vindhyavāsitā* at *Tattvasamgraha*, pp. 22, 27.
- 55. Tattvamārga could also mean the 'path to truth', but the reference must surely be to the twenty-five Sāmkhya tattvas, enumerated xii. 18-20. The construction of the second line is obscure. Tavaisā is impossible, because of bhavan and the verbs in the third person. But if we read as in the text, eṣā matih means presumably the Buddha's mati, and this corresponds to C, which Takakusu translated (NGGW, 1896, 2), '(but according as) I perceive thy inclination, I fear that thou wilt (or, it will) not be at rest'. It would perhaps be better to understand, 'As I see your resolution, so you will fear that it (sc. Arāda's doctrine) is not śānta'. It is best to take paśyāmi as an interjection, in which case, if it were not for the order of the words, one would naturally construe matis tathaiṣā yathā yāsyati. But we have a similar odd construction in viii. 19, of yathā without a correlative in the sense of 'since', in view of the fact that', and I translate accordingly. The alternatives are to understand a concealed conditional, 'But if your decision (or, wisdom) is such as I see it, then you will depart, etc.' or to take matih as the subject of yāsyati; for this last may be a simple auxiliary here, as Cappeller takes it, the one certain instance of this use in the poet being at xiii. 5.

- 57. But it is clear from your unfathomable depth, from your brilliance and from your bodily signs, that you will obtain on earth a position as teacher, such as was not won even by the seers of the golden age."
- 58. Then the king's son replied, "Very well", and, saluting the seers, proceeded on his way; and the hermits too, after showing him due honour, entered the penance grove.
- 57. For this use of the relative without a correlative in the sense of 'in view of', 'having regard to', see the Introduction.
- 58. There does not seem to be any exact parallel to this use of $anuvidh\bar{a}$; C understands $pradaksin\bar{\imath}krtya$.

CANTO VIII

LAMENTATIONS IN THE PALACE.

- 1. Then, when his master had gone to the forest in self-renouncement, the dejected groom did his utmost to repress his grief on the road; nevertheless his tears did not cease to flow.
- 2. But he now took eight days to traverse the same road, which by his lord's command he had covered in a single night with the horse; for he was ever thinking of the separation from his master.
- 3. And the horse Kanthaka, powerful as he was, travelled onward with flagging feelings and all his fire lost; and though decked with ornaments as before, yet without his master he seemed to have lost his beauty.
 - 4. And turning back towards the penance grove, he
- 1. For d cp. Jāt., viii. 42, where Gawroński would amend samcikṣipe to samcikṣiye, but samcikṣipe would do there, 'grew less'. Cikṣipe cannot have this meaning, and cikṣiye must be taken to be certain on the basis of C and T.
- 3. The text of the first line is uncertain. I would have accepted T's reading in a as giving the best sense, if C did not seem to postulate some such text as that I have adopted with slight modification from A. In b T evidently read tatāma bhāvena as a single compound of which the second part was abhāvena; therefore the first part cannot end in a, which makes it hard to restore. Tena in d seems to require a specific mention of the prince in the first line and bhāvena by itself is difficult; C gives no help. One possibility, too speculative for insertion in the text without further support, is svabhartra-bhāvena, palæographically sound and which might have been deliberately altered on the ground of bhartr appearing three times in the two preceding verses.
- 4. For the accusative after abhimukha, to which Prasada objects, see the instances quoted in the PW.

neighed loudly and often, in a mournful tone. And, though overcome with hunger, he took no pleasure on the road in grass or water as before and would not take either.

- 5. Then in due course they approached the city named after Kapila, which seemed empty like the sky without the sun, now that it was deserted by the magnanimous prince, whose being was concentrated on the weal of the world.
- 6. That very same city-grove, though still gay with lotus-covered waters and adorned with trees in full bloom, was now like a forest and no longer brilliant with citizens; for all their happiness had gone.
- 7. Then those two came slowly to the city as if going to a funeral bathing rite, while melancholy men wandered round them, depressed and with eyes struggling with tears, and seemed to stop them from proceeding.
- 8. And when the townsfolk saw the arrival of the pair without the bull of the Śākya race and that they were walking with drooping bodies, they shed tears in the road, as happened of old when the chariot of Daśaratha's son returned.
- 9. Thereon the folk burst into tears and followed behind Chandaka along the road, saying in the access of their grief,
- 5. W thinks verses 5 and 6 interpolations, the matter being covered by 7. But verses 4 and 7 do not join well, and verse 6, describing the grove outside the city, which, as Formichi points out, is the same as that of canto iv (tasya referring to puram in verse 5), shows that upajagmatuh means 'approached', not 'arrived at'; I see no adequate ground for doubting the verses. At first sight T seems to read in d as in the text plus hbras-med (vrthā, aphala) and might therefore have had the nonsensical vinā vrthā; but as the same locution appears in 37c below, it is probably only a roundabout way of distinguishing vinākṛta from vinā.
- 7. For apasnātam cp. Rām., ii. 41, 20; see also Therīgāthā, 469 (misunderstood in Psalms of the Sisters). The simile recurs at B., xxiv. 63.
- 8. T reads rsi for rsabha again at xii. 11. Note vinā separated from the-word it governs.
- 9. Manyu may mean 'wrath' here (so Co.) or 'sorrow' (so T). The people's words can be understood as a single sentence, as T construes it, but the position of asau speaks for Co.'s division, which I follow.

- "Where is the king's son, the delight of the town and kingdom? You have carried him off."
- 10. Then he said to those devoted people, "It is not I who am deserting the king's son. On the contrary, it was by him in the uninhabited forest that for all my tears I and the householder's garb were dismissed together."
- 11. When the people heard those words of his, they came to the conclusion that it was in truth a superhuman deed; for they did not restrain the tears that fell from their eyes and blamed the state of mind which arises from the fruit of the self.
- 12. Thereon again they said, "This very day let us go to the forest, where he, whose stride is as that of the king of elephants, has gone. Without him we have no wish to live, like embodied beings, when the senses have decayed.
 - 13. This city without him is the forest, and that forest
- 11. The significant word in the text is patad; for, while A might read patad vijahruh with T, to talk of shedding falling tears is pleonastic and bad style. Therefore one must read patad dhi, and the particle hi shows the second line to be an explanation of or a statement in support of the first. This leads me to reject Lüders' conjecture in b; I do not think C really supports it and the sentiment of vismaya according to verse 50 below is inconsistent with tears. The first line implies that they thought the prince's deed too difficult to imitate, and the second gives the reason; they could not stop weeping and their minds were still dominated by the idea of self, the prince being nirmama (verse 1; cp. notes on vi. 10, 48). Atha in the next verse implies a change of mind on further thought. T, who had a MS, which, as other passages prove, did not distinguish between dva and ddha, seems to have been a syllable short in c and not to have understood d at all. My explanation is, subject to the different readings adopted, on all fours with that of Formichi, who saw the right sense but could not extract it satisfactorily from the text before him.
- 12. Query $mrgar\bar{a}javikramah$ in b? The translation of the second line follows Prasada; Co. construes vigame as governing $\acute{s}ar\bar{\imath}rin\bar{a}m$. C may have possibly understood by indriya the Abhidharma term $j\bar{\imath}vitendriya$, but is not clear.
- 13. Windisch, i, 301, n. 2, points out that, besides the quotation of this verse by Ujjvaladatta, Rāyamukuṭa on the Amarakośa attributes it to the

possessed of him the city. For without him our city has no beauty, like Heaven without the lord of the Maruts when Vrtra was slain."

- 14. Next the women betook themselves to the rows of windows, thinking that the prince had come back again, and when they perceived that the horse's back was empty, they shut the windows again and wailed aloud.
- 15. But the lord of men, who had undertaken religious observances for the recovery of his son and whose mind was afflicted by the vow and by grief, muttered prayers in the temples and performed various rites suitable to his intention.
- 16. Then the groom, leading the horse, entered the palace, with the tears welling from his eyes and overcome with grief, as if his master had been carried off by an enemy warrior.
- 17. And Kanthaka, penetrating into the royal dwelling and looking round him with tear-streaming eye, cried out with a loud voice as if proclaiming his suffering to the people.
- 18. Then the birds which lived in the palace and the favourite horses which were tethered near by gave back the charger's cry, supposing the prince to have returned.

Buddhacarita. Ujjvaladatta's text is not an improvement, tat in b being required to correspond to idam in a. It is also quoted by the Durghatavrtti (ZII, 1932, 6), substituting visarjitam in a and praśobhate in c. The verse is cited to illustrate diva as a separate stem, an epic use. The separation of vinā from its object occurs also at 7 and 12 above (cp. Ślokavārttika, i. 2, 142). Rām., ii. 33, 23-24, for the sentiment. The killing of Vṛtra being equal to the murder of a Brahman, Indra hid himself after it in the waters, MBh., v. 299ff.

- 16. According to the PW, yudh, 'warrior', is confined to the MBh. and the $Hariva\dot{m}\dot{s}a$.
- 17. Pustena in c is odd but seems to be supported by C and 40b against T's diptena, which means the shrill sound of an animal that is inauspicious and is so used at MBh., v. 5307 (for the origin of this sense, see ib., iv. 1290, and v. 4699). T's bsal is for gsal, used in the Gandistotra for patu of a sound. Pürnena is not possible, as it implies an auspicious sound.
- 18. I have accepted Kern's emendation in b, because the only authority given by the PW for śańkita in this sense is $R\bar{a}jatarangini$, iii. 288, where the correct meaning is 'fearing'.

- 19. And the people who frequented the precincts of the queens' apartments were deceived by superabundant joy and thought from the way the horse Kanthaka neighed that the prince must be entering the palace.
- 20. The women rushed hopefully out of the buildings, like lightning flashing from an autumn cloud; they had been fainting with grief and now from the excess of their delight their eyes darted this way and that to see the prince.
- 21. Their hair was hanging down, their silk attire filthy, their faces without collyrium and their eyes struggling with tears; thus the women no more shone with their toilet unperformed than do the stars paling at night's close.
- 22. Their feet were without anklets and not stained red, their faces were without earrings and their necks unadorned, their hips, full by nature, were held in by no girdle, their breasts without their ropes of pearls looked as if they had been robbed.
- 23. The women's eyes flooded with tears, as they saw only Chandaka and the horse without their master; with downcast faces they wept, like cows lowing in the midst of the jungle when deserted by the herd-bull.
 - 24. Then the lord of the earth's chief queen, Gautami,
- 19. The wording of a is unexpected, but I would not accept Gawroński's ingenious conjecture without some authority for it. A's reading seems impossible (it should be cañcantah) and it writes ca and va so much alike that it may have meant vañcitā.
- 20. The autumn cloud and the palace are both white; hence the comparison.
- 22. I can make nothing out of A's $\bar{a}rjavakarnikaih$, unless it could mean 'with the tips of their ears unadorned', i.e. without the usual flowers placed in them. In d T divides $ah\bar{a}ra-yoktraih$, not $a-h\bar{a}rayoktraih$; if yoktra means a 'string', this is not good sense.
- 23. My translation of $nir\bar{a}\acute{s}rayam$ may be thought surprising; but the master is the $\bar{a}\acute{s}raya$ of his servants and we get the same use of the word at xiii. 71, certified by T and C. Cp. my remarks on $J\bar{a}t$., xxiii. 21, at JRAS, 1929, 84.
- 24. C translates d 'like a golden plantain-tree blown down by a violent wind', which suggests a different reading and a simile that fits with $nipap\bar{a}ta$.

viii. 297

as affectionate for the son she had lost as a fond she-buffalo who has lost her calf, flung up her arms like a golden plantain-tree with leaves tossing about, and fell weeping to the ground.

- 25. Some of the other women, bereft of their brightness and with drooping arms and shoulders, seemed to become unconscious through despondency; they wailed not, they dropped no tears, they sighed not, they moved not, there they stood like figures in a picture.
- 26. Other women, losing self-control, swooned from grief for their lord, and with streams pouring down their faces their eyes watered their breasts from which the sandalwood was banished, as a mountain waters the rocks with its streams.
- 27. Then with the women's faces whipped by the water from their eyes the royal dwelling resembled a pond with dripping lotuses whipped by rain from the clouds at the time of the first rains.
- 28. As creepers waving in the wind strike themselves with their own tendrils, so these noble women beat their breasts with jewelless lotuslike hands, whose veins were hidden and whose fingers were plump and well-rounded so as to leave no interstices.
- 29. And thus, as their close-set upstanding breasts shook under the blows of their hands, those women looked like rivers
- 25. This verse was utilized by Kālidāsa for R., iii. 15, and is quoted at $K\bar{a}vyam\bar{n}m\bar{a}ms\bar{a}$, p. 18.
- 26. It is not certain what verb T had in c, perhaps the unauthenticated vyasikṣata; the correct form of the perfect in earlier Sanskrit is sisicire, in later sisicire. The comparison is against the rules, as dharādharaḥ should be nom. pl. f. to correspond with striyaḥ. T may have had dharādharāt, or, if nas is corrupt for rnams, dharādharāḥ.
 - 27. For the simile cp. S., v. 52, and vi. 36.
- 28. Co. and Schmidt understand nirantaraih 'falling incessantly', which would require the reading nirantaram against T as well as A.
- 29. For sahita, which Kern rightly equated with samhita, see T's reading in iv. 29, and note there; both it and unnata apply to the ducks, though this is not brought out in the translation. In the simile the rivers are the women,

with pairs of Brahminy ducks, which are made to tremble by the lotuses when blown about by the forest wind.

- 30. And as they hurt their breasts with their hands, so they hurt their hands with their breasts. There the women, all feelings of pity dulled, made their hands and breasts inflict mutual pains on each other.
- 31. But then up spoke Yaśodharā, her eyes reddened with anger, her voice choking with the bitterness born of despair, her bosom heaving with sighs, and tears streaming down with the grief she was enduring:—
- 32. "Where, Chandaka, has he gone, my heart's desire, after deserting me at night against my will while I slept? My mind trembles, when both you and Kanthaka have returned, while three went forth together.
- 33. Why do you weep here to-day, you brute, after doing me an ignoble, unkind, unfriendly deed? Hold back

- 30. Tasteless hyperbole to show the firmness of the breasts; cp. S., iv. 35. In d T's le-lo-can-ma brtse-med stobs-med-ma-yis seems to indicate a double samdhi, $abal\bar{a}day\bar{a}las\bar{a}h$, both unnecessary and improbable.
- 31. I cannot solve the puzzle of T's reading in b; sbrel, literally samsyūta, may stand for samnaddha. There is nothing to choose between sambandhi and sambaddha. It looks as if vigāḍha here and in verse 76 means 'grievous'; T translates brtan-pa (sthira) here and tshabs-che, 'very great', 'dangerous' at the other.
 - 32. Note upagate in the singular with two subjects.

your tears, be contented in mind. Tears go ill with that deed of yours.

- 34. For through you, his loving obedient faithful good companion, always doing what is proper, my lord has gone never to return. Rejoice, by good fortune your toil is rewarded with success.
- 35. Better is it for a man to have a wise enemy than a silly friend, who is skilful only in the wrong way. For your imprudence and so-called friendship have wrought great ruin for this family.
- 36. For these princesses with their ornaments laid aside and their eyes reddened and stained by incessant tears are sorely to be pitied like widows whose splendour has departed, though their lord is still in existence as much as are the Himalayas or the earth.
- 34. Yaśodharā means the verse ironically, but it is literally true to a Buddhist. Chandaka merits praise for his work, and the prince has gone to obtain final nivrtti, cessation from pravrtti.
- 35. In a T would naturally be understood as reading narendrasya and omitting vicaksana, but probably dban-po should be taken to represent the latter. Ayogapeśala is divided by Co. and Schmidt a-yogapeśala; I prefer with T and Formichi to divide ayoga-peśala, 'skilful in impropriety', 'in the wrong means', with the hint of the second meaning 'skilled in disunion', 'in parting people'. For c C is against T's reading; the lexica know dhruva in the sense of pāpa, but the only instance in literature is Brhatkathāślokasangraha, xx. 392, suhrddhruvaḥ (wrongly divided in text suhrd dhruvaḥ). As the MSS. of that work come from Nepal, the correct reading there however may be suhrdbruvaḥ.
- 36. In a Himavanmahīsame has several meanings, primarily as in the translation; Kapilavāstu being in the foothills, one is at liberty to imagine Yaśodharā enforcing the point with a gesture towards the snowpeaks, whose visibility to all present would back up her assertion. Secondarily it implies as C has it, 'as reliable as the snowy mountain, as steadfast as the great earth'. It may also mean, as Formichi takes it, 'on the plain (i.e. the upland) of the Himalayas', Chandaka having left the prince in the terai under the mountains (see vii. 39).

- 37. And these rows of pavilions seem to weep together with the women, on separation from him, casting up their pinnacles for arms and heaving long sighs with their enamoured doves.
- 38. This horse Kanthaka too must have been desirous of my ruin in every way; for, when everyone was asleep at night, he thus carried off my treasure from here, like a jewel-thief.
- 39. Seeing that he is certainly able to stand up even to the strokes of the arrows that fall on him, not to speak of the whip, how was it he went off under fear of the fall of the whip, taking with him my good fortune and my heart together?
- 40. To-day the base creature neighs loudly, filling as it were the royal abode; but when he was carrying away my beloved, it was then that the wretched horse was dumb.
- 37. Viṭaṅka means not only a 'dovecot', which would be dubious here with one mention of pigeons already in b, but also an excrescence from a building shaped like one; see references s.v. and s. kapotapālikā in Acharya's Dictionary of Hindu Architecture. In b T translates prasakta 'incessant' as an epithet of nisvana, so too Co. and Formichi; this makes a very uncomfortable, though not absolutely unparalleled, compound, and it is better to take it as an epithet of pārāvata. Schmidt, who does so, understands it as the pigeons who live in the pavilions from the sense 'fixed', which is difficult. My translation explains the reason for the long sighs. The verse is intended to overtrump $R\bar{a}m$, ii. 43, 33, and iii. 58, 40.
- 38. W holds that T read eva for esa in b; I am not convinced, for this would leave de without equivalent in the text.
- 39. In a T suggests hayah samarthah kila as possible; ha and da being liable to confusion, A's yadā could have arisen from a misunderstood transposition of the characters of hayah. Kern's amendment in c is probable in itself and apparently supported by T; one could translate also 'did he then go off under fear, etc.' Śrī may mean the 'royal fortune', not merely Yaśodharā's good fortune'.
- 40. Nirvāhayati in c is difficult, as there is no authority for nirvahati in the sense of 'go out'; but the context forces the translation on us. The verb is used for its double significance, nirvahana meaning mokṣa; therefore unconsciously Yaśodharā says, 'when he caused him to obtain mokṣa'; ep. ix. 38, and note thereon.

- 41. For if he had neighed and so woken up the people, or if he had made a noise with his hoofs, or if he had made the loudest sound he could with his jaws, such suffering would not have come on me."
- 42. When Chandaka heard the princess's words, with their undercurrent of lament and with their syllables strangled with sobs, he looked downwards and, folding his hands, he muttered this answer in a low voice, hardly intelligible through his tears.
- 43. "Princess, you should not disparage Kanthaka nor should you be angry with me. Know us to be entirely guiltless. For the god among men, Princess, departed like a god.
- 44. For, although I knew the king's command, I was compelled as it were by certain divine beings and speedily brought him this horse. Thus too I felt no weariness in following him along the road.
- 45. This best of steeds too, as he went along the road, did not touch the ground with the tips of his hoofs, as if he were held up off from it in the air; similarly his mouth was restrained as if through divine power, so that he did not make any noise with his jaws or neigh.
- 46. Seeing that, when the king's son went forth, the gate was thrown open at that time of itself and the darkness of night was broken through by what seemed to be the sun, this therefore too must be understood to have been of divine ordering.
- 47. Seeing that the people by thousands in the palace and city, observant though they were of the king's command, did
- 42. Böhtlingk objected to $it\bar{\imath}ha$; it is certified by T and recurs xii. 26. $Paridevan\bar{a}^{\circ}$ is also possible in a. In c C seems to understand " $kala\hbar$ as from the verb kal.
- 43. In *c samavehi* demands an object, so that we must take *svah* as equivalent to *nau*, presumably to avoid the ugly combination *anāgasau nau*; I know no parallel, but cp. the use of *asmi*, i. 67.
- 45. This and the next verse imply that the deities were invisible to Chandaka.
- 47. This verse and 48 are not in C, which does not usually omit such matter. The only reference to the guard, evidently alluded to here, îs the

not awake at that time but were overcome by sleep, this therefore too must be understood to have been of divine ordering.

- 48. And seeing that a garment, suitable for forest wear, was handed over to him at the time by a denize of Heaven, and that his headdress was borne off, when thrown into the sky, this therefore too must be understood to have been of divine ordering.
- 49. Therefore with regard to his departure you should not, Princess, consider us two to be at fault. Neither I nor the horse acted of our own will; for he went forth with the gods in attendance."
- 50. When those women heard thus of his wondrous departure with its accompaniment of many gods, they were lost in amazement as if their grief had gone, but they became the prey of mental fever because of his taking up the mendicant's life.
- 51. Then Gautami, with eyes restless with despair, lost her self-control and wailed aloud in her suffering, like an osprey that has lost its nestlings; she swooned and with tearstrewn face exclaimed:—

bare mention in v. 39; late legend pleased itself with retailing their numbers in an exaggerated fashion foreign to Aśvaghosa. If Chandaka had spoken the next verse, could Gautami four verses later have suggested that the prince's hair, when cut off, was cast on the ground? Both verses should be regarded with suspicion.

- 48. Samaye, 'by agreement', i.e. in exchange for the prince's clothes?
- 49. 'To consider some one to be at fault' is either dosena gam (Rām., iv.21, 3, MBh., i. 7455, vi. 3645, and xi. 743; cp. Mudrārākṣasa (ed. Hillebrandt), 95, l. 4, where we should read with the MSS. doṣeṇāvagantum) or doṣato gam (Rām., ii. 23, 24, and vi. 89, 12, and MBh., i. 4322; cp. Dūtavākya, p. 38, l. 13) with the accusative of the person.
- 51. $P\bar{a}riplava$ applied to the eyes apparently cannot mean 'swimming with tears', as taken by Co. here and by me at S., vii. 19; cp. Mallinātha on R., iii. 11, and the use at S., ix. 51, and xii. 42. Any one to whom the mournful cry of the fishing eagle is familiar will realize that the simile here applies to $virur\bar{a}va$; the comparison is not uncommon, e.g. $R\bar{a}m$., ii. 39, 45, $Pratij\tilde{n}ayaugandharayana$, iv. 24.

- 52. "Have those hairs of his which are worthy of being encircled by a royal diadem, been cast to the ground, hairs which were soft, black and glossy, in great locks and curling upwards with each hair growing separately from its own orifice?
- 53. His arms are long, his gait that of the king of beasts, his eyes like a mighty bull's, his chest broad, his voice like the drum of the gods, and he shines with the brilliance of gold. Ought such a one to live in a hermitage?
- 54. Is this earth then not to have its portion of that peerless, noble-doing lord? He has gone from here; for it is only through the good fortune and virtues of the subjects that such a virtuous ruler of men is born.
- 55. His feet are soft with a beautiful network spread over the toes, tender as the fibre of a lotus or a flower, with the
- 52. All but two of the verses given to Gautami are formally put as rhetorical questions, and it is better to construe both the others in the same way. Samudgata is difficult, the verb being rare according to the PW but occurring i. 14 above; I accept T's rendering (gyen-du hkhyil), though it may have had a different reading (samuddhrtāḥ?). C's 'curling to the right' (lit. dakṣiṇāvarta) possibly represents this word. For the exact sense of praverita note the use at S., xviii. 20.
- 53. The drum of the clouds is thunder, cp. Jāt., xv. 13, payodatūrya-svanalabdhaharṣā vidyullatā, and Theragāthā, 522, gajjati meghadundubhi.
- 54. This verse is partially in C, as well as being quoted by FP, but it intrudes so oddly into the sequence of verses, that it may well be an early interpolation. For $abh\bar{a}gin\bar{\imath}$, verbal adjectives in °in govern the accusative under $P\bar{a}n$, ii. 3, 70, read with iii. 3, 3, when they have a future sense; the use is, strictly speaking, limited to the gana $gamy\bar{a}dayah$, which does not include $bh\bar{a}gin$. It governs the infinitive verse 67 below. Note Speyer's remarks, JRAS, 1914, 114-5. The earth is metaphorically the king's wife, and the second line means that the prince has gone because of his subjects' lack of merit. In c gatah is evidently Amṛtānanda's conjecture; C and FP throw no light on it, but it seems probable. $\bar{A}ryakarm\bar{a}nam$ is chosen to hint at the prince's becoming an $\bar{a}rya$ in the religious sense.
- 55. The visapuspa according to the PW is the name of a plant Vangueria spinosa, also called pindītaka, which cannot possibly be meant here; the sense 'blue lotus' is not well authenticated, though C has 'coloured like the pure

anklebones concealed and wheels in the middle of the soles. Shall they tread on the hard ground of the jungle?

- 56. His powerful body is accustomed to sitting or lying on the palace roof and has been adorned with priceless clothes, aloes and sandalwood. How will it fare in the forest in the heat, the cold and the rains?
- 57. He is ennobled by race, goodness, strength, beauty, learning, majesty and youth, and so fitted to give, not to ask. Is he to practise begging alms from others?
- 58. He has been sleeping on a spotless golden bed and awakened at night by the strains of musical instruments. How then shall he lie in accordance with his vows on the ground with only a piece of cloth interposed?"
- 59. Hearing these piteous ravings, the women clasped one another with their arms and let fall tears from their eyes, as shaken creepers drop honey from their flowers.
- 60. Then Yaśodharā fell upon the ground, like a Brahminy duck without its mate, and in her distress she uttered all sorts of laments with a voice that was repeatedly held back by sobs:—
- 61. 'If he wishes to carry out dharma and yet casts me off, his lawful partner in the duties of religion and now husband-
- lotus'. I have combined A's and T's readings; the fibres of the lotus root a often referred to for their softness. *Vanānta*, 'the jungle' in a general sense, not 'the edge of the forest'.
- 56. Vimānaprethe, perhaps simply 'in a pavilion', like Pali pitthe. I follow T in taking arcita as 'bedecked', cp. Rām., i. 2, 27, or one could read 'ācitam. In c jalāgama means the rainy season (inaccurately translated at S., v. 3).
- 57. For garvita ep. vii. 50. Gawroński aptly compares Kirātārjunīya, iii. 23, for abhyucita.
- 58. In b niśi is curious, as it is at dawn that kings are woken by drums and the songs of bards. I take me in c as merely expletive.
- 61. Formichi and W take the second line as a general proposition; this requires the reading *kva tasya* and misses the point of the argument which lies in the contrast between the ordinary religious rites, in which the wife has

less, in what respect is there dharma for him who wishes to follow austerities separated from his lawful partner?

- Surely he has not heard of our ancestors, Mahāsudarśa and the other kings of old, who took their wives with them to the forest, since he thus intends to carry out dharma without me.
- Or else he does not see that in the sacrifices it is both husband and wife who are consecrated and purified by the precepts of the Veda and who will enjoy together in the hereafter too the recompense of the rites; therefore he has become miserly of dharma towards me.
- Being distinguished for dharma, he must have held my mind to be secretly and repeatedly given to jealousy and quarrelling; so lightly and without fear deserting me as being

always to share, and austerities, in which she did not necessarily do so. The next verse gives an illustration in support of her contention, that there is no distinction between the two cases. For the whole passage cp. Pūrvamīmāmsāsūtras, vi. 1, 6-21.

- 62. Hi seems the only word capable of giving the required sense in d. Mahāsudarśa is presumably the Mahāsudassana of the genealogies of the Dîpavamsa and Mahāvamsa.
- 63. Lüders' amendment in b is unnecessary, as $v\bar{a}$ carries on the construction from the previous verse, so allowing sa to be understood. Paratah for paratra is due to metrical exigencies; or else read ca paratra. The argument is that he thinks (wrongly) that the husband can get the reward of the sacrifice, if he sacrifices without his wife, so that he can safely exclude her from sharing his austerities, whereas by doing so he will miss the reward of them.
- 64. The exact significance of the first line is not clear to me. Vallabha can only mean 'beloved of', not 'fond of'. Therefore dharmavallabha is 'the favourite of dharma', and so 'distinguished for it'; PW gives one reference, samastagunavallabha, for this use. Can muhur have the Vedic sense of 'for a moment', 'suddenly'? T's construction cannot be squared with the Sanskrite though it evidently had the same text. C gives the correct general sense but throws no light on the difficulties. In the second line sukham has been found puzzling; for T takes it as the object of jighrksati and Apsarasah as the ablative singular, while Sukumar Sen (Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit, 12); takes

of a wrathful nature, he wishes to obtain the Apsarases in great Indra's heaven.

- 65. But I am anxious on this point, namely, what kind of excellent beauty is possessed by the women in that world, for whose sake he gave up sovereign glory and my devotion too and is practising austerities.
- 66. It is not in truth that I envy him the delights of Paradise; their acquisition is not difficult even for an ordinary person like me. But my one desire is to secure that my beloved shall not leave me either in this life or in the hereafter.
- 67. If it is not to be my lot to look up at the sweetly-smiling long-eyed face of my lord, still is this poor Rāhula never to be dandled in his father's lap?
- 68. Alas! If my lord is tender in body and high in spirit, how cruel and exceeding hard is his mind, when in sooth he abandons such an infant son with his babbling talk, who would charm even an enemy.

it as accusative after $vibh\bar{\imath}h$ 'afraid of pleasure' (but see PW s. $vibh\bar{\imath}$). Neither alternative seems possible.

- 66. There has been much discussion on b. Tat refers to sukham, but the translation depends on the meaning given to $sprh\bar{a}$ in a. It seems to me more natural that the delights of Paradise should refer to the prince than to Yaśodharā, and so we must accept for it the rare sense 'envy', which recurs verse 79 below. I take $\bar{a}tmavato$ primarily as equal to madvato, though I can only cite the adverb $\bar{a}tmavat$ in support of this; secondarily it means either, as T has it (sems-ldan), 'prudent', 'resolute', or else 'self-controlled'. In both cases api, 'even', or hi would do. T always translates api, but often omits hi, so that it may have had the latter, not asti as W supposes. The sense is that she is not jealous of the prince going to Paradise, so long as he does not deny her the opportunity of obtaining rebirth with him there; she is explaining the momentary jealousy of the previous verse.
- 68. T renders rarcas 'body'; it is used as equivalent to $r\bar{u}pa$, 'form', several times in the $R\bar{a}m$., e.g. i. 3, 72, devavarcas corresponding to devar $\bar{u}pin$, i. 29, 14, and vi. 92, 27. So on $D\bar{u}gha$, I, 114, Buddhaghosa explains brahmavaccas \bar{u} as 'having a body like Brahmā'. C may have read kulaprad $\bar{u}pam$ in c, 'the pride and glory of his splendid race, reverenced even by his foes'.

- 69. My heart too is certainly exceeding hard, made of stone or even of iron, in that it does not break in its orphaned state, when my lord, accustomed to all pleasures, has departed to the forest without his royal glory."
- 70. In such terms the princess, fainting with grief for her husband, wept and brooded and lamented repeatedly. For, though steadfast by nature, she forgot the rules of decorum and felt no shame.
- 71. When the women saw Yaśodharā lying there on the ground, undone by grief and lamentation, they mourned aloud and their faces with the tears on them looked like mighty lotuses whipped by the rain.
- 72. But, his prayers ended and the auspicious oblations completed, the king came out of the temple and, smitten by the distressed wail of the people, trembled like an elephant at the roar of a thunderbolt.
- 73. And perceiving the two of them, Chandaka and Kanthaka, and hearing of his son's firm resolve, the lord of the earth was overwhelmed with grief and fell down like the banner of Śacī's lord when the festival is over.
- 74. Then for a moment he swooned with grief for his son and was held up by persons of birth equal to his own; and still on the ground he fixed the horse with tearful gaze and thus lamented:—
- 69. I follow T in taking anāthavat to agree with hṛdayam; it might refer to the prince ('like an orphan', Co.), but should it not then mean 'without Śrī, like one who is not a ruler'? Śrī is compared to Yaśodharā at ii. 26; so we get the antithesis, she is without her nātha, he in a double sense without his Śrī.
- 73. The last pāda is almost identical with Rām., ii. 76, 32; which is the original? For vrttotsava cp. ib., iii. 68, 27, and MBh., xii. 8405.
- 74. It would have been improper for any one of lower birth to raise the king up.

- 75. "Many, Kanthaka, are the services you have rendered me in battle; one great disservice you have done me in that, though you do love him, you have thrown off in the jungle my loved one, who is so fond of virtue, as if you did not love him.
- 76. Therefore either take me at once there where he is, or go quickly and bring him back again. For without him no more is there life for me than for a man fallen ill who lacks the right medicine.
- 77. Samjaya achieved the impossible by not dying when Suvarṇaniṣṭhīvin was carried off by death; I however, now that my *dharma*-loving son has departed, wish to yield up my soul like one who has no self-control.
- 78. For would not the mind even of Manu have been distracted, if parted from a dear virtuous son, Manu, the son of Vivasvat, the knower of the former and the latter things, the mighty lord of creation, from whom issued ten races of kings?
- 75. Schmidt alone understands d as I do; the others take priyo'pi sann as 'although he is dear to me', thus repeating me priyah of c without point. Apriyavat however could also mean 'as if he were not dear to me', somewhat spoiling the antithesis.
- 76. In b T may have had vrajan, or, as it construes it with yatra sa, it may have read yatra so 'vrajad, with an improbable avagraha at the beginning of the pāda. C and T make enam certain in b. For the line cp. Vikramorvašīya, iv. 11.
- 77. The name is Sṛṇjaya in the *MBh.*, which tells the story twice, vii. 2138ff., and xii. 1088ff. In both the son is brought to life again, and the reference here suggests that the poet knew only a version to which the happy ending had not been added. Co.'s 'mumukṣur in d is against C and T and seems a priori improbable.
- 78. I can find no reference to Manu's grief for a lost son and presume from the optative that the case stated is purely suppositious. Manu's ten sons, or nine sons and a daughter, founded ten lines of kings, ep. especially *Harivaniśa*, 633, also 433. In the second line T is not at all clear but, as it stands, omits *Manor api*. Possibly there is a corruption due to the number of times *yid* occurred in the line, Manu being translated *yid-śes* in Tibetan. A

- 79. I envy the king, the friend of Indra, the wise son of king Aja, who when his son departed to the forest, went to Heaven instead of continuing to live in misery with futile tears.
- 80. Point out to me, good steed, that hermitage-place to which you carried off him who is to give me the funeral water. For these my vital airs are about to travel the way of the departed and long for him in the desire to drink the draught."
- 81. Thus the king grieved over the separation from his son and lost his steadfastness, though it was innate like the solidity of the earth; and as if in delirium, he uttered many laments, like Daśaratha dominated by grief for Rāma.
- 82. Then the counsellor, who was endowed with learning, decorum and virtue, and the aged purchita addressed him thus as was proper in a well-balanced manner, neither distressed in face nor yet untouched by sorrow:—
- 83. "Cease grieving, O best of men, return to firmness; you should not, O steadfast one, shed tears like a man without self-control. For many kings on earth have cast aside their sovereignty like a crushed wreath and entered the forests.

might read vimano instead of dhi mano, and to read vimano mano manoh would enable us to divide vinā kṛtam, the text reading being difficult. But T does not definitely justify the conjecture and C is no help.

- 79. The son of Aja is Daśaratha, father of Rāma.
- 80. C translates the verse at such length as to suggest that a verse may have dropped out here. It takes *pretagatim* in the Buddhist sense, birth as a Preta, which is no doubt hinted at by the word *pipāsavaḥ*, the Pretas suffering from a thirst that can never be satisfied.
- 81. The reference is to the element earth, which in Buddhist philosophy provides the qualities of firmness and solidity in all things, defined as *kathinatva* at S., xvi. 12.
- 82. Matisaciva is a synonym for mantrin, a saciva employed for giving counsel, as against those whose duties were executive. It is curious that both C and T mention the purchita first, as if disapproving the order in which they appear here. For samadhṛta, Manu, viii. 135.
- 83. T translates kudhrti by mya-nan, 'suffering', either corrupt for brian-nan or else taking dhrti as 'pleasure'. Atīyuh is certified by T; ep.

- 84. Moreover this his state of mind was predestined; call to mind the words of the seer Asita of old. For it is not possible to make him stay happily even for a moment in Paradise or in a Cakravartin's rulership.
- 85. But if, O best of men, the effort can be carried out at all, quickly give the word and we will go there at once. Just let there be a struggle of many kinds on this point between your son and the various prescriptions of scripture."
- 86. Thereon the king ordered them, "Therefore do you two set out speedily from this very spot. For my heart, like that of a forest bird hankering after its young, finds no peace."
- 87. "Very well", said the minister and purchita and at the king's command they left for the forest. The king too, considering the matter to have been successfully disposed of, performed the remaining rites in company with his wives and daughters-in-law.

Mallinātha on Kirātārjunīya, xiv. 54, and Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen, 37, 1. 30.

- 84. Leumann took vāsayitum to be the verb from which vāsanā, 'impression of the past', is derived: its use in the sense 'impregnate' is well authenticated in Jain and Buddhist literature, but I do not see that it fits in here.
- 85. The text and general sense are certain, the exact construction doubtful. Speyer's eṣa for eva in a is not supported by T, and kārya, when emphasized by eva, must mean more than 'to be done'; the alternatives are 'to be carried out at all' and 'to be carried out successfully', the latter being perhaps corroborated by kṛtam in 87. Yāvat in b I take as equivalent to tāvac ca, and tāvat in c refers back in sense to kārya eva. I give vidhi the sense of 'scriptural injunction' in view of the arguments employed in the next canto, especially verses 65-67. The sentiment is, 'We shall do the best we can, but we do not hope for much success'. For an alternative view see Formichi's note.

CANTO IX

THE DEPUTATION TO THE PRINCE.

- 1. Then at that time the counsellor and the purchita, spurred on by the king with the goad of words, set out for the forest with the speed of devotion and made every effort like noble steeds when pricked.
- 2. In due course and accompanied by a suitable retinue, they reached the hermitage, wearied out by their exertions. Discarding their official pomp and assuming a sober demeanour, they proceeded straight to the abode of the descendant of Bhṛgu.
- 3. They did reverence to the Brahman in accordance with propriety and were duly honoured by him. When they had been given seats and the Bhārgava had taken his, they entered on their tale and stated their business:—
- 4. "Know us two to be charged with the preservation of the sacred traditions and with the practice of counsel respectively for the royal scion of Ikṣvāku's line, who is pure in his might, pure in his widespreading fame.
- 2. Böhtlingk's vinītaveṣāv in c is against C and T. T translates Bhārgava here and in 3 by 'son of Angiras'.
- 3. T, which I would amend as W suggests, takes kathām with ūcatuḥ and ātmakṛtyam with chittvā. The exact meaning of kathām chid does not seem to go beyond that given above, cp. Mhv., III, 388, I, Dūtavākya, verse 30, and Dhūrtaviṭasamvāda, p. 6, 1. 19. Alternatively it may mean 'putting the matter briefly', a sense in which the same phrase appears to be used at xxiv. 48.
- 4. The word in c for which A has adhīram corresponds to adhīrata ir x. 1, and I would therefore amend T's nag-por, 'black', to bdag-por, which is used there. Properly adhītam, which seems the only possible word, should mean 'learned', and I know of no precise parallel for its use, etymologically quite possible, in the sense of 'set over', 'employed in'.

- 5. He who resembles Indra has a son resembling Jayanta, who, we hear, has come to this place in his desire to pass beyond the dangers of old age and death. Your Holiness should know that we have come on his account."
- 6. He answered them, "The long-armed prince did come here, a boy in years but of fully developed intelligence. But, understanding that our rule of life leads to rebirth, he went on to seek Arāda in his desire for salvation."
- 7. Then on learning the true state of affairs from him, they immediately bade farewell to the sage, and started off in the direction the prince had taken, wearied indeed but in their devotion to the king as if unwearied.
- 8. Then as they went along, they saw him sitting on the road at the foot of a tree, not adorned with the artifices of the toilet but blazing with his form, like the sun when it has entered a circle of cloud.
- 9. Then leaving the chariot, the purchita, accompanied by the counsellor, went up to him, as the seer, the son of Urvaśī, accompanied by Vāmadeva, approached Rāma when he was in the forest.

सन्यमेव जयते

- 6. Asti is here used as a particle and its exact force is rendered by the English idiom with 'did', implying that there has been a subsequent change in the position. There have been several plausible attempts to amend the last words of b and it would be easy to add to them, but the MS. reading, which is also certified by T, is quite satisfactory, if kumāraḥ is taken in the double sense of 'prince' and 'boy', and the full force is given to the doubled negative.
- 9. The son of Urvaśi has hitherto been taken to be Agastya, but to make the comparison correct, as Vāmadeva was minister to Daśaratha, the seer must have been his purohita, namely Vasistha. This is confirmed by C's transliteration which gives Vasitha, and by the fact that in the very rare references to Vāmadeva in the $R\bar{a}m$, and Bh, in the latter of which he is confused with a rsi of the same name, he is usually coupled with Vasistha. T's equivalent, slar-gnas, is uncertain, but, if slar is from sla-na, 'pot', it may mean Kumbhayoni, which would be either Agastya or Vasistha (Brhaddevatā, v. 150). The legend of Vasistha's descent from Urvaśi is alluded to in the Rigveda, but had apparently already been lost sight of by the time of the

- 10. They paid him due honour, as Śukra and the son of Angiras did to the mighty Indra in heaven, and he paid them due honour in return, as the mighty Indra did to Śukra and the son of Angiras in heaven.
- 11. Then obtaining his permission, they sat down on either side of the banner of the Śākya race and, thus close to him, they resembled the twin stars of Punarvasu in conjunction with the moon.
- 12. The purchita addressed the king's son as he sat, shining gloriously, at the foot of the tree, just as Brhaspati addressed Indra's son Jayanta, as he sat in Paradise by the pārijāta tree:—
- 13. "Listen, Prince, to this that the king said to you, with his eyes raining tears, when he was stupefied for a moment on the ground with the dart of grief for you plunged into his heart:—
- 14. "I know of your fixed resolve with regard to dharma and I realise that this will be your future goal. But by reason of your proceeding to the forest at the wrong time I am burnt up with the fire of grief as with a real fire.

epics. This passage therefore suggests the poet's knowledge of Vedic literature. The epics know of no such visit to Rāma, and the significance of this reference is dealt with in the Introduction.

- 10. T correctly divides in b and d Śukra and Āṅgirasa (Bṛhaspati). These two are always mentioned together as the gurus of the gods and as authors of the first political treatises; cp. i. 41 above and S., i. 4. The comparison suggests that the poet looked on Śukra as the minister of the gods. I can find no exact parallel; the MBh knows of Indra's honourable treatment of Bṛhaspati, but Śukra does not seem to be joined with him in that.
- 11. Nepali MSS. show a good deal of confusion between $\bar{\imath}$ and e, ai, so that I have no hesitation in correcting $nis\bar{\imath}datu\dot{\mu}$. The simile occurs $R\bar{a}m$., vi. 51, 22. In the $\dot{S}\bar{a}riputraprakarana$ (SBPAW, 1911, 397) the Buddha with three disciples is compared to the moon in conjunction with some threes starred asterism whose name is lost; so also at B., xvii. 41, while at B., xvii. 2, the comparison, misunderstood by W, is to the moon and the five stars of Hastā, whose regent is the sun.
 - 14. For b cp. ii. 33b, in T as well as in the Sanskrit.

- 15. Therefore come, lover of *dharma*, to do me a favour, and give up this purpose for the very sake of *dharma*. For the current of my grief has swollen and is afflicting me, as the swollen current of a river cuts away the bank.
- 16. For the actions, which the wind, the sun, fire and the thunderbolt exercise on a cloud, water, dry grass and a mountain respectively, are being exercised on me by grief with its dispersing, drying up, burning and shattering.
- 17. Therefore enjoy lordship for the present over the earth and you shall go to the forest at the time approved by the Scriptures. Have regard for me, your unlucky father; for dharma consists in compassion for all creatures.
- 18. Nor is it only in the forest that this *dharma* is achieved; its achievement is certain for the self-controlled in a city too. Purpose and effort are the means in this matter; for the forest and the badges of mendicancy are the mark of the faint-hearted.
- 19. The *dharma* of salvation has been attained by kings, even though they remained at home, wearing the royal tiara, with strings of pearls hanging over their shoulders and their arms fortified by rings, as they lay cradled in the lap of imperial Fortune.
- 20. The two younger brothers of Dhruva, Bali and Vajrabāhu, Vaibhrāja, Aṣāḍha and Antideva, Janaka the Videhaking,... Druma and the Senajit kings,
 - 16. Cp. S., xvii. 59.
- 18. Linga is the shaven head, robe etc.; cp. xii. 46, S., vii. 49, and JRAS, 1930, 863.
- 19. C alters the arrangement of the verses here, not at all to their advantage, reading in the order 22, 20, 19, 21. T takes viṣakta in a as 'earring', so that viṣaktahārā=karṇayoktraka of v. 55; for this sense of viṣakta ep. S., xvi. 76. For b ep. LV., 41, 8, and 49, 2, and Mhv., I, 201, 8. A's mokṣadharmaḥ in d would ordinarily be inferior to T's mokṣamārgaḥ, but is more in accord with the king's repeated use of the word dharma.
- 20. Of the names in this verse Janaka is well-known, Druma is referred to elsewhere by the poet (see note on verse 70 below), the MBh. praises various

21. All these lords of men, you must know, were versed in the method of practising the *dharma* that leads to final beatitude, while still remaining in their homes. Therefore resort even to both at once, lordship over knowledge and royal sovereignty.

Senajit kings, and Antideva is the same as Rantideva (see note on i. 52); Dhruva I take to be Brahmā, Bali the Asura and Vajrabāhu Indra, the latter being called the anuja god in xvii. 41, a verse misunderstood by W. The rest I cannot trace. In d C is corrupt; it runs, filling up the gaps in brackets 'Druma, Sena(jit) king(s), Anuja, Āṣā(dha), Vajra, Bāhu, Vaibhrā(ja) Anti(deva), Videhajana(ka), Naraśavara(?)'. Owing to Druma and Dhruva starting with the same two characters in Chinese, the final line has taken the place of the first one; for the missing name in d we have the enigmatic last column of five characters. FP reproduces the names in its prose portion, but is also not clear for d. It names (749, al7 bottom to 19 bottom) Dhruvānuja (Sui-chang), Balivajra, Bahu, Vaibhrāja(!), Adhya, Antideva and Videharāja Janaka. Column 20 mentions Yayati and Rama with a group of characters following each, which may originally have been other names. These two versions agree against T and Co. in dividing Balivajra and Bāhu, not Bali and Vajrabāhu. A's yānge or yāngi in d might stand palæographically for Padmi. On the two other occasions that the poet names Druma, he calls him Sālvādhipati, probably because otherwise Buddhists would have taken him for Druma, king of the Kinnaras. Now while nothing can be made out of T's hgro-ba, we should, if we correct to do-ba, have Salva as translated below at verse 70; this would explain the puzzling can ($=sa^{\circ}$, or 'having') at the end of the name, and apparently hgro and do are pronounced in practically the same way. The best conjecture therefore would be Sālvadrumam; though it does not fully explain A's reading, it corresponds to C's last three characters by transposing the last two.

21. The reading in c is insoluble; A's ubho indicates the impossible ubhau, the ubhe 'pi of Co.'s MSS. is also bad, and to read ubhe hi with Böhtlingk will not do, as hi is not wanted and api after ubha is a regular use to signify totality (PW s. api, 9). A and T both read $vitt\bar{a}dhipatyam$, which disposes of the $citt\bar{a}dhipatyam$ of Co.'s MSS., but to translate it as 'lordship over wealth' makes very poor sense, though $J\bar{a}t$., ii. 3, probably uses it thus. Similarly at MBh., xii. 784, dharmam any e vittam any e dhanam ihanti $e\bar{a}pare$, the meaning 'wealth' will not do (if the verse refers to the trivarga, then vitta is $k\bar{a}ma$ here). Chas, 'You can now return home and reverently practise both duties; prepare your mind for the highest dharma and become the highest ruler on

- 22. For it is my wish to embrace you closely while you are still wet with the coronations waters, to behold you benea h the imperial umbrella, and with the selfsame joy to proceed to the forest."
- 23. So spoke the king to you with a speech whose utterance was strangled by tears. You should listen and, to do him pleasure, you should follow after his love with love.
- 24. The Śākya king is drowning in the unplumbed ocean of suffering, which originates from you and whose waters are grief. Therefore rescue him who is without a protector or support, as a ship rescues a man drowning without support in the ocean.
- 25. Hearing of the deeds done by Bhīṣma, who sprang from the womb of Gaṅgā, Rāma, and Rāma the descendant of Bhṛgu, to please their fathers, you also should do what your father wants.
- 26. Know that the queen, who brought you up, weeps piteously and incessantly in distress like a fond cow who has lost her calf, and has almost gone to the region over which Agastya presides.
- 27. You should save by the sight of yourself your wretched wife, who, though not a widow, is husbandless and resembles a goose separated from her mate or a cow-elephant abandoned in the forest by the bull-elephant.
- earth', on the strength of which I put in 'knowledge' as a stopgap, till the correct solution is found.
 - 23. Perhaps better to divide tatsneham anu prayātum in d.
 - 25. The deeds referred to are too well known to need specification.
- 26. Each verse from here to 37, except 30, 33 and 36, have gaps in A of varying length caused by the destruction of the end of leaf 37; the lacunæ can be filled up with certainty from T. In a samehi cannot mean 'consider' or 'know', and T undoubtedly had the better samavehi. The second pāda, by saying that she has not died, implies that she is on the point of doing so; C seems also to have understood it thus. In c T translates vatsalām by gūen-bšes, which would stand more naturally for bāndhavām. Rudantī, though grammatically incorrect, is the form used by Aśvaghoşa.

- 28. Deliver Rāhula from grief for his parent as the full moon from eclipse by Rāhu; he is your only son, an infant unfitted for suffering, yet bearing the smart of sorrow in his heart.
- 29. The palace and the entire city are being burnt up with the fire of grief, whose fuel is separation from you, whose smoke is sighs and whose flames sorrow, and they long for the water of a sight of you."
- 30. The Bodhisattva, fulfilled in resolution, listened to the words of the purchita, and after a moment's meditation, in his knowledge of all qualities, he thus made an excellent and courteous reply:—
- 31. "I am fully aware of the feelings fathers have for their sons, more especially that which the king has for me; but though I know it, I am afraid of disease, old age and death and have no alternative but to quit my kindred.
- 32. For, if in the end there were not parting from one's dear ones, who would not wish to see his dear kinsfolk? But since, however long delayed, separation does take place, I quit even my affectionate father.
- 33. As for your mention of the king's grief on my behalf, it does not please me that he should feel distress, since unions are fleeting as dreams and parting is certain.
- 28. PW's references for udvah in this sense are all much later; ep. Jāt., xix. 20, and Sisupālavadha, xiv. 17.
- 29. The missing character in c was wrongly restored by me at JRAS, 1929, 541.
- 30. Paripūrņasatīva means not only that his resolution was unshaken but, as in ii. 56, that he was ripe for enlightenment. Guṇavadguṇajñaḥ is capable of several interpretations, all probably meant by the poet. I follow C; Co. and Schmidt take it as a compound, 'knowing all the virtues of the virtuous', while Formichi, relying on Manu, ii. 30 (still more to the point quṇavati muhūrte at i. 85 above), takes guṇavat as agreeing with muhūrtam.
- 31. The construction of c is curious and parallel passages (Bodhicaryā vatāra, vi. 56, Vairāgyaśataka, 12, Jāt., xix. 1, Jātaka, V, 180 and 186) put it rather differently.
- 33. It is better in the second line to take the locatives as absolute, not as depending on samtapyate.

- 34. And, perceiving the mutable course of the world, your mind should come thus to this conclusion that the cause of affliction is neither the son nor the father; this distress is the outcome of ignorance.
- 35. The separation of creatures who have come together in this world, as of wayfarers, is inevitable in the course of time. What wise man then would cherish grief, when forsaken by those who are only his kindred in name?
- 36. A man comes hither, abandoning his kindred in the previous existence; and he gives them the slip in this life and journeys on again; after going to the next existence too, he goes to a further one. How can there be attachment to folk who are ever deserting others?
- 37. And since from the womb onwards in all circumstances Death is ready to strike, why does His Majesty in his love for his son describe my departure to the forest as being at the wrong time?
- 34. But for T, which perhaps we should amend with W to hchir-ba (=kheda, $t\bar{a}pa$), I would have accepted Gawroński's amendment in d. One could understand with W its $\tilde{n}id$ as for eva (i.e. evaișa), but more probably it represents the ending °ika of the previous compound.
- 35. In a I have only preferred T to A after some hesitation; yadā requires a correlative in the main sentence, and in view of the Buddhist use of adhvan for the three divisions of time, past, present and future, adhvagānām might be ambiguous without iha as implying those who are travelling from birth to birth. Cp. S., xv. 34, for further development of the simile, in which this meaning of adhvaga may be hinted at. Pratijāāta in d as in the philosophical term pratijāā; cp. Jāt., xx. 23, suhrtpratijāaih.
- 36. The repetition of api in c is suspicious; $gatv\bar{a}$ ca would be better. T translates anurodha 'consideration', as in vii. 36; cp. S., xiii. 48, for the meaning I give it. The difference between yogini and $ty\bar{a}gini$ palæographically is minute and I see no reason for not accepting T's reading.
- 37. For the restoration of ab cp. S., v. 22, and xv. 54. W holds T did not have $ak\bar{a}le$ in c, but I am not certain. The reading would have to be $ak\bar{a}la\dot{m}$ vanasa $\dot{m}\dot{s}raye$, as Aśvaghosa does not use $ak\bar{a}la$ as an adjective, the usual Buddhist form being $\ddot{a}k\bar{a}lika$; and I therefore prefer the locative.

- 38. There is a wrong time for giving oneself up to the objects of the senses; similarly a time is prescribed for the means to wealth. At all seasons Time constrains the world; Time does not exist in the highest good which leads to salvation.
- 39. And as for the king's desire to hand the kingdom over to me, that too is noble and worthy of a father, but it would not be right for me to accept it, like a sick man greedily accepting unwholesome food.
- 40. In what way could it be right for a wise man to take sovereignty on himself? It is the abode of delusion in which are to be found fearfulness, the intoxication of pride, weariness and loss of *dharma* by the mishandling of others.
- A difficult stanza. The reading of the first line is curious, and Cappeller ingeniously takes both akālah and kālah with each locative, 'there is a wrong time and a right time similarly, etc.', but I do not think this is really possible nor do I like T's pravistah (in Nepali MSS, a bit earlier than A va and da are sometimes hard to distinguish). C translates, 'Wait (Giles' 9915 taken in the sense of 10569) for the time to experience the five pleasures. in seeking wealth there is time also'. In the second line kāla in c primarily means Time as Death; cp. xi. 61, antako jagad vikarsati. For d nirvāhaka only occurs ASPP., 203 and 439 (=AAA., 283 and 477), but cp. the use of nirvāhaya at viii. 40, and C and T both seem to indicate it, while palæographically it is the best solution of A's reading. In Pali nibbāhana occurs several times, but only in the Milindapañha, a work which originated in a still unidentified Hinayāna school. The use of nirvahana for mokṣa and for the 'catastrophe' of a drama at Siśupālavadha, xiv. 63, should also be noted. The pāda has more than one meaning; time is samskṛta and therefore finds no place in the summum bonum which is asamskrta. Similarly death finds no place there. for it is amrta.
- 40. It would be natural to take parāpacāreņa as meaning 'by the illdoing of others', the reference being to the king's having to take his share of the wrongdoing of his subjects. But AK., III, 91, says that kings with their adhikaraņasthas and daṇḍanetṛkas are incapable of samvara, because the maintenance of order requires them to use personal violence to others which is fatal to the religious life, and this must be the primary sense here in view of 48 below. For dharmaṇḍā ep. MBh., xiii. 4556, KS., i. 5, 6, Svapnavāsavadatta, i. 6, and S., iv. 34.

- 41. For kingship is at the same time full of delights and the vehicle of calamity, like a golden palace all on fire, like dainty food mixed with poison, or like a lotus-pond infested with crocodiles.
- 42. And thus kingship is neither pleasure nor *dharma*, so that the kings of old, when age came on with its unavoidable suffering, felt disgust and, giving up their kingdoms, betook themselves to the forest.
- 43. For it is better to eat herbs in the forest, embracing the highest contentment as if one were concealing a jewel, than to live with the dangers to which sovereignty is exposed, as if with loathsome black snakes.
- 44. For it is praiseworthy for kings to leave their kingdoms and enter the forest in the desire for *dharma*, but it is not fitting to break one's vow and forsaking the forest to go to one's home.
- 45. For what man of resolution and good family, having once gone to the forest in the desire for *dharma*, would cast off the robe and, dead to shame, proceed to the city even of Puramdara?
- 46. For only the man, who from greed, delusion or fear, would take again the food he has vomited up, would from greed, delusion or fear, abandon the lusts of the flesh and then return to them.
- 47. And the man, who, after escaping with difficulty from a burning house, would enter that very house again, only he, after giving up the state of a householder, because he sees its dangers, would desire out of delusion to assume it again.
 - 43. For adriya, which applies also to dosa, see reference in PWK.
- 46. A like T could read *lobhād vimohād* in a, but the reading in c settles the matter. For the simile cp. MBh., xii. 3038.
- 47. The verse I omit after this verse cannot be genuine; it is unlike the rest of the passage or the poet's style, and repeats the simile of verse 49. Nor would C omit so moral a verse, if he had had it in his text.

- 48. As for the tradition that kings obtained final emancipation while remaining in their homes, this is not the case. How can the *dharma* of salvation in which quietude predominates be reconciled with the *dharma* of kings in which severity of action predominates?
- 49. If a king delights in quietude, his kingdom collapses; if his mind turns to his kingdom, his quietude is ruined. For quietude and severity are incompatible, like the union of water which is cold with fire which is hot.
- 50. Either therefore those lords of the earth resolutely cast aside their kingdoms and obtained quietude, or stained by kingship, they claimed to have attained liberation on the ground that their senses were under control, but in fact only reached a state that was not final.
- 51. Or let it be conceded they duly attained quietude while holding kingship, still I have not gone to the forest with an undecided mind; for having cut through the net known as home and kindred I am freed and have no intention of re-entering the net."
- 52. Thus spoke the king's son with vigour, freed from all ambition in accordance with his virtues and self-knowledge, and adducing good arguments. The counsellor too, hearing him, thus made reply:—
- 48. For daṇḍa as the supreme duty of a king, see Manu, vii. 17-55, and MBh., xii. 425ff., and for the sentiment note MBh., iii. 1396, and Kād., 37, 1. 17, sāmaprayogaparo 'pi satatāvalambitadaṇḍaḥ, of a hermit. For śamapradhāna, Śākuntala, ii. 7.
- 50. I cannot square any possible reconstruction of T in c with A palæographically. $R\bar{a}jy\bar{a}ngit\bar{a}$ is a stopgap, adopted because in A nga and dma are almost identical, but $r\bar{a}jy\bar{a}nvit\bar{a}$ or $r\bar{a}jy\bar{a}\acute{s}rit\bar{a}$ would be better sense. It is also possible to divide $v\bar{a}=anibhrt^{\circ}$ and take the compound with the preceding word. T's $abhim\bar{a}na$, as appears from AK., IV, 27, is peculiarly suitable here; for it is the claim of a man who has certain good qualities that they are higher qualities than they really are.
- 52. With regard to W's note on the first line, I would make A and T correspond by amending the latter's de-hdod to re-hdod (= $sprh\bar{a}$, translated sometimes by hdod-pa, sometimes by re-ba).

- 53. "It is not that your resolution for the practice of dharma is unfitting in itself, but only that the present is not the time for it. For it could not be your dharma, delighting in dharma as you do, to deliver up your father in his old age to grief.
- 54. And surely your intellect is not subtle or else is short-sighted in the matter of *dharma*, wealth and pleasure, that you should despise the object before your eyes in favour of an unseen result and so depart.
- 55. And some say there is rebirth, others confidently assert that there is not. Since this matter is thus in doubt, it is proper to enjoy the sovereignty that offers itself to you.
- 56. If there is any continuance of activity hereafter, we shall enjoy ourselves in it according to the birth we obtain; but if there is no continuance of activity in another existence, this world accomplishes liberation without any effort on its part.
- 57. Some say there is a future life but do not explain the means of liberation. They teach that there is an essential force of nature at work in the continuance of activity, like the essential heat of fire and the essential liquidity of water.
- 54. Perhaps $y\bar{a}si$ here should be taken as simply an auxiliary to the gerundive.
- 55. Cp. Kaṭha Up., i. 20; also see MBh., xiv. 1348ff., for a much longer list of alternatives. Could niyatapratijñāḥ mean 'those who assert that the world is ruled by niyati'?
- 56. I take *upapatti* here in its Buddhist sense; cp. the definition AK., II, 5, and P.T.S. *Pali Dictionary* s.v. But it would do to translate 'according to what we obtain there', the general sense remaining the same.
- 57. Co. translated b, 'but they do not allow the possibility of liberation', free but perhaps right. C and T render prakṛti and svabhāva by the same words, and the identity here is apparent by comparing the second line with •S., xvi. 12; and the former is not to be understood therefore in the classical Sānkhya sense. Gawroński's conjecture requires that pravṛti should be to prakṛti what auṣṇya is to agni, and is more in accord with Sānkhya views; but the school described here is certainly not Sānkhya, but some variety of materialism.

- 58. Some explain that good and evil and existence and non-existence originate by natural development; and since all this world originates by natural development, again therefore effort is vain.
- 59. That the action of each sense is limited to its own class of object, that the qualities of being agreeable or disagreeable is to be found in the objects of the senses, and that we are affected by old age and afflictions, in all that what room is there for effort? Is it not purely a natural development?
- 60. The oblation-devouring fire is stilled by water, and the flames cause water to dry up. The elements, separate by nature, group themselves together into bodies and, coalescing, constitute the world.
- 61. That, when the individual enters the womb, he develops hands, feet, belly, back and head, and that his soul unites with that body, all this the doctors of this school attribute to natural development.
- 62. Who fashions the sharpness of the thorn or the varied nature of beast and bird? All this takes place by natural
- 59. I take *viṣayeṣu* with a as well as b; the latter implies that the quality of being agreeable or the reverse is to be found in the object, not in the attitude we bring to it. Perhaps it is also intended to deny the Buddhist doctrine of adhipatiphala, according to which our surroundings in the world are the fruit of our actions in previous existences. In d T construes nanu with the preceding words.
- 60. The argument seems to be that the elements play a double part, first by destroying each other by mutual opposition, secondly by coalescing to form the world; C states this definitely. In d T's reading may indicate $gatv\bar{a}$.
- 61. T's ${}^{\circ}m\bar{u}rdhn\bar{a}m$ was conjectured by Kern, and this is apparently also the reading in I.O.MS. Hodgson 31/5 (vol. 29), fol. 21, where verses 60–64 and 66-67 are quoted; these excerpts seem to have been made by Amṛtānanda and probably reproduce the original state of A's text. In c T divides $yad\bar{a} = \bar{a}tmanah$.
- 62. This verse is quoted in full (with the variant kāmacāro in d) in Ṣaḍdar-śanasamuccaya, p. 13, and the first three pādas (substituting hi siddham for pravṛttam in c) in Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstra, viii. 136; it is also perhaps referred to at Nyāyasūtra, iv. 1, 22. For a similar sentiment cp. Jāt., xxiii. 17, and

development. There is no such thing in this respect as action of our own will, a fortiori no possibility of effort.

- 63. So others say that creation proceeds from Iśvara. What is the need in that case for action by man? The very same being, who is the cause in the continuing activity of the world, is certainly also the cause in its ceasing to be active.
- 64. There are others who assert that the coming into being and the passing away from being is solely on account of the soul. But they explain coming into being as taking place without effort, and declare the attainment of liberation to be by effort.
- 65. On the ground that a man discharges his debt to his ancestors by the procreation of offspring, to the seers by the Vedas, to the gods by sacrifices, that he is born with these three debts on him, and that whoever obtains release from them obtains that which alone can be called liberation,
- 66. The doctors declare that liberation is for him only who strives thus in accordance with these Vedic injunctions; for those, who desire liberation by means of their individual energy, however much they exert themselves, reap nothing but weariness.

सन्धमेव जयते

Gaudapāda on $S\bar{a}mkhyak\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$, 61. For d cp. $J\bar{a}taka$, V, 242, \dot{y} ' $\bar{a}hu$ n'atthi viriyan ti, in describing the tenets of this school, and for a few references for the $svabh\bar{a}vav\bar{a}da$ generally, see JRAS, 1931, 566–8, and notes in text and translation on S., xvi. 17.

- 64. This verse refers to the Sāmkhya; that ātman stands for the Sāmkhya soul appears from xii. 20, and ayatnāt is equivalent to svabhāvāt, which is the principle underlying the action of the eightfold prakrti. Possibly the sense of nimitta here is connected with its use in similar circumstances at Śvet. Up., i. 4, and vi. 5, where it means 'characteristic' or linga (cp. JRAS, 1930, 860); T's mtshan-ma would support its being so rendered, but all previous translators, including C, understand the first line to mean that the ātman alone causes the coming into being, etc.
 - 65. This verse is the statement of the tajjñāh in 66. See note on verse 76.
- 66. Vidhi in the technical sense here. The readings of the second line are corroborated by T and the general sense is certain, but would be more

- 67. So, my good sir, if you are attached to liberation, follow in due form the injunctions I have just described. Thus you will obtain liberation and the king's grief will be brought to an end.
- 68. As for your idea that it is wrong to go back to the palace from the penance groves, be not disturbed, my son, on that score either; those of old went to their own families from the forests.
- 69. Although he was living in the penance grove surrounded by his subjects, Ambarīṣa went back to his city; so too Rāma left the penance grove and protected the earth, when it was oppressed by the infidel.
- 70. Similarly the king of the Śālvas called Druma with his son entered the city from the forest, and Antideva, the Sāmkṛti, who was a Brahman seer, accepted the royal dignity from the sage, Vasiṣṭha.

clearly expressed by taking *vikrama* to mean 'wrong course of action' (cp v. 32, and x. 25). C has, 'If one uses other means (or, efforts), it is vain toil and no truth', but I do not think this really supports Speyer's conjecture.

- 69. The reference in the first line is uncertain, as there were several Ambarīṣas, of whom the most important was the son of Nābhāga; it is also another name of Hariścandra (Pargiter, 92). No apposite story is preserved, but both are related to have gone to heaven with their people; hence my rendering of prajābhīḥ, instead of 'children' with T. The second line can hardly refer to Rāma, son of Daśaratha, unless Aśvaghoṣa knew an entirely different legend to that we have, and it is natural to see an allusion to Paraśurāma and his delivery of the earth from Arjuna Kārtavīrya; S., vii. 51, which has the same four names as this and the next verse, has Rāmo 'ndhra, which I took to be for Rāmo 'ndha and to mean Balarāma. Possibly one should take Andhra there to refer to the domains of the Andhra kings with the western portion of which Paraśurāma is associated by legend.
- 70. The king of the Śālvas who returned from the forest with his son can only be Dyumatsena, father-in-law of Sāvitrī; but here, as in verse 20 above and S., vii. 51, the form Druma is certain. In the second line brahmar-sibhūta refers to the fact that the Sāmkṛtis were Kṣatriyan Brahmans, but I cannot trace the legend referred to here, though Antideva's connexion with Vasistha is known from the MBh, and i. 52 above.

- 71. Such as these, who blazed with the fame of *dharma* gave up the forest and proceeded to their palaces. Therefore there is nothing wrong in going home from the penance grove, when it is for the sake of *dharma*."
- 72. The prince listened to the affectionate words, meant for his good, of the counsellor, the king's eye, and then taking his stand on steadfastness, gave him a reply, which met every point without being over-discursive and was devoid of attachment as well as measured in tone:—
- 73. "As for this disputed question of existence and non-existence in this universe, no decision is possible for me on the strength of another's words. I will arrive at the truth for myself by asceticism and quietude and will accept what is determined accordingly in this matter.
- 74. For it would not be proper for me to accept a doctrinal system, which is born of doubt and is obscure and mutually contradictory. For what wise man would go forward in dependence on another, like a blind man with a blind leader in the dark?
- 71. For atiyuh cp. viii. 83, and S., vii. 50. C perhaps supports Gawroński in a, 'declared to have a good name for their excellent dharma... just as lamps shine in the world'.

सन्धर्मव जयते

- 72. With much hesitation I have retained A's readings in b and d. For b Gawroński cites CII, III, 75, $r\bar{a}j\tilde{n}as$ $tr\bar{t}yam$ iva caksub. The epithets hita and priya apply better to the minister's action for the king (so T) than to his words to the prince (so C). Adruta is a very rare word, only known from the Taittiriya $Pr\bar{a}tis\bar{a}khya$ according to PWK, druta being one of the three ways of speaking known to the Vedic schools.
- 74. C does not make clear what text it had in b, possibly avyaktaparamparāgatam or "parasparā"; for the reading adopted cp. avyavasthita āgama of verse 76 and viruddheṣv āgameṣu of S., i. 14. The prince's rejection of parapratyaya has doctrinal significance. It is only the man of feeble faculties, in whom the roots of good are weak, who depends on others; those like the prince, in whom the force working for enlightenment is strong (note ii. 56, $r\bar{u}dham\bar{u}le$ 'pi hetau), act of themselves, as clearly put at S., v. 15–18.

- 75. But although I have not yet seen the final truth, still if the reality of good and evil is in dispute, my decision is for the good. For better is the toil, though vainly, of the man who devotes himself to the good than the bliss, even though in the real truth, of the man who gives himself up to what is contemptible.
- 76. But seeing that the scriptural tradition is uncertain, understand that to be good which is spoken by the authorities, and understand that the only basis for authority is the expulsion of sin. For he who has expelled sin will not speak what is false.
- 77. And as for your quoting the instances of Rāma and the others to justify my return, they do not prove your case; for those who have broken their vows are not competent authorities in deciding matters of *dharma*.
- 78. Such being the case, the sun may fall to the earth, Mount Himavat may lose its firmness, but I will not return to
- 75. The exact text of the second line is doubtful, the general sense clear. The reference is to verse 58, which lays down that śubha and aśubha are spontaneous and that effort is of no avail; tattva here means this doctrine. T, as W points out, though corrupt, must have read vṛthā hi khede 'pi, by which we must take sukham with śubhātmanah as well as vigarhitātmanah, and vṛthā khede balances tattve.
- 76. I doubt if this, the standard, rendering is correct; should not iti govern all the first line, 'And as for your statement, "But seeing that the sacred traditions (i.e. as described in 55-64) are uncertain, you should accept the views of the authorities", (I reply that) you should know, etc.'? This would imply that the hiatus in argument between 64 and 65 is due to a verse having dropped out which suggested that in view of the uncertainty of the philosophical systems the only thing to do was to trust the $tajj\tilde{n}ah$; RL has in fact such a statement. For the second line cp. the verse quoted by Gauḍapāda on $S\bar{a}mkhyak\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$, 4:—

Āgamo hy āptavacanam āptam dosakṣayād viduh i

Kṣṇṇadoṣo 'nṛtam vākyam na brūyād dhetvasambhavāt \\
to olog Mālamadhaamahakārihāo 268, 2 and Naŭaubindu

Note also $M\bar{u}lamadhyamakak\bar{u}rik\bar{u}s$, 268, 2, and $Ny\bar{u}yabindu$, 90, 15.

78. Cp. LV., ch. xix, 284, 3. The exact scope of the word pṛthagjana was a matter of dispute in the schools. The ordinary view was that a man

my family as a worldly man who has not seen the final truth and whose senses are drawn towards the objects of pleasure.

- 79. I would enter a blazing fire, but I would not enter my home with my goal unattained." Thus he proudly made his asseveration and, rising in accordance with his declaration, he departed in all selflessness.
- 80. Then the minister and the Brahman, perceiving his resolution to be unshakable, tearfully followed him, grieving and with faces downcast, then slowly for lack of other resource wended their way to the city.
- 81. Then out of affection for him and devotion to the king, they turned back full of cares and stood still; for, as he blazed with his own brightness, as unapproachable as the sun, they could neither look on him on the road nor yet quit him.
- 82. And they deputed trustworthy spies in disguise in order to know the way taken by him whose way was the highest, and with much difficulty they set off, thinking how they were to go and see the king who was thirsting for his dear son.

remained a pṛthagjana till he entered on the Path, when he became an ārya; the Buddha thus remained one till the moment of receiving bodhi. See La Vallée Poussin, Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, 639.

- 79. The doctrinal sense of $\bar{a}laya$ is also hinted at, as at S., v. 39.
- 81. For sāpekṣam, 'anxiously', cp. Aṅguttara, III, 296. In c A's durdharṣam is practically identical in content with T's durdarśam, but stronger; cp. Rām., ii. 1, 16, durdharṣaḥ samare 'rīṇām śaradbhānur ivāmalaḥ.

CANTO X

ŚRENYA'S VISIT

- 1. So the prince of the broad stout chest dismissed the officers who were in charge of the king's sacrifices and his council chamber, and passing over the tossing waves of the Ganges, he came to Rājagrha of the lordly palaces.
- 2. As peacefully as Svayambhū proceeding to the highest heaven, he entered the city distinguished by its five hills, which is guarded and adorned by mountains and supported and purified by auspicious hot springs.
- 3. The people there at that time, perceiving his gravity and might and his glorious form surpassing that of mankind, as of him who has taken the pillar vow and has the bull for his sign, were lost in amazement.
- 4. On seeing him, whoever was going in another direction stood still; whoever was standing in the road followed him; whoever was going quickly went slowly, and whoever was sitting down sprang up.
- 5. Some worshipped him with joined hands, others honoured him by saluting him with their heads, others greeted him with kindly words; none passed on without doing him reverence.
- 2. The hot springs, called tapoda and still in use at Rajgir, are referred to at Majjhima, III, 192, as well as in the Jain sources given by Leumann. The form of the first line suggests the probability of a second meaning applying to nākapṛṣṭha for śaila (adjective of śīla?), tapoda (ascetic? heatgiver? or are we to infer from verse 3 the special worship of Śiva as an ascetic at Rajagṛha?), and pañcācalāṅka. Aṅguttara, III, 44, seems to play on sīla and sela in the same way. For Svayambhū as a name of Buddha see note on ii. 51.

- 6. On seeing him, the gaudily-dressed felt ashamed and the chatterers on the roadside fell silent; as in the presence of Dharma incarnate none think thoughts not directed to the way of salvation, so no one indulged in improper thoughts.
- 7. The gaze of the women or men on the royal highroad, busied though they were with other affairs, was not satiated with looking most reverently on the godlike son of the human god.
- 8. His brows, his forehead, his mouth or his eyes, his form or his hands, his feet or his gait, whatever part of him anyone looked at, to that part his eyes were riveted.
- 9. And Rājagṛha's Goddess of Fortune was perturbed on seeing him, who was worthy of ruling the earth and was yet in a bhikṣu's robe, with the circle of hair between his brows, with the long eyes, radiant body and hands beautifully webbed.
- 10. Then Śrenya, lord of the Magadha land, saw from an outer pavilion the mighty concourse of people and enquired the reason thereof. Then an officer explained it to him:—
- 11. "This is the son of the Śakya monarch, of whom the Brahmans said he would attain either supreme knowledge or lordship over the whole earth. He has become a wandering mendicant and the people are gazing at him."
- 12. Then the king, on hearing the reason, was excited in mind and said to the same officer, "Find out where he is stopping". "Very well", he replied and followed the prince.
- 6. In relation to *dharma*, $ny\bar{a}ya$ is used as in S., xiv. 43, xv. 26, etc., of the plan, course of action, by which salvation is obtained; for the Sarvāstivādin use of it see AK., V, 32ff. $Vicitrave \bar{s}\bar{a}h$, because modest apparel is alone proper to seeing or worshipping great saints.
- 7. The last $p\bar{a}da$ is a sentiment often repeated, e.g., R., ii. 73, $R\bar{a}m$., ii. 2, 15, LV., 114, l. 12, and 240, l. 14, Mhv., II, 201, 3. To read $nir\bar{\imath}ksya$ with T in d would be better, but there is no clue in that case to the next two syllables.
 - 8. Cp. Nala, v. 9, and Rām., v. 22, 15.
 - 10. The exact meaning of ajira here is uncertain.

- 13. But with moveless eyes looking only a yoke's length ahead, voice stilled and walk slow and restrained, he, the best of mendicants, kept his limbs and active mind under control and begged his food.
- 14. And accepting the alms without distinction, he proceeded to a lonely rivulet of the mountain, and after taking his meal there in due form he climbed Mount Pāṇḍava.
- 15. On that mountain, fledged with groves of *lodhra* trees and with its glades resounding with peacocks' calls, he, the sun of mankind, appeared in his ochre-coloured robe like the sun in the early morning above the eastern mountain.
- 16. The royal officer, seeing him there, informed king Srenya, and the king, on hearing the news, set off, but only with a modest retinue from his feeling of veneration.
- 17. In heroism the peer of Pāṇḍu's son, in stature like a mountain, he ascended Pāṇḍava the best of mountains; this lion-man, with the gait of a lion and wearing a royal tiara, resembled a lion with shaking mane.
- 18. Then he saw the Bodhisattva, sitting cross-legged with tranquil senses, being as it were a peak of the mountain and shining like the moon rising out of a bower of clouds.
- 13. For a ep. $BhN\dot{S}$., xiii. 79. T seems faulty in b. For $nidh\bar{a}ya$ ep. S., vii. 48.
 - 14. T again seems faulty in b.
- 15. Avi, 'mountain', is known to the Indian lexica and occurs at S., i. 48, in the expression avibhrānta, 'wandering on the mountain'. It is the only word that enables A and T to be fitted together and may be taken to be a certain reading.
- 16. It is more proper for a king to visit a saint with a small retinue, e.g. HC., ch. viii, p. 72, 1. 33; but some versions of this legend make Bimbisāra go out with a large following and C here gives him 100,000 followers and may have read pratasthe 'nibhrtānuyātraḥ, if it did not wilfully alter the sense.
- 17. The second line is probably suggested by Bimbisāra's lineage; for Aśvaghoṣa apparently took the dynasty to descend from the Bṛnadrathas (see note on xi. 2), who, it may be inferred from S., viii. 44, were fabled to descend from a lion.

- 19. As he sat there in the majesty of his beauty and ip holy tranquillity, like some being magically projected by Dharma, the lord of men drew near him with amazement and deference, as Śakra drew near Svayambhū.
- 20. And as he came in fitting manner up to him, who was the best of those who know the Plan, he enquired about his health, and he too with equal courtesy spoke to the king about his peace of mind and freedom from illness.
- 21. Then the king sat down on a clean piece of rock, dark blue as an elephant's ear, and being seated beside him with his permission spoke to him, desiring to ascertain his state of mind:—
- 22. "I have a strong friendship for your family, which has come down by inheritance and has been well tested; hence, my friend, my desire to speak with you. So listen to these words of affection.
- 23. Your family is mighty, originating from the Sun, your age the prime of youth, this your beauty radiant. Why then this decision of yours, out of all due order, to delight in alms-seeking instead of in kingship?
- 24. For your limbs are worthy of red sandalwood, not meant for contact with the ochre robe. That hand is fitted for protecting subjects and does not deserve to take food given by another.
- 25. Therefore, my friend, if out of love for your father you do not wish for your hereditary kingdom by force and if you
- 22. The word svavayah in c refers presumably to the legend that Bimbisāra was of exactly the same age as the Buddha; some schools (e.g. Dīpavamsa, iii. 58) made him a few years younger.
- 23. One would have expected *bhaikṣākya* rather than *bhaikṣāka* here and in xiii. 10; at xii. 46, the word is used adjectivally.
- 24. Windisch takes $k\bar{a}s\bar{a}yasa\dot{m}slesam$ as agreeing with $g\bar{a}tram$; it seems better to take it as accusative after anarha, though PW records the accusative only after arha, not anarha.
- 25. A typical case of Indian irony. Bimbisāra, who sees nothing unreasonable in the Buddha turning his father out of his kingdom and killing

de not care to wait for the succession in due course, accept straightway the half of my realm.

- 26. For thus there will be no need to oppress your kinsfolk, and in course of time sovereignty will come to you peacefully. Therefore do me this kindness; for association with the good makes for the prosperity of the good.
- 27. Or if now from pride of race you cannot show your trust in me, with me as your comrade plunge into the arrayed battle-lines with arrows and conquer your foes.
- 28. Choose therefore one or other of these alternatives, and in all propriety devote yourself to *dharma*, wealth and pleasure; for by confusing these three objects in this world out of passion, men go to ruin in the next world as well as in this.
- 29. For if the entire goal is desired, you must give up that pleasure which is obtained by suppressing *dharma* and wealth, and that wealth which is obtained by overpowering *dharma* and pleasure, and that *dharma* which is obtained by the cessation of wealth and pleasure.
- 30. Therefore by pursuit of the triple end of life make this beauty of yours bear fruit; for they say that the complete attainment of *dharma*, wealth and pleasure is for mankind the complete object of the individual.
- 31. Therefore you should not let these two stout arms, fitted for drawing the bow, lie useless; for like Māndhātṛ's, they

him in the process, was himself to experience that treatment at the hands of his son. Vikramena, as at ix. 66, 'by a wrong course of action'?

- 26. The text of b is undoubtedly corrupt and neither T nor C are any help in its reconstruction; conjecture in the absence of further light is hopeless. $Sah\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}$ is a curious word only known to Buddhism, viz., Divy., 312, 5, and 446, 3–5, $Avad\bar{a}na\acute{s}ataka$, I, 365, 15, and 366, 2 and 6, and Lüders, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen, leaf 13 a2.
- 27. For $vy\bar{u}dh\bar{a}ny$ $an\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}ni$ cp. $J\bar{a}t.$, xx. 27, Bhag. $G\bar{\imath}t\bar{a}$, i. 2, and MBh., ii. 682, ix. 467, and xvi. 54. This use of $vig\bar{a}h$ is also common in the epic.
- 29. Cp. R., xvii. 57, Rām., v. 84, 5-6, MBh., iii. 1285-1305, and KS., i. 2, 1, and 52.
- 31. I follow T in taking iha with kim punar $g\bar{a}m$; this brings the verse into order.

are capable of conquering even the three worlds, how much more this earth here?

- 32. Truly I say this to you out of affection, not out of love of dominion or arrogance; for, seeing this bhikṣu's robe of yours, I am moved to compassion and tears come to my eyes.
- 33. Therefore, lover of the mendicant's stage of life, enjoy the pleasures, before old age comes again on you, the pattern of your race, and confounds your beauty; in due time, lover of *dharma*, you will perform *dharma*.
- 34. The aged truly can obtain *dharma* and age has no capacity for enjoying the pleasures. And therefore they attribute the pleasures to youth, wealth to middle age, *dharma* to the old.
- 35. For, in the world of the living, youth is naturally opposed to *dharma* and wealth, and, however tightly checked, it is hard to hold, so that the pleasures carry it off by that path.
- 36. Old age is given to reflection, grave and intent on stability; with little labour it acquires holy tranquillity, partly from incapacity for anything else, partly from shame.
- 37. Therefore when men have passed through the restless, deceptive period of youth, which is given up to the objects of the senses, heedless, intolerant, and short-sighted, they breathe again as if they had safely crossed a desert.
- 33. I have accepted T's order of the two lines, because the clause governed by $y\bar{a}vat$ obviously refers only to the enjoyment of the pleasures. With this order the reference to dharma in d connects with the next verse. C throws no light on this point.
 - 34. Hopkins aptly quotes for the second line MBh., iii. 1304.
- 35. In view of Aśvaghoṣa's syntax yataḥ in the final pāda cannot mean 'because', but indicates the consequence; so it would make better sense in d to take haranti as intransitive or to read hriyante, as Gawroński suggested and T may do, so that youth would be the subject of the verb and tena pathā would correspond to yataḥ. Note that hphrogs-par-byed stands for hriyate at xii. 50. Alternatively Windisch's svena pathā.

- 38. Therefore just let this unbalanced time of youth pass away with its heedlessness and rebelliousness; for the flush of youth is a target for the God of Love and cannot be protected from the senses.
- 39. Or if *dharma* is really your intention, offer sacrifices; that is the *dharma* of your family. For taking possession of the highest heaven by means of sacrifices, Marutvat also went to the highest heaven.
- 40. For with their arms marked by rings of gold and their headdresses bright with the glitter of radiant jewels, the royal seers travelled through sacrifices the very same path that the great seers reached by their austerities."
- 41. Such was the speech of the king of Magadha, who in speaking rightly resembled Valabhid. The king's son heard it,
- 38. The argument is that it is useless to struggle against the domination of the passions in youth; old age will gradually come on and rectify the matter.
- 39. The second line is a puzzle. If C's reading of nāgapṛṣṭham in c is correct, adhiṣṭhāya means 'mounting' as in xii. 9, and yajñaih must be construed with d. But this reading may well be due to the translator's misunderstanding, and A and T both read nākapṛṣṭham, which ought presumably to have a meaning different from the one it bears in d. No other sense however seems possible and the question is of the exact purport of adhiṣṭhāya, which T takes to mean 'blessing with magic practices'; for the Buddhist use of this word see AK., II, 31, n. 2, and V, 119, n. 2, and Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, 771. This use cannot be proved for as early a period as Aśvaghosa, but he might have known the sense of 'stabilise', 'cause to endure'. I have thought it best to take a more ordinary sense for the translation. The reference is not certain; Indra's sacrifices are mentioned more than once in the MBh. and possibly we have an allusion here to some version of the story (ix. 2434ff.) by which Indra, after the slaughter of Namuci, freed himself by sacrifice from the guilt of Brahman murder and so returned to heaven.
- 41. The use of the name Valabhid for Indra, when comparing Bimbisāra to him, suggests that it is to be understood as Balabhid, 'the router of armies', in relation to the king. Alternatively, if we read as is perhaps better, dhruvam babhāṣe with A, I would take dhruva as a proper name, 'who spoke rightly to him, as Valabhid to Dhruva'. In that case Dhruva means Brahmā,

but wavered no more than the mountain of Kailāsa shakes with its many sparkling peaks.

repeating the comparison of x. 2, and 17; cp. my interpretation of ix. 20 and we should no doubt see a suggestion that Bimbisāra ranked as an anuja of the Buddha (see note on verse 22 above). Naikacitrasānu should have an application to the prince; query sānu in the sense of kovida given to it by the lexica?

CANTO XI

THE PASSIONS SPURNED

- 1. Thereon, when the Magadha king spoke to him with friendly face but with matter that was repugnant to him, the son of Śuddhodana, who was purified by the spotlessness of his race, remained calm and unmoved and addressed this reply to him:—
- 2. "There is nothing for wonderment . . . , that you should behave thus towards your friends, when you spring from the illustrious family of Haryanka and from the purity of your conduct are so devoted to your friends.
- 2. A very difficult verse, for which I do not fully understand C. In a I have followed T in the text, because it is not clear if A meant abhidhātum or abhidhātur, but T also is probably corrupt, as C's so-shuo, 'what was said', implies a form from abhidhā. The conjunction of bhavatah in a and tava in c is open to suspicion, nor should \bar{a} scaryam ctat have as predicate both a noun and a dependent clause beginning with yat. The latter must be right, and, as the verse stands, one can only construe by taking bhavato vidhānam in apposition to vittir esā, which is very harsh. The six syllables may be a corruption for an epithet of āścaryam or for a complementary phrase of the type na ca nānurūpam (I do not suggest this as possible, but only as illustrative of the required form). In b I take Haryanka to be the same as Haryanga, a Brhadratha king, whose greatness is described at Harivainśa, 1700. The name suggests the lion--legend of the Brhadrathas referred to at S., viii. 44; and in the fragments of the Buddhist dramas (Lüders, Bruchstücke, leaf 7, read with SBPAW, 1911, 409) we have what is clearly a description of Rājagṛha, in which its foundation by Brhadratha is mentioned (cp. Harivamsa, 6598). I infer that the poet considered the Śaiśunāgas to be of Brhadratha descent. C has 'the family called Hari'. Benares is similarly associated with Bhimaratha at xiv. 107 and Śrāvastī with Haryaśva at xviii. 58. In d I understand T to read pariśuddhavṛtteḥ (rather than °vṛttiḥ, as W holds), and to take it as a substantive, not as an adjective agreeing with tava. A's reading, rejected also by Co., is out of the question.

- 3. Like sovereignty among cowards, friendship, inherited in their families, does not stand firm among the vicious; but the virtuous increase the same friendship, originated by their ancestors, with an uninterrupted succession of friendly acts.
- 4. And those men in the world I hold to be truly friends, who share in the enterprises of their friends when in straits. For who in this world would not be a friend to a man who is at ease in the enjoyment of prosperity?
- 5. And thus those who, gaining riches in the world, employ them on behalf of their friends or of *dharma*, obtain the full value of their wealth, and, if it is lost, it causes them no pain at the end.
- 6. Certainly this resolution of yours regarding me, O king, proceeds from friendship and nobility of heart. I shall content you about it with similar friendship; I would not answer you in any other wise in this matter.
- 7. Bécause I recognise the danger of old age and death, I have betaken myself to this *dharma* out of longing for salvation and have quitted my tearstained relations, and still more therefore the passions, the causes of evil.
- 8. For I am not so afraid of venomous snakes or of thunderbolts that fall from the sky or of fire allied with the wind, as I fear the objects of the senses.
- 9. For the passions are ephemeral, robbers of the treasury of good, empty, like will-o'-the-wisps in the world. The mere expectation of them deludes men's minds, how much more then their actual possession?
- 3. T certainly did not read $svakul\bar{a}nur\bar{u}p\bar{a}$, which does not make good sense.
- 4. W thinks T's ran-gnas-dag ni hphel-bar in d is equivalent to svastheşu •vrddhişv iha; I doubt this, but T may be out of order here. I see no need to amend with Böhtlingk and Speyer.
- 6. A's reading in b is taken from the following verse and the restoration is almost certain. $Anun\bar{\imath}$ means 'pacify', 'conciliate' 'convince', a use occurring several times in $J\bar{a}t$. Atra refers to $ni\acute{s}caya$.

- 10. For the victims of the passions find no relief in the triple heaven, still less in the world of mortals. For the lustful man can no more win satiety from the passions, than a fire companioned by the wind can from fuel.
- 11. There is no calamity in the world equal to the passions, and it is to them that mankind in their delusions are attached. What wise man, afraid of calamity and recognising the truth to be thus, would of himself yearn for calamity?
- 12. Even when they have won the earth, girdled by the sea, they wish to extend their conquests beyond the great ocean. There is no satisfy for man with the passions, as for the ocean with the waters that fall into it.
- 13. Though the heavens rained gold for him and though he conquered the whole of the four continents and won half the seat of Śakra, yet Māndhātṛ's longing for the objects of sense remained unappeased.
- 14. Although he enjoyed sovereignty over the gods in heaven, when Satakratu hid himself for fear of Vṛtra, and though out of wanton pride he made the great ṛṣis carry him, yet Nahuṣa fell, being still unsatisfied with the passions.

सन्धमेव जयते

- 10. For the second line and for the second line of 12 below cp. S., xi. 32, and 37.
- 12. This verse is clumsy with its omission of the subject in the first line and its repetition of the third $p\bar{a}da$ of 10 in c. But C has it, and it is required to introduce the string of instances that follows and is presumably genuine. The first line is a rendering of Theragāthā, 777 (= $J\bar{a}taka$, IV, 172), and the third $p\bar{a}da$, of 778. Lüders' conjecture in c may be right, as the $p\bar{a}da$ occurs in the form he proposed at S., v. 23; but time has proved his reasoning wrong, as vitypti occurs in a similar passage at S., xv. 9 (cp. ib., xii. 15).
 - 13. For Māndhātr, see note on i. 10.
- 14. The references in this and the next verse are well known from the MBh. versions. The form Naghusa should perhaps have been retained, as T's sgra-med indicates it too and it is occasionally found in classical Sanskrit, e.g. $Pa\tilde{n}catantra$ (H.O.S., XI), 227, 20. For b, see note on viii. 13, or does it indicate an occasion before Vrtra's death?

- 15. Although the royal son of Idā penetrated the triple heaven and brought the goddess Urvaśī into his power, he was still unsatisfied with the objects of sense and came to destruction in his greedy desire to seize gold from the ṛṣis.
- 16. Who would trust in those objects of sense, which are subject to disturbance by all sorts of fate, either in heaven or on earth, seeing that they passed from Bali to great Indra, from great Indra to Nahuṣa and from Nahuṣa back again to great Indra?
- 17. Who would seek after the enemies known as the passions, by whom even sages were undone, despite their bark-dresses, their diet of roots and water, their coils of hair long as snakes, and their lack of worldly interests.
- 18. For their sake Ugrāyudha, armed though he was with a terrible weapon, met death at the hands of Bhīṣma. The
- 16. For the passing of Śrī from Bali to Indra ep. the $Baliv\bar{a}savasamv\bar{a}da$ of MBh., xii, particularly 8145-6. Visaya in d has, as in verses 13 and 15, the secondary sense of 'kingdom', but refers primarily to the objects of sense that kings gain control over by extending their sovereignty.
- 17. With much hesitation I have adopted T's nānyakāryā, as it is apparently supported by C. Compounds with na are rare, though commoner perhaps than admitted by the grammarians (Pān., vi. 3 73, 75, and Wackernagel, II, i. 77; cp. Brhaddevatā, iii. 9). Besides the stock examples, naciram etc., I note in kāvya Pratijñāyaugandharāyana, iv. 5, Kirātārjunīya, i. 19, and iii. 8, Śiśupālavadha, xiv. 84; MBh., viii. 185, has nasukara, and iii. 13664, nānyacintā (for °cittā?), and Gandīstotra, 12, Nānga for Ananga. Catuḥśataka (Mem. A.S.B., III), 497, 13, explains netara by utkṛṣṭa, and this perhaps is the meaning to be given to nānya here. Manu, vi. 96, says an ascetic should be svakāryaparama (cp. ekakāryam anantaram of a Brahman's conduct at MBh., iii. 13997), and Kād., 43, describes sages as apagatānyavyāpāra, where the primary sense is so as to gaze uninterruptedly on Jābāli, but where the secondary sense is probably as in nānyakārya here. Cp. also ananyakarmanā at AAA., 95, 20.
- 18. For Ugrāyudha, *Harivamśa*, 1082ff., and S., vii. 44 (see note in translation). For the irregular compound *ugradhrtāyudha* cp. *bodhyaṅgaśitātta-śastra* at S., xvii. 24. The reference defeated C, who substituted an allusion, better known to the Buddhists, to the legend of Arjuna Kārtavīrya and

mere thought of them is unlucky and fatal to the well-conducted, still more so therefore to those not restrained by vows.

- 19. Who would swallow the poison known as the passions, when he knows how paltry is the flavour of the objects of sense, how great the bondage, how incomplete the satisfaction, how much despised by the good, and how certain the sin?
- 20. It is right for the self-controlled to cast aside the passions, when they hear of the suffering of the passion-ridden, afflicted as they are by pursuits such as agriculture, etc. and of the well-being of those whom the passions fail to excite.
- 21. Success in the passions is to be recognised as a misfortune for the passionate man; for he becomes intoxicated by achievement of the passions, and because of intoxication he does what he should not, not what he should, and wounded thereby, he obtains rebirth in a lower sphere.
- 22. What wise man in this world would delight in those passions, which are only won and retained by labour and which, cheating men, depart again, as though they were loans borrowed for a time?

Paraśurāma. As regards W's note 11, p. 101, T can be understood to read either Bhīṣma or Bhīma. In the second line T was either corrupt or is trying to explain A's reading; the latter makes no good sense nor does Windisch's amendment meet the case, as it deprives avratānām of all point. My conjecture is palæographically sound and provides the right counterweight to the closing words.

- 19. I take $sa\dot{m}yojana$ in the Buddhist sense of 'bond', 'fetter'; $k\bar{a}mar\bar{a}ga$ is one of the ten $sa\dot{m}yojanas$. Co., followed by Windisch and Formiehi, takes b as a single clause, but Schmidt separates the two words, while W translates T according to the rules of Tibetan grammar with a very different result. All give to $sa\dot{m}yojana$ one or other of the classical Sanskrit meanings.
- 20. For a cp. S., xviii. 37, which corroborates T's reading. Query $ni\hat{s}\bar{a}mya$ in b? In d $k\tilde{a}m\bar{a}$ would be better grammar.
- 22. This and the similes in the following verses form a series which recurs frequently in the Pali canon, e.g., *Majjhima*, I, 130, 364, *Anguttara*, III, 97, *Therīgāthā*, 488ff.

- 23. What self-controlled man in the world would delight in those passions, which are like a torch of grass? When men seek and hold them, they excite desire, and if they do not let them go, they undergo suffering.
- 24. What man of self-control would delight in those passions, which are like fierce raging serpents? The uncontrolled, when bitten by them in the heart, go to destruction and obtain no relief.
- 25. What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, which are like skeletons of dry bones? Even if they enjoy them, like famished dogs eating a bone, men are not satisfied.
- 26. What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, which are like an exposed bait? Since they are held in joint tenancy with kings, thieves, fire and water, they originate suffering.
- 27. What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, which are like dangerous haunts? By abiding in
- 23. The point is that a lighted torch, if held in the hand, may burn it, and the first line should be translated so as to bring this out.
- 26. Kings etc. hold the passions jointly with the owners in the sense that they may take away the objects of enjoyment at any time. This idea and the use of sādhāraṇa to express it are both common. The group consists sometimes of these four (KA., iii. 15, 4, Vācaspati Miśra on Sāmkhyakārikā, 50, Mhv., II, 366, 12), sometimes of five, adding kinsfolk (Majjhima, I, 86, Anguttara, III, 259, Therīgāthā, 505, Bodhisattvabhūmi (ed. Wogihara), 5, and MBh., iii. 85), sometimes of six, adding foes (Anguttara, II, 68, Jāt., p. 122, 6-8), or of eight (Samyutta, IV, 324). The exact connexion of praviddhāmiṣa with the first line is not clear to me, presumably bait or prey which attracts robbers etc.
- 27. Cp. S., xvi. 79, for the use of api to co-ordinate two substantives opposed in sense. There is a suggestion here that āyatana refers to the twelve āyatanas, the six external ones of which are compared to thieves at Samyutta, IV, 175. T in fact renders it so. But the main sense is as above, in which I see no difficulty; compare the use of āyatana, particularly araññāyatana, in Pali (P.T.S. Pali Dict., s. āyatana 1). Kinsfolk are a real danger in India, as in the note on the preceding verse. C's translation, if I understand it right,

them there is misfortune on all sides at the hands of one's enemy and of one's relations as well.

- 28. What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, which are like fruit hanging on the topmost boughs of a tree? On the mountains, in the forest, on the rivers, on the sea, men precipitate themselves after them and thereby come to ruin.
- 29. What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, which are like the enjoyments of a dream? Acquired at the price of many bitter efforts, they are lost in this world in a moment.
- 30. What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, which are like trenches full of red-hot charcoal? Though men procure them, increase them, guard them, yet they find no comfort in them.
- 31. What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, which are like the knives and fuel-wood of slaughter-

is purely fanciful. T takes abhitaḥ to mean 'quickly', as in the Amarakośa, which is possible.

- 28. In b A's yadbhramśam is untranslateable, and to divide yad bhramśam is contrary to the scheme of this set of verses. T does not show the plural but can only have read yān, the reading conjectured by Cappeller. Langh with abhi is only known in the causative; for it with vi cp. Śiśupālavadha, xvii. 55 (reading vyalanghiṣuh), the proper meaning being 'climb up to'. A free rendering meets the case better here, as one cannot climb up to a thing on the sea.
- 30. C takes the simile to refer to walking over a fire-pit falsely covered over, and T translates $a\dot{n}g\bar{a}ra$ 'cow-dung', which is perhaps better than 'charcoal'. I understand the simile to mean that red-hot charcoal in a trench (such as is sometimes used for cooking still) gives out no heat to those sitting by it and soon dies down, however much looked after. $A\dot{n}g\bar{a}rakar_s\bar{u}$ is a regular simile for $k\bar{a}ma$; besides the lists referred to under 22 above and Windisch's quotation of Mhv., II, 327, 331, 332, note LV., ch. xxi, 329 9, $Sik_s\bar{a}samuccaya$, 79, 5, $Suttanip\bar{a}ta$, 396, as typical instances.
- 31. The reading $s\bar{u}n\bar{a}si^{\circ}$ in c is certain. The corresponding Pali passages and the Divy, use the curious phrase $asis\bar{u}n\bar{a}$ instead. The association of asi with $s\bar{u}n\bar{a}$ goes back to RV., x. 86, 18, and is found as late as $P\bar{u}dat\bar{u}ditaka$,

-houses? For their sake the Kurus, the Vṛṣṇi-Andhakas and the Mekhala-Daṇḍakas went to destruction.

verses 22 and 29. Kāṣṭha refers presumably to the fires on which the butchers cook the meat, and for the first line to the funeral fires; cp. LV., ch. xv, 207, 9-10, and my remarks, JRAS, 1929, 546. Of the seven vices peculiar to kings four are known as kāmaja, dicing, wine, hunting and women, and these four are illustrated in this and the next verse (cp. Kāmandakīyanītisāra, i. 56, for a similar set of examples, of which the Vrsni-Andhakas are the only one in common with this verse), the Kurus for dicing, the Vrsni-Andhakas for drink (cp. MBh., xvi, with Jāt., xvii. 18, and Divy., 560, 20, where Vṛṣṇyandhakāḥ should be read for tṛṣṇāndhakāḥ), Sunda and Upasunda for women. The other therefore relates to hunting and is not to be treated as two separate instances (contra WZKM, 28, 230, n. 4). The question then arises of the form of the first part of the name. A's Maithila° is clearly wrong, and the difficulty of C lies in the middle character, Giles' 4059, hsi but only used in the pronunciation ch'ih; and it is not given by St. Julien, Eitel or Karlgren. It belongs to a group of characters, Giles' 1003, 1119 and 1130, which are used interchangeably for The only one of them known to me in transliteration is Eitel's example of 1119 for kha, and I therefore take it that C had Mekhali here. The correct form can only be determined by a consideration of the Dandaka The Hindu versions are at KA., i. 6, Rām., vii. 88, and commentaries on KS., i. 2, 44, and Kāmandakīyanītisāra, i. 58 (cp. also MBh., xiii. 7178, 7213), and agree that, when out hunting, Dandaka saw a Brahman girl and outraged her, whence his kingdom was destroyed. None of these references are probably as old as the present passage. The Buddhist accounts go back to Majjhima, I, 378 (cp. Milindapañha, 130), where the rsis destroy the forests of Dandaka, Kalinga, Mātanga and Mejjha, but the last name is doubtful; for the Sanskrit version of the sūtra treats medhya as an adjective (S. Lévi, JA, 1925, i, 29), and the only allusion outside Pali literature to a forest of this name is a doubtful one in the Savitri tale, MBh., iii. 16693. The Jātakas tell the same tale both of the Dandaka forest (V, 135, cp. Mhv., III, 363, and LV., ch. xvi, 316, 2) and of the Mejjha forest (IV, 389), and mention both with the Vṛṣṇi-Andhakas at V, 267. On the other hand the Saddharmasmṛṭyupasthānasūtra (S. Lévi, JA, 1918, i, 18, 27, 76) knows a Mekala (Chinese, Mekhala) forest and associates it with Kalinga and Dandaka (ib., 97). It looks therefore as if Mejjha was taken in Pali to be a proper name by confusion with Mekala. The latter survives in the name of the Maikal range, the source of the Narmada, and the people of this district are associated with the Utkalas of the Orissa highlands in the Rām. This area formed part of the original Dandaka forest which stretched between the Godavari and the upper waters

- 32. What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, which dissolve friendship? On their account the Asuras, Sunda and Upasunda, were involved in a mutual feud and perished.
- 33. What self-controlled man would delight in those passions, inauspicious and ever inimical as they are? For their sake men deliver their bodies up to water and fire and wild beasts in this world.
- 34. For the passions' sake the ignorant man behaves wretchedly and incurs the suffering of death, bonds and the like. For the passions' sake the living world, made wretched by expectation and tormented, goes to toil and death.
- 35. For deer are lured to their destruction by songs, moths fly into the fire for its brightness, the fish greedy for the bait swallows the hook; therefore the objects of sense breed calamity.
- 36. But as for the idea that the passions are enjoyments, none of them are reckoned to be enjoyments; for the

of the Narmadā (or over a wider area, JRAS, 1894, 242). There is some confusion in the sources between Mekala and Mekhala, but I can find no authority for C's Mekhali. Reviewing the evidence, the reading indicated is clearly Mekhala and it appears that in the form of the story known to the poet the offence rose out of addiction to hunting.

- 32. See MBh., i. 7619ff.
- 33. In A the first seven syllables of a are taken from 34 by error. W reconstructs T with yadartham evāpsu ca, but it does not show eva, usually translated by it, and it indicates the plural of the relative.
- 35. A's readings suggest in c matsyā giranty āyasam āmiṣārtham, the plural corresponding better with ab, and FP may have had this too, but C and T seem to have read $\bar{a}miṣ\bar{a}rth\bar{\imath}$, which requires matsyo giraty. For the comparisons, Pavolini, GSAI, 1900, 101ff., and Zachariæ, WZKM, 28, 182ff.
- 36. In b, if T read parivartyamānāh, it may be taken as meaning 'falsely represented as'; if it is right in omitting na, was parikalpyamānāh the original reading, comparing the use of parikalpa at S., xiii. 49, 51? I follow Co. in taking na with kecit, 'none of them'; cp. B., iii. 52, and S., iv. 27. In the second line for guṇa in the meaning 'object of sense', see JRAS, 1930, 867ff., and cp. the Buddhist use of $k\bar{a}maguna$.

material objects of sense such as clothes and the like are to be held as merely remedies against suffering in the world.

- 37. For water is desired for allaying thirst; food similarly for destroying hunger, a house for protection against wind, sun and rain, and clothing for a covering of the privy parts or against cold.
- 38. Similarly a bed is for riddance of drowsiness; thus too a carriage for avoidance of road-fatigue; thus too a seat for relief from standing, and bathing as a means of cleanliness, health and strength.
- 39. Therefore the objects of sense are means for remedying people's suffering, not enjoyments; what wise man engaged in a remedial process would assume that he is partaking of enjoyments?
- 40. For he who, burning with a bilious fever, should decide that cold treatment was enjoyment, even he, when engaged in a remedial process, would have the idea that the passions were enjoyment.
- 41. And since there is nothing absolute in the pleasures, therefore I do not entertain with regard to them the idea of enjoyment; for the very states which show pleasure bring in their turn suffering also.
- 42. For warm clothes and aloewood are pleasant in the cold and unpleasant in the heat; the rays of the moon and sandalwood are pleasant in the heat and unpleasant in the cold.
- 43. Since the pairs, gain and loss, etc., are attached to everything in the world, therefore there is no man on earth who is absolutely happy or absolutely miserable.
 - 37. Cp. Majjhima, I, 10.
- 39. In d T probably read pravrttah, which is made certain by c of the next verse.
 - 40. For this use of samjñā, see note on i. 51.
- 43. As C makes clear, the pairs are the eight lokadharmas; cp. S., xiv. 51, and Dīgha, III, 260. For a Brahmanical parallel MBh., xiv. 535-6.

- 44. When I see how intermingled are the natures of pleasure and suffering, I deem kingship and slavery to be alike; for a king is not ever happy, nor a slave always in distress.
- 45. As for the argument that in sovereignty there is great authority, it is from this very fact that a king has great suffering; for a king, like a carrying-pole, endures toil for the sake of the world.
- 46. For if a ruler relies on his sovereignty, which is transitory and has many enemies, he is ruined; or if he does not trust in it, what then is the happiness of a king, who is always trembling with fright?
- 47. And seeing that, even after conquering the whole earth, only one city can serve him as a residence, and in that too only one palace be occupied, surely kingship is but weariness for others' sake.
- 48. A king too can only wear one pair of garments and similarly take only a certain measure of food to still his hunger; so he can only use one bed, only one seat. The other luxuries of a king lead only to the intoxication of pride.
- 49. And if you seek to justify this enjoyment on the ground of contentment, I am content without a kingdom and, when a man is contented in the world, are not all luxuries indifferent to him?
- 50. Therefore I, who have set out on the auspicious, peaceful road, am not to be led away towards the passions. But if you bear our friendship in mind, say to me again and again, "Most certainly hold to your vow".
 - 45. The meaning of *āsaṅgakāṣṭha* is uncertain; my translation follows C. For the sentiment see *Therigāthā*, 464, *Catuḥśataka*, 472, 24, *MBh.*, xii. 11992, and *Śākuntala*, v. 6.
 - 47. For this and the next verse cp. MBh., xii. 513, 11986, and $J\bar{a}taka$, II, 215.
 - 49. *Istam* in c is used in the same sense as in philosophical works, of a principle that is asserted or accepted. For *phala* cp. verse 51 below.

- 51. For I have not entered the forest because of anger nor have I cast aside my diadem because of enemy arrows, nor have I set my ambitions on loftier enjoyments, that I decline this proposal of yours.
- 52. For he, who, after letting go a malignant snake, whose nature it is to bite, or a blazing grass torch, whose nature it is to scorch, would decide to catch hold of it again, only he would, after giving up the passions, resort to them again.
- 53. Only such a man as having eyesight would envy the blind, or being free the prisoner, or being wealthy the destitute, or being sound in mind the maniac, only he would envy the man given up to the objects of sense.
- 54. And it is not right, just because he subsists on alms, to pity the wise man who desires to pass beyond the danger of old age and death, who has the supreme pleasure of religious peace in this life and for whom suffering in the life beyond is abolished.
- 55. But pity should be felt for him who, though placed in the height of sovereignty, is overcome by desire, and who does not win the pleasure of religious peace in this life and is subjected to suffering in the life beyond.
- 56. But it was worthy of your character, conduct and family to make such a proposal, and so too it befits my character, conduct and family, that I should keep my vow.
- 57. For I have been transfixed by the arrow of the cycle of existence and have left my home in order to obtain tranquil-
- 51. Amarsena is perhaps a reference to marsayitum at x. 25, and, if so, means 'because I have not the patience to wait for my succession'. Similarly b refers to the offer in x. 27; it could also be translated, 'nor have enemy arrows ripped off my diadem'. The reference in c, as Co. pointed out and as C translates, is to the joys of Paradise etc.
- 54. Bhaikṣopabhogin is an unusual expression, intended to imply that for the wise man bhaikṣa takes the place of $k\bar{a}ma$.
- 57. This verse is omitted by C and comes in rather uncomfortably here; it would fit the run of the argument better if inserted after 51, but is not quite

- lity. I would not wish to win a kingdom free from all drawbacks even in the triple heaven, how much less then one in the world of men?
- 58. But as for what you said to me, O king, about the pursuit of the three objects of life in their entirety, that they are the supreme end of man, my doctrine on this point is that they are calamity too; for the three objects are transitory and fail also to satisfy.
- 59. But I deem the highest goal of a man to be the stage in which there is neither old age, nor fear, nor disease, nor birth, nor death, nor anxieties, and in which there is not continuous renewal of activity.
- 60. As for your saying that old age should be awaited and that youth is liable to alteration of mind, this is not a fixed rule; for in practice it is seen to be uncertain, old age too may be volatile and youth constant.
- 61. But seeing that Death drags the world away against its will at all stages of life, ought the wise man, who desires religious peace, to wait for old age, when the hour of his destruction is not certain?
- 62. Seeing that Death stands like an ill-omened hunter, with old age for his weapon, and scattering the arrows of disease, as he strikes down like deer the people, who dwell in the forests of fate, what illusion can there be about the prolongation of one's days?

at home there either. The FP quotes it as a $g\bar{a}th\bar{a}$, and possibly it is an interpolation.

- 59. The first part of a is corrupt in T and the order wrong; hgro for pada, usually rendered by go-hphan, is odd and should probably be go.
- 60. Capalam in c is doubtful, but I see no reasonably probable conjecture; bahuśo hi drśyate would be preferable to Kern's bahulam in sense, but is too remote palæographically.
- 61. Cp. ix. 38, for jagad vikarṣati, and for avaśam S., v. 27, and Vairāgyaśataka, 30, vivaśam mṛtyuḥ karoty ātmasāt.
- 62. The context makes it necessary to take manoratha in this very rare sense (reference in PWK).

- 63. Therefore whether a man be in the prime of life or old or a child, he should haste so to act that, purified in soul and endowed with *dharma*, he may come into possession of the desired continuance or cessation of activity.
- 64. And as for your saying that for the sake of *dharma* I should carry out the sacrificial ceremonies which are customary in my family and which bring the desired fruit, I do not approve of sacrifices; for I do not care for happiness which is sought at the price of others' suffering.
- 65. For it does not befit the man of compassionate heart to kill another being, who is helpless, out of a desire for a profitable outcome, even though the fruit of the sacrifice should be permanent; how much less should one act thus, when the fruit is transitory?
- 66. And if the true *dharma* were not a different rule of life to be carried out by vows, moral restraint, or quietude, nevertheless it would still be wrong to practise sacrifice, in which the fruit is described as attained by killing another.
- 63. The previous translations miss the point of pravrtti and vinivrtti by taking ista in the second line as predicate; men follow dharma either for pravrtti by birth in Paradise or for vinivrtti by complete mokṣa, and it is not a question of activity or inactivity in the present life.
- 64. In d for yad işyate see note on 49 above; perhaps therefore 'which is asserted as being'.
- 65. The sense is obvious enough and for once clearly expressed by C, but the construction of the second line is difficult. Formichi takes it separately from the first, understanding tathāpi kṛtvā na yuktarūpam, kim u yat kṣayāt-makam; this may well be right. Windisch also separates the two lines but understands tathāpi na yuktarūpam, kṛtvā kim u etc., taking kim u kṛtvā as equivalent to kim kṛtvā, 'what is the good of doing it?'; but I do not think kim u can be so used with the gerundive. The above translation follows Co., Cappeller and Schmidt more or less, but is dubious as not giving tathāpi its proper sense of 'nevertheless', as in the next verse.
- 66. Previous translators took param with phalam in d; my translation follows T and was first suggested by Gawroński.

- 67. That happiness even, which accrues to a man, while still existing in the world, through hurt to another, is not agreeable to a wise compassionate man; how much more so that which is beyond his sight in another existence?
- 68. And I am not to be seduced into continuance of activity for future reward. My mind, O king, takes no joy in the spheres of existence; for continuance of activity extends to all forms of rebirth and is uncertain in its effects, just as creepers, struck by rain from a cloud, wave unsteadily in all directions.
- 69. And therefore I have come here because I wish to see the sage Arāḍa, who teaches salvation; and I am starting this very day. Good fortune be yours, O king, and bear patiently with my words, which sound harsh in their truth.
- 70. Be happy like Indra, shine ever like the sun, flourish with your virtues, understand the highest good in this world, rule the earth, obtain long life, protect the sons of the good
- 67. 'Compassionate' is an incomplete rendering of saghrna, which also implies nirveda; ep. S., viii. 52, xiii. 52, and xv. 15.
- 68. The sense of sarvagata is uncertain; it might mean 'directed to sarva', i.e. the twelve āyatanas (references at AK, V, 248, n. 1). I take it as equivalent to sarvatragāmin, 'penetrating all the gatis'; pravṛtti is as likely to take a man to hell as to existence among the gods, and in fact rebirth in hell according to Buddhist dogmatics is the usual sequel to life as a god.
- 69. Ato in a, first suggested by Böhtlingk, is better than ito and may be right.
- 70. According to the grammarians ($Dh\bar{a}tnp\bar{a}tha$, i. 631, etc.) the root av has eighteen senses, many of them probably assumed for etymological purposes, and, though T translates it throughout by $bsru\bar{n}s$, 'protect', there can be no doubt that Aśvaghoṣa intends it to be understood in nine different ways here. C took it so, but it is not easy to follow the exact meaning attributed in each case, except that it took the second one to mean 'shine'. The translation is therefore necessarily tentative. For av in the sense of avagam, 'understand', cp. AK., I, 117. In c I do not comprehend $\bar{a}ryair$ ava $satsut\bar{a}n$ where C seems to take $\bar{a}ryair$ with $av\bar{a}yur$ and to translate 'with upright mind', and in d should one read $\acute{s}riya\dot{m}$ ca, 'embrace $\acute{S}ri$ '? T does not show the plural.

with the \bar{A} ryas, and enter into the glories of sovereignty, O king, observe your own dharma.

- 71. Just as when rain is produced from the clouds which originate from the smoke, the sign of fire, which is the enemy of cold, then the twice-born fire is freed from its external appearance, so do you liberate your mind on the occasion of the slaughter of the enemies of the destruction of tamas, which is the opponent of the sun, the foe of cold."
- 72. The king clasped his hands and spoke with eager longing, "May you succeed without hindrance in accordance with your desires! And when you have in due course obtained the accomplishment of your task, be pleased to show me too your favour."
- 71. This is a riddle of the type called parihārikā by Dandin, whose simpler example at Kāvyādarśa, iii. 120, was evidently influenced by it. The translation of a follows C, which runs, 'Fire is the enemy of hima, from fire the banner of smoke arises. The smoke-banner brings about the floating cloud; the floating cloud brings forth great rain'. Cp. Śatapathabrāhmana, v. 3, 5, 17, agner vai dhūmo jāyate, dhūmād abhram, abhrād vṛṣṭiḥ. For the interpretation of b the use of tanu limits the possible senses of dvija. It might possibly refer to a snake sloughing its skin; but I do not know if a snake does that, when it rains. This would go well with the second line, for Śatapathabrāhmana, xi. 2. 6, 13, tells us that a man is released from sin as a snake from its skin; tanu, however, in this sense is difficult. I prefer the alternative of taking dvija as Agni, a Vedic use; for Agni is several times called dvijanman in the Vedas (Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, 94) and once $dvij\bar{a}$ at RV., x. 61, 19. The poet elsewhere shows knowledge of Vedic expressions and the explanation suits very well. Tanu is the word regularly used in the Vedas for the visible forms of Agni, and the use can be traced down to HC., ch. iv, 17, 24, $nakhamay\bar{u}kha$ dhavalitatanur . . . vibhāvasuh. The idea is that, when a fire is extinguished, it has not perished for good and all, but has merely lost its visible form (e.g., MBh., xii. 6902-3), and it is thus the standard analogy for Nirvāṇa (e.g., S., xvi. 28-9). The amendment in c is, I think, certain, as it must be parallel in form to a; the point made is that the king is to destroy all hindrances to the extirpation of tamas, the use of the latter in a double sense being very common. The translation endeavours to show how I arrive at the solution.
- 72. FP's version of this and the next verse transliterates Bimbisāra's as Bindu, a curious confusion with the Maurya Bindusāra.

- 73 He made a firm promise to the king accordingly and then set out for the Vaiśvamtara hermitage. The king also looked up at him with amaze, as he wandered on, and then returned to the city of Girivraja.
- 73. I can find no other references to the Vaisvamtara hermitage, unless the scene of the Visvamtara Jātaka is meant, about whose situation the authorities differ. The LV and the Mhv place Arāḍa in Vaisālī, substituting perhaps a better known name for an obscure one.

CANTO XII

VISIT TO ARĀDA

- 1. Then the moon of the Iksvāku race proceeded to the hermitage of Arāda, the sage who dwelt in holy peace; and he filled it, as it were, with his beauty.
- 2. As soon as the sage of the Kālāma gotra saw him from afar, he called out aloud "Welcome"; and the prince came up to him.
- 3. In accordance with propriety each enquired after the other's health, and then they sat down on pure wooden seats.
- 4. The best of sages, drinking in, as it were, the seated prince with eyes opened wide in reverence, said to him:—
- 5. "It is known to me, fair sir, how you have come forth from the palace, riving asunder the bonds of family affection, as a savage elephant rives his hobbles.
- 6. In every way your mind is steadfast and wise, in that you have abandoned sovereignty, as if it were a creeper with poisonous fruit, and have come here.
- 7. No cause for wonder is it that kings, grown old in years, have gone to the forest, giving their children the sovereignty, like a garland that has been worn and is left lying as useless.
- 8. But this I deem a wonder that you, who are in the flush of youth and are placed in the pasture-ground of sensory pleasures, should have come here without even enjoying sovereignty.
- 9. Therefore you are a fit vessel to grasp this, the highest *dharma*. Go up into the boat of knowledge and quickly pass over the ocean of suffering.
 - 9. Cp. MBh., viii. 3551.

- 10. Although the doctrine is only taught after an interval of time, when the student has been well tested, your depth of character and your resolution are such that I need not put you to an examination."
- 11. The bull of men, on hearing this speech of Arāḍa, was highly gratified and said to him in reply:—
- 12. "The extreme graciousness, which you show me in spite of your freedom from passion, makes me feel as if I had already reached the goal, though it is yet unattained by me.
- 13. For I look on your system, as one who wants to see looks on a light, one who wants to travel on a guide or one who wants to cross a river on a boat.
- 14. Therefore you should explain it to me, if you think it right to do so, that this person may be released from old age, death and disease."
- 15. Arāḍa, spurred on through the prince's loftiness of soul, described briefly the conclusions of his doctrine thus:—
- 16. "Listen, best of listeners, to our tenets, as to how the cycle of life develops and how it ceases to be.
- 17. Do you, whose being is steadfast, grasp this: primary matter, secondary matter, birth, death and old age, these, and no more, are called "the being".
- 10. Though the equivalence is not perfect, W is almost certainly right in holding that T read na parīkṣyo; the context makes the reading imperative. For vijñāte cp. avijñāte in S., xiv. 10, where the sense given in the note should be adopted in preference to that in the translation in view of this passage.
- 13. Darśana, primarily 'system' here, as is shown by tat in the next verse, means also that the prince looks on the sight of Arāda as lucky; for the sight of a holy man or of a king (cp. S., ii. 8, and the epithet piyadassana given to cakravartin kings in the Pali canon) is deemed to bring good luck in India.
 - 15. Query māhātmyād iva coditaḥ ? Cp. v. 71, 87.
- 16. A's reading in d is faulty and vai is suspicious; for the Sārikhya use of parivartate cp. MBh., xii. 7667 (samparivartate) and Bhag. $Git\bar{q}$, ix. 10 (viparivartate). The corruption is easily explained palæographically.
- 17. This use of $par\bar{a}$ with i is not recorded outside this poem; cp. iv. 99, vii. 31, ix. 14, and xi. 4, which make T's tat more probable here. For the

- 18. But in that group know, O knower of the nature of things, that primary matter consists of the five elements, the ego-principle, intellect and the unseen power.
- 19. Understand that by secondary matter is meant the objects of the senses, the senses, the hands and feet, the voice, the organs of generation and excretion, and also the mind.

following exposition of the Sāmkhya doctrines see the discussion in the Introduction. Sattva here means the individual corporeal being as opposed to the kṣetrajña, and this usage is common enough in early expositions, MBh., xii. 7103 (=9020 and 10517), and 10518. Similarly xii. 8678 (a passage with several parallels to this description), runs, Sattvam ksetrajnam ity etad dvayam apy anudarśitam i Dvāv ātmānau ca vedesu siddhāntesv apy udāhrtau, the two ātmans being the śarīrātman and antarātman of Mahābhāsya, I, 292, 14, and II, 68, 20. Similarly MBh., xiv. 1372ff.; and that we are dealing with a regular early Sāmkhya term appears from its use by Pañcasikha (quoted by Vyāsa on YS., ii. 5), vyaktam avyaktam vā sattvam ātmatvenābhipratītya, and by Vyāsa frequently in the bhāṣya on the YS. (e.g. on ii. 26, sattvapuruṣānyatāpratyayo vivekakhyātih). The three constituents of the sattva, birth, old age and death, are properly the characteristics of the corporeal aspect of the individual which keep him in a perpetual state of change; they are described as four (adding disease) at MBh., xii. 8677, and we may compare in Buddhist dogmatics the three laksanas of the samskyta dharmas, which equally account for the perpetual flux of the samtāna (full discussion AK., I, 222, the Vaibhāṣikas dividing them into four). Note also the application of sthiti, utpatti and pralaya to the threegunas at Tattvasamgraha, p. 59, verses 97-100. This verse perhaps explains the mysterious pañcāśadbhedām of Śvet. Up., i. 5 (inconclusively discussed JRAS, 1930, 873-4), where I would now read the paleographically sound pañcasadbhedām, understanding sat as equivalent to sattva and interpreting on the lines of this definition.

- 18. It is not clear if T read prakṛtiṁ or prakṛtir. For the early Sāṁkhya division of the 24 material tattvas into a group of eight called prakṛti and a group of sixteen called vikāra, see the Introduction and JRAS, 1930, 863–872. The five elements here are not the tanmātras, and C rightly has mahābhūtas. For prakṛtikovida cp. S., xvii. 73, prakṛtigunajñam, where jña also has secondarily a Sāṁkhya sense as a synonym of the soul kṣetrajna.
- 19. Can $v\bar{a}da$ really mean 'voice'? C and T's translations would go better with $v\bar{a}cam$, but I have left A's reading, as certainty is not possible.

- 20. And that which is conscious is called the knower of the field, because it knows this field. And those who meditate on the ātman say that the ātman is the knower of the field.
- 21. And awareness is intellection, that is, Kapila and his pupil in this world. But that which is without intellect is called Prajāpati with his sons in this world.
- 20. Co. translates the first line, 'there is also a something which bears the name kṣetrajña etc.', and T corroborates this; but the above version gives the standard doctrine better. Cp. MBh., xii. 6921, Atmā kṣetrajña ity uktaḥ saṃyuktaḥ prākṛtair guṇaiḥ Tair eva tu vinirmuktaḥ paramātmety udāhṛtaḥ. C regularly translates kṣetrajña 'knower of the cause', i.e. hetujña; cp. MBh., xii. 7667.
- 21. As this enigmatic verse precedes a verse, defining two opposed principles, it too should presumably define two such principles. Further, verses 29 and 40 couple as opposed pratibuddha and aprabuddha. The meaning of these is apparent from the MBh.'s parallel to 40 at xii. 8677, Caturlaksanajam tv ādyam caturvargam pracakṣate: Vyaktam avyaktam caiva tathā buddham acetanam. Despite C and T's readings the conclusion seems to me unescapable that this verse refers to pratibuddha and apratibuddha (=aprabuddha), and A in my opinion preserves relics of the original verse in pratibuddhi in b and in tu in c, which implies an opposition between the two lines; if T's dan were a corruption for yan, it too would read tu. If we read pratibuddha with Co., then probably smrtih should be corrected to smrtah, but the Matharavrtti on Sāmkhyakārikā, 22, gives among the synonyms of buddhi the following, smrtir āsurī harih harah hiranyagarbhah; Kapila further is identified with Vișnu several times in the MBh. and Asuri is a pupil of his. Similarly MBh., xiv. 1085, names smrti, Vișnu and Śambhu among the synonyms for buddhi. Therefore I take it that A's reading in b stands for an original pratibuddhirand that Kapila and Asuri are names for the buddhi in the sphere of the 24 tattvas (iha); iha is not easy to explain in the two lines except by my version. There is a remarkable parallel in Svet. Up., v. 2, where, as pointed out by Keith, Sāmkhya System, 9, Kapila stands for buddhi; note also the association of pradhāna and Kapila at Lankāvatāra, 192.

If then the second line refers to apratibuddha, one can only amend against C, T and A to my text, taking A's tu to justify the conjecture in part. Prajāpati is a name for the bhūtātman, here taken as equivalent to ahamkāra, for which I cite MBh., xii. 11601, Mano grasati bhūtātmā so 'hamkārah Prajāpatih, and 11234, Ahamkāram . . . Prajāpatim ahamkrtam; ep. also 11578, Parameṣṭhī tv ahamkārah srjan bhūtāni pancadhā | Prthivī etc., as well as ib.,

- 22. The "seen" is to be recognised as that which is born, grows old, suffers from disease and dies, and the unseen is to be recognised by the contrary.
- 23. Wrong knowledge, the power of the act and desire are to be known as the causes of the cycle of existence. The individual person, which abides in these three, does not pass beyond that "being",
- 24. By reason of misunderstanding, of wrong attribution of personality, of confusion of thought, of wrong conjunction, of

6781, and xiv. 1445. The sons of Prajāpati are the five elements, an idea that can be traced back to the Brāhmaṇas. This nomenclature shows parallelism of idea with the four forms of Vāsudeva in the Pañcarātra system at *MBh.*, xii. 12899ff., where Aniruddha is ahamkāra; this becomes more apparent at *ib.*, 13037, where Aniruddha produces ahamkāra as pitāmaha, the Creator, and at 13469 Brahmā is ahamkāra.

In support of C and T's text I can only quote MBh., xii. 7889, where Kapila and Prajāpati are joined as names of Pañcaśikha. This seems to be the only occurrence of the identification and hardly justifies giving the verse in a form which is in discord with the context.

- 22. Hopkins and Strauss compare this verse with MBh., xii. 8675-6, Proktam tad vyaktam ity eva jāyate vardhate ca yat | Jīryate mriyate caiva caturbhir lakṣaṇair yutam || Viparītam ato yat tu tad avyaktam udāhṛtam.
- 23. These three causes of the samsāra recur at MBh., xii. 7695 read with 7698, and again at iii. 117; the Carakasamhitā, Śarīrasthāna, which expounds a Sāmkhya system closely allied to that known to Aśvaghosa, gives the causer as moha, icchā, dveṣa and karman (Jibananda Vidyasagar's edition, pp. 330 and 360; note the parallel at the latter place, yair abhibhūto na sattām ativartate). Pañcaśikha's system, MBh., xii. 7913-4, controverts these causes, substituting avidyā for ajñāna or moha, but the explanation is so different from what follows here that Hopkins, Great Epic of India, p. 147, may have been right in thinking the passage to be anti-Buddhist.
- 24. This group of eight reasons, for which the soul fails to free itself, is found elsewhere only in the Carakasamhitā, Śarīrasthāna, v. p. 360, but there is some similarity of idea at MBh., xii. 7505-6. The first five apparently cause ajūāna, the sixth karman, and the last two tṛṣṇā. Co. conjectured viparyaya for the first word, and apparently T read so; but C clearly has vipratyaya, as has the Carakasamhitā, and the group known to classical Sāmkhya as viparyaya is described in 33ff. Ahamkāra as part of the eightfold prakṛti should presumably be understood differently from this ahamkāra as defined in 26;

lack of discrimination, of wrong means, of attachment, of falling away.

- 25. Now of these misunderstanding acts topsy-turvily. It does wrongly what has to be done, it thinks wrongly what it has to think.
- 26. But, O prince free from all egoism, wrong attribution of personality shows itself in this world thus, by thinking, "It is I who speak, I who know, I who go, I who stand".
- 27. But, O prince free from doubt, that is called in this world confusion of thought which sees as one, like a lump of clay, things which are not mixed up together.
- 28. Wrong conjunction means thinking that the ego is identical with this, namely mind, intellect and act, and that this group is identical with the ego.
- 29. That is said to be lack of discrimination, which does not know, O knower of the distinctions, the distinction between the intelligent and the unintelligent or between the primary constituents.

Caraka explains it as the idea that "I am endowed with birth, beauty, wealth etc.", that is, the quality for which Aśvaghosa uses the term mada. Abhisamplava is only known to me from the bhāṣya on Nyāyasūtra, i. i, 3, pramātuḥ pramānāmām sambhavo 'bhisamplavaḥ, asambhavo vyavasthā, where sambhava means 'cooperation', 'mixture' (Randle, Indian Logic in the Early Schools, 164, n. 3). A's abhisambhavāt is therefore not impossible, with abhi giving as often the sense of wrongness to the rest of the word; but C, T and verse 28 all support Co.'s correction. C translates 'excess' here and 'excess-grasping' in 28. Caraka defines it, sarvāvastham ananyo 'ham aham sraṣṭā svabhāva-samsiddho 'ham śarīrendriyabuddhiviśeṣarāśir iti grahanam. The last word, abhyavapāta, is difficult; C has here 'being inextricably bound up with what is I' (i.e., as always in C, with the idea of mama, that the corporeal person belongs to the self), and in 32 'union-receiving' (i.e., wrongly uniting things together). T's translation is mechanical and no help.

- 26. Iha here and in 27 better perhaps 'in this group'.
- 27. The use of asamdigdha coupled with mrtpinda recalls samdegha, 'a mere lump of bodily matter', at Śatapathabrāhmana, iii. 1, 3, 3.
 - 28. Idam in a suggests that A's reading in c derives from eşa.
 - 29. See note on verse 21.

- 30. Wrong means, O knower of the right means, are declared by the wise to be the use of the invocations namas and vaṣat, the various kinds of ritual sprinkling, etc.
- 31. O prince free from attachment, attachment is recorded as that through which the fool is attached to the objects of sense by mind, voice, intellect and action.
- 32. Falling away is to be understood as wrong imagination about suffering that "this is mine", "I belong to this", and thereby a man is caused to fall away in the cycle of transmigration.
- 33. For thus that wise teacher declares ignorance to be five-jointed, namely torpor, delusion, great delusion and the two kinds of darkness.
- 34. Of these know torpor to be indolence, and delusion to be birth and death, but great delusion, O prince free from delusion, is to be understood as passion.
- 30. Co. translates b, 'sprinkling water upon the sacrifices etc. with or without the recital of Vedic hymns', and C, 'cleansing by fire and water'. Strauss compares MBh, xii. 11290; note also ib, xiv. 1032.
 - 31. Or in b, 'by the actions of the mind, voice and intellect'.
- 32. The construction and sense are uncertain; Co. has, 'Falling away is to be understood as the suffering which etc.', not quite as good sense. Abhimanyate evidently has the significance of abhimāna as applied in Sāmkhya to ahamkāra.
- 33. Did T read vidvamsah...pratīyate? The teacher referred to is Vārṣagaṇya according to Vācaspati Miśra on Sāmkhyakārikā, 47; the sūtra is Tattvasamāsa, 14, and is alluded to in the Yogasūtrabhāṣya and the Purāṇas, but not specifically in the MBh. (for discussion, see JRAS, 1930, 861-2). Samīhate, 'desire', 'wish', is equivalent to iṣ as used in philosophical works of asserting a principle.
- 34. The explanations in these three verses equate the five-fold ignorance to the five dosas, which appear in varying form in the MBh, and later became the five kleśas (for references JRAS, 1930, 862 and 873). The explanation of the last three agrees with that of Vācaspati Miśra in his commentaries on the Sāmkhyakārikās and the YS.; the first two differ. The passage mentioning the five at MBh., xiv. 1018-9, appears to be corrupt, but explains mahāmoha and tāmisra as here. The first verse suggests a common origin with 35, running,

- 35. And because even mighty beings become deluded over this passion, therefore, O hero, it is recorded as great delusion.
- 36. And darkness they refer to, O angerless one, as anger, and blind darkness they proclaim, O undesponding one, to be despondency.
- 37. The fool, conjoined with this five-jointed ignorance, passes on from birth to birth through the cycle of transmigration which for the greatest part is suffering.
- 38. Thus believing that he is the seer and the hearer and the thinker and the instrument of the effect, he wanders in the cycle of transmigration.
- 39. Through the action of these causes, O wise one, the stream of birth flows in this world. You should recognise that, when the cause does not come into being, the result does not come into being.
- 40. In that matter, O prince desiring salvation, the man of right knowledge should know the group of four, the intelligent, that which lacks intelligence, the seen and the unseen.

Abhiṣvangas tu kāmeṣu mahāmoha iti smṛtaḥ | Rṣayo munayo devā muhyanty atra sukhepsavaḥ.

- 36. T's ajñatāmisram is contrary to all the Sanskrit authorities.
- 37. For abhinişicyate cp. $M\bar{u}$ lamadhyamakakārikās, xxvi. 2, samnivişte tha vijāāne nāmarūpam nişicyate, the commentary having nişicyate kṣarati prādurbhavatīty arthah. Cp. also MBh., xii. 10706-7, Daśārdhapravibhaktānām bhūtānām bahudhā gatiḥ | Sauvarṇam rajatam cāpi yathā bhāṇḍam niṣicyate || Tathā niṣicyate jantuh pūrvakarmavaśānugah. T's abhinipātyate is good palæographically and agrees with 32 above; for abhinipāta, 'activity', see AK., II, 65, n. 4.
- 38. The reading in b is uncertain, but C seems to support A which gives the best sense. In c for $\bar{a}gamya$ cp. S., xvi. 42, where it can only mean 'understand'; the use is unusual but recurs at 116 below. Böhtlingk's ity $ev\bar{a}vagamya$ is against the metre.
- 39. Co.'s hetvabhāve is as good as T's hetvabhāvāt and it is not clear which C read.
 - 40. See note on verse 21.

- 41. For when the knower of the field properly discriminates these four, it abandons the rushing torrent of birth and death, and obtains the everlasting sphere.
- 42. For this purpose the Brahmans in the world, who follow the doctrine of the supreme Absolute, practise here the *brahman*-course and instruct the Brahmans in it."
- 43. The king's son, on hearing this speech of the sage, questioned him both about the means to be adopted and about the sphere of final beatitude:—
- 44. "Deign to explain to me how this *brahman*-course is to be practised, for how long and where, and also where this *dharma* ends."
- 45. Arāda explained to him concisely by another method the same *dharma* in clear language and according to the *śāstra*:—
- 46. "The aspirant, after first leaving his family and assuming the mendicant's badges, takes on himself a rule of discipline which covers all proper behaviour.
- 47. Displaying entire contentment with whatever he gets from whatever source, he favours a lonely dwelling and, free from the pairs of worldly life, he studies the śāstra diligently.
 - 48. Then, seeing the danger that arises from passion and
- 41. For ājavamjavatā, see JRAS, 1931, 569-70, and add to the references there LV., ch. xv, 205. The second line is equivalent to MBh., xii. 8767, Tad vidvān akṣaram prāpya jahāti prāṇajanmanī.
- 42. This use of $v\bar{a}saya$ goes back to the old phrase brahmacaryam vas with the locative of the person under whom the study takes place; cp. Brh. $\bar{A}r$. Up., vi. 2, 4, and $Ch\bar{a}ndogya$ Up., iv. 4, 3, and 10, 1 with Majjhima, I, 147. Later use prefers car, e.g. $D\bar{i}gha$, I, 155, and III, 57.
 - 46. For linga, see note on ix. 18.
- 47. Nirdvandva refers to the eight lokadharmas (xi. 43, note). For the Brahmanical use see references in PW under nirdvandva, 1); nirdvandvatā, MBh., xii. 11882, seems to mean the state of being soul alone, disjoined from prakrti. The sense of krtin is not certain; I take C's translation, T's being purely mechanical.
- 48. See the mention of the Yoga system in the Introduction for the significance of c.

the supreme happiness derived from passionlessness, he arrests his senses and exerts himself in the matter of mental quietude.

- 49. Then he wins the first trance, which is dissociated from the loves, malevolence and the like, which is born of discrimination and which includes thought.
- 50. And when the fool obtains that transic bliss and reflects on it repeatedly, he is carried away by the gain of previously unexperienced bliss.
- 51. Deceived by the feeling of content, he wins to the world of Brahmā by means of quietude of this kind, which rejects love and hatred.
- 52. But the wise man, knowing that the thoughts cause agitation of mind, obtains the trance, which is disjoined from it and which possesses ectasy and bliss.
- 53. He, who is carried away by that ecstasy and does not see any stage superior to it, obtains a station of light among the Ābhāsvara deities.
- 54. But he, who dissociates his mind from the joy of that ecstasy, gains the third trance which is blissful but void of ecstasy.

सन्धमेव जयते

- 49. Vitarka here includes vicāra, and T renders it by the equivalent for the latter.
- 50. Tat tat should mean 'various matters', which is not good sense, and the addition of eva seems to justify the above translation.
- 51. T's $v\bar{a}sitah$ may be the correct reading, C giving no help; it means both 'caused to dwell there' and 'impregnated with'. The canonical accounts of the Brahmā deities emphasise their feeling of self-satisfaction (AK., I, 169).
- 52. Cp. S., xvii. 45, and AK., V, 158. T translates 'possessed of the bliss of ecstasy' in accordance with its faulty version of 54, but *prīti* and sukha are always treated as separate qualities in these trances.
- 53. This use of *viśeṣa* is common in the AK.; and the same sense is probably to be inferred at MBh., xii. 11874, where Janaka talks of the vaiśeṣika jñāna in connexion with mokṣa and the doctrine of Pañcaśikha, the Sāmkhya seer.

- 55. But he who, immersed in this bliss, does not strive for progress, attains bliss in common with the Subhakṛtsna deities.
- 56. He who, on attaining such bliss, is indifferent and feels no desire for it, wins the fourth trance, which is void of bliss and suffering.
- 57. Some in that trance through vain imagination conclude that it is liberation, because bliss and suffering are abandoned and the mind ceases to function.
- 58. But those who investigate the transic knowledge of the Absolute describe its fruit as enduring for many ages with the Brhatphala deities.
- 59. On emerging from that concentrated meditation, the wise man sees the evils that exist for those who have a body and betakes himself to knowledge for the cessation of the body.
- 60. Then, abandoning the practice of that trance, the wise man sets his mind on progress and turns away from all desire for material form even, as previously from the passions.
- 61. First he forms a mental conception of the empty spaces which exist in this body and then he obtains a clear idea of space with regard to its solid matter also.
- 55. The word $s\tilde{a}m\tilde{a}nya$ is possibly significant, as the Subhakṛtsna deities are all alike in body and mentality $(sa\dot{m}j\tilde{n}\tilde{a})$ according to AK., II, 20.
- 56. The alternative reading in b, which is consistent with T, is yo virajyann upekṣate; upekṣakah is the expression commonly used in these formulas, e.g., S., xvii. 50, and LV., ch. xi, 129, l. 6ff.
 - 57. Pāda d recurs in verse 75 below.
- 58. The reading in c and the construction are uncertain. A's brhatphalam is opposed to C and T, and gives an irregular metre; it is not clear however whether T read $^{\circ}k\bar{a}lam$ or $^{\circ}k\bar{a}le$. I take brhat in d to be a synonym of brahman (neuter), according to MBh., xii. 12753, and PW's reference from the $Bh\bar{a}g$. Pur., but possibly it should be taken separately as an epithet of phalam. C suggests the possibility in that case of reading $brhatk\bar{a}l\bar{a}d$ in c.
- 59. The verb $sth\bar{a}$ with vyut is the technical term for emerging from trance and is so used in the YS. also, where it has taken on a slightly pejorative twist. Quite possibly T had $char\bar{v}rin\bar{a}m$ in b.
- 61. The readings and construction of the first line are uncertain. A's asya referring to the subject of the sentence is uncomfortable; so I accept T's

- 62. But another wise man, contracting his self which has extended over space, looks on that very thing as unlimited and reaches a higher stage.
- 63. But another, skilled in regard to the inner self, causes his self to cease by his self and, since he sees that there is nothing, he is declared to be one for whom nothing exists.
- 64. Then like the $mu\tilde{n}ja$ stalk from its sheath or the bird from its cage, the knower of the field, escaped from the body, is declared to be liberated.
- 65. This is that supreme Absolute, without attribute, everlasting and immutable, which the learned men who know the principles call liberation.
- asmin. T's version implies taking $\bar{a}k\bar{a}sam$ as the object of parikalpayan, for which there is something to be said; but then it would be better to read khāni yāny asmin teṣv ādau. The sense anyhow is clear, the object of the trance being to suppress all sensation of matter with regard to the body and to substitute for it the sensation of unoccupied space. Adhimucyate is a trouble-some word, for which I would refer to the employment of adhimukti and adhimokṣa in the AK., and to the discussions there (see Index s.v.). The general idea is of an act of mental attention which leads a man to approve a particular object or course of action, so that he makes up his mind to attain or do it, as the case may be. C translates, 'he completely achieves looking on it (i.e. the solid parts) as space ', and I paraphrase this above. W similarly has 'wird er sich klar', though T seems hardly to mean this with lhag-par mos-par byed.
- 62. The difficulty lies in $\bar{a}tm\bar{a}nam$, which I translate mechanically. From the Buddhist descriptions of this trance $vij\bar{n}\bar{a}na$ is apparently meant and the original reading might have been $\bar{a}k\bar{a}\acute{s}agatavij\bar{n}\bar{a}nam$. Vasubandhu, AK., I, 74, however, defends the use of $\bar{a}tman$ for citta, and in Arāḍa's mouth it might stand for the $mah\bar{a}n$ $\bar{a}tm\bar{a}$, the buddhi (so $Katha\ Up$., iii. 3, buddhi = ib., iii. 9, $vij\bar{n}\bar{a}na$). Should not the reading be $tam\ eva$ in c?
- 63. $\bar{A}ki\dot{m}canya$ is suspicious, being properly the name of this trance; query $aki\dot{m}cana$?
- 64. For the muñja-stalk comparison, besides Kaṭha Up., vi. 17, cp. Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, v. 1. 2, 18, and xii. 9, 2, 7, MBh., v. 1690, and xiv. 553-4, Dīgha, I, 77, and Visuddhimagga, 406.
- 65. I take tattva in the Sämkhya sense. Strauss aptly quotes MBh., xii. 8136.

- 66. Thus I have fully shown to you the means and the liberation; if you have understood it and if it pleases you, undertake it properly.
- 67. For Jaigīṣavya and Janaka and Vṛddha Parāśara and other seekers after liberation have been liberated by following this path."
- 68. But the prince, marking these words and pondering on them, thus made reply, since he was filled with the force of the motives perfected in previous births:—
- 69. "I have listened to this doctrine of yours, which grows more subtile and auspicious in its successive stages, but I consider it not to lead to final beatitude, since the field-knower is not abandoned.
- 70. For I am of opinion that the field-knower, although liberated from the primary and secondary constituents, still possesses the quality of giving birth and also of being a seed.
 - 66. Ruci, neuter, in c does not seem possible.
- 67. Jaigīṣavya is quoted by Vyāsa on YS., ii. 55, and his colloquy with Avātya reported by the same on iii. 18; MBh., xii. 8431ff., records his conversation with Asita about śīla in the Sāmkhya system, and he is mentioned in a list of Sāmkhya seers, ib., 11782, which includes Vārṣagaṇya, Kapila and Pañcaśikha. Vrddha Parāśara is proved to be Pañcaśikha by ib., 11875. where Janaka says, Parāśarasagotrasya vrddhasya sumahātmanah | Bhikṣoḥ Pañcaśikhasyāham śiṣyah paramasattamah. Other references to Parāśara in the Śāmtiparvan show confusion between the Śāmkhya teacher and the father of Vyāsa. The Vibhāṣā 's reference to Pārāśari tīrthika (AK., Index, 121, cp. Majjhima, III, 298) is therefore to a follower of Pañcaśikha's system.
 - 68. Hetu refers to the three kuśalamūlāni, as in ii. 56.
- 69. Paratah paratah could mean 'pre-eminently' (so Co., etc.), but cp. verse 82 and hitvā hitvā in verse 74.
- 70. For prasavadharman ep. prasavadharmin in Sāmkhyakārikā, 11, where it is explained as the capacity to give birth, as buddhi gives birth to ahamkāra. Bījadharman is practically co-extensive in meaning; so MBh., xii. 11662, of avyakta, Kartrtvāc cāpi bijānām bījadharmā tathocyate. At ib., xiv. 1401, the eight prakṛtis are each described as bījadharman and prasava, because they give birth to the subsequent tattvas.

- 71. For although the soul by reason of its purity is conceived as being liberated, it will again become bound from the continued existence of the causal conditions.
- 72. Just as a seed does not grow for want of the proper season, soil or water, but does grow when these causal conditions are present, such I deem to be the case of the soul.
- 73. And as for the statement that liberation is deemed to come by severance from the power of the act, from ignorance and from desire, there is no complete severance from them so long as the soul persists.
- 74. It is true that advance is obtained by the progressive abandonment of these three, but where the soul still remains, there these three remain in a subtile state.
- 75. But such liberation is a creation of the imagination based on the subtility of the faults, the inactivity of the mind and the length of life in that state.
- 76. And as for this imagined abandonment of the ego-principle, so long as the soul persists, there is no abandonment of that principle.
- 77. And as the soul is not released from the activity of reason and the like, it is not devoid of attribute; therefore, as it is not devoid of attribute, it is not admitted to be liberated.
- 72. In a °vihārāt is metrically impossible and °viharāt makes no sense; for the authority for it in the meaning of 'separation' appears, as PW points out, to be due to a corruption.
 - 73. Kalpyate properly 'is brought about', but cp. 71.
 - 74. The argument recalls the Buddhist theory of the anusayas.
- 75. The verse is used again in the Śāriputraprakarana, where the entire passage is reminiscent of the preceding verses, there being a clear allusion to the argument of 72 (SBPAW, 1911, 392, C 4 a5, and K iv a2-3). Life in the arūpa spheres is measured by thousands of kalpas.
- 77. The exact meaning of samkhyā here is uncertain; if it could be solved, we should perhaps know how the name Sāmkhya arose. The use in Pali of samkhā is also enigmatical and not fully explained yet; see Samyutta, I, 12, and Geiger's note thereon in his translation. At Suttanipāta, 1074, samkham upeti is opposed to attham paleti, and ib., 209, and 749, the same

- 78. For no distinction exists between the attributes and the possessor of the attributes; for instance, fire is not perceived, when devoid of outward appearance and heat.
- 79. Before a conglomerate mass exists, there cannot be a possessor of the mass; so, before attributes exist, there cannot be a possessor of the attributes. Therefore the soul, as possessor of the body, being first released, is subsequently bound to it again.
- 80. And the knower of the field, when without a body, must be either knowing or unknowing. If it is knowing, there is something for it to know, and if there is something for it to know, it is not liberated.

phrase is used negatively in contrast to samkhāya, which latter apparently should be equated with the later pratisamkhyā (cp. Stcherbatsky, Central Conception of Buddhism, 51, n. 1). The meaning in these passages is equivalent to 'phenomenal existence', but this is not the exact sense. Here I take the reference to be to sampaśyan of verse 63, showing that the intelligence is still active, and I translate tentatively accordingly. What attributes are indicated by ādi also escapes me. It would be wrong to understand a secondary sense in the second line with reference to the guṇas of classical Sāmkhya, for the word guṇa in Aśvaghoṣa's day was ordinarily used in Sāmkhya discussions of anything rather than the three factors of prakṛti, and in the Sāmkhya known to the poet salvation was attained by the destruction of rajas and tamas only, sattva remaining alone in an enhanced state.

- 79. Co.'s conjecture in c is negatived by C and T as well as A and is not too easy in sense either. T's lus-bzhin for śarīrin is surely a corruption (lus-hdzin?). The argument apparently is that the fact that the k- $setraj\~na$ is called śar̄rin shows that it did not exist before there was a body for it to inhabit (the bond therefore being $an\bar{a}di$); if it thereafter attains liberation, the fact of its being by nature a śar̄rin involves the consequence that it will be bound up again with a body.
- 80. The opposition between kṣetrajña in this verse and ātman in the next is intentional. According to the MBh., the kṣetrajña is jña (cetanāvān, xii. 11649, jñānalakṣaṇaḥ, xiv. 1250), and the ātman ajña (ajñaḥ svabhāvataḥ, xii. 11658); and the puruṣa is hence described as both jña and ajña at xii. 11763.

- 81. Or if your teaching is that it is unknowing, what then is the use of inventing the existence of a soul? For even without a soul the existence of the quality of not-knowing is well established as in the case of a log or a wall.
- 82. But since this successive abandonment is declared to be meritorious, therefore I deem complete success in reaching the goal to derive from the abandonment of everything."
- 83. Thus he was not satisfied on learning the doctrine of Arāḍa, and, discerning that it was incomplete, he turned away from there.
- 84. Thereon in his desire to hear something higher he proceeded to the hermitage of Udraka, but he did not accept his system, because it too involved the tenet of the soul's existence.
- 85. For the sage Udraka, knowing the defects of consciousness and unconsciousness, found beyond the way of nothingness a way which was characterised by neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.
- 81. I have not thought it necessary to follow C and T in the second line, as it is a question, not of reading, but of division of words, and the first line makes ajnānam certain in the second. The Buddhist, however, would naturally read the line as C and T; for to him the existence of knowledge without a soul is as obvious as the existence of a wall. For the simile, cp. MBh., xii. 11184, of the sanses, $\bar{A}tman\bar{a}$ viprahīnāni kāṣṭhakudyasamāni tu! Vinaśyanti.
- 83. The use of *pratijagāma* in this sense is unusual, but certified by **T**. Hultzsch's correction may be right, as *dharma* is masc.
- 84. *Grāha* is regularly used in Buddhism of holding to a wrong doctrine; cp. the expression *antagrāhadṛṣṭi*, and the P.T.S. *Pali Dict.* s. *gāha*. Cappeller's conjecture in c is probably sound.
- 85. This and the next two verses are very summarily treated by C. The definitions of the two previous $\bar{a}r\bar{u}pya$ states in 62 and 63 above show that $samj\tilde{n}\bar{a}$ here has not the technical Buddhist sense, the 'naming' faculty of the mind, but means something like 'cognition' or 'consciousness', $vij\tilde{n}\bar{a}na$, as appears from the use of buddhi as a synonym in 87 and from $samj\tilde{n}in$ in 20 (cp. S., ix. 1). $Sa\tilde{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ is often used in Pali where classical Sanskrit would have buddhi (note i. 51 above). Cp. also the four kinds of $samj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ in the YS. (Vācaspati Miśra on i. 15) and the equation of $samj\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ and $vij\tilde{n}\tilde{a}na$ by Śabarasvāmin in quoting a Buddhist's views (on $M\tilde{n}m\tilde{a}ms\tilde{a}s\tilde{u}tra$ i. 1, 5, see O. Strauss, SBPAW, 1932, 58 (524), n. 1), and also Brh. Ar. Up, ii. 4, 12.

- 86. And since the conscious and unconscious states have each an object in a subtile condition, therefore he thought that beyond them was the state of neither unconsciousness nor consciousness and fixed his desires thereon.
- 87. And since the intellect remains in the same condition, without moving elsewhere, subtile and inert, therefore in that state there is neither consciousness nor unconsciousness.
- 88. And since a man returns again to the world, even after reaching that point, therefore the Bodhisattva, desiring to obtain the highest stage, left Udraka.
- 89. Then with his mind made up in the search for the supreme good, he departed from that hermitage and betook himself to the hermitage, Nagarī by name, of the royal seer Gaya.
- 90. Thereon the sage, whose every effort was pure and who delighted in a lonely habitation, took up his dwelling on the pure bank of the Nairañjanā river.
- 91. Then he saw five mendicants, who had come there before him; they had taken vows on themselves and practised austerities, vaunting themselves of control of the five senses.

सत्यमेव जयते

- 86. The verse is too compressed for clear construction. Alambane I take to be dual, in the technical sense of the object of mental or psychical action, as opposed to the subject. 'Though' should be supplied with $s\bar{u}k\bar{s}me$. Samjñāsamjñe, presumably locative singular of a neuter dvandva compound. If it were not for iti in c, it would have been better to take ālambane as locative, understanding sati, and to treat $yasm\bar{a}t$ as governing a, b and c. Co. and T's division in d involves taking tatra as applying to consciousness and unconsciousness, not to the state that is neither. But tatraiva in the next verse implies division as in the text, and sprh is always used in these poems with the dative, so that the text should have run tasmai gatasprhah.
- 87. The amendment in c is certain; of the many available passages in proof note especially AK., V, 144, and 208.
- 91. I have given in the text so much of this verse as seemed to me capable of certain reconstruction. That C and T both have it shows that its omission by A is a mistake.

- 92. The mendicants saw him there and, desiring liberation, approached him, as the objects of sense come to a lordly man, whose good merit has earned him wealth and freedom from disease.
- 93. Thereon they served him reverently, abiding as pupils under his orders, and were humble and compliant because of their good training, just as the restless senses serve the mind;
- 94. While he undertook extraordinary austerities by starvation, thinking that that might be the method for ending death and birth.
- 95. Carrying out many kinds of fasting that are difficult for a man to perform, for six years in his desire for quietude he made his body emaciated.
- 96. Yearning to reach the further shore of the cycle of transmigration whose further shore is unbounded, he lived by taking at mealtimes a single jujube fruit, sesamum seed and grain of rice.
- 97. Whatever his body lost by reason of these austerities, just so much was made good again through his psychic power.
- 98. Emaciated as he was, yet with his glory and majesty unimpaired, he was a source of joy to the eyes of others, as the moon in autumn at the beginning of the bright fortnight is to the night lotuses.
- 99. Though he had wasted away, so that only skin and bone remained, with fat, flesh and blood all gone, yet with
- 93. Lolaih should also be understood of the five mendicants, implying that they had not yet acquired proper self-control. For the type of simile in this and the preceding verse cp. Śiśupālavadha, xiii. 28, and MBh., iii. 398, 402, vii. 3553-4, and viii. 4196 and 4201.
 - 95. T's karmaprepsur in c breaks the metre, because the Vipulā, requires a caesura after the fifth syllable.
- 96. T's pha mthah-med-pa in c indicates literally anantapāra°, but is probably intended to give the correct meaning of $ap\bar{a}ra$ as 'boundless.'.
- 97. It is not clear to me whether tejas in d means 'outward brilliance' or 'internal vigour', both perhaps. Kern conjectured tejaso 'sya in d, which is easier, but $tejas\bar{a}$ is wanted to correspond to $tapas\bar{a}$ in the first line.

undiminished depth of soul he shone like the ocean, whose depth never diminishes.

- 100. Thereon dreading existence the sage, whose body was clearly tormented to no purpose by pernicious austerities, thus resolved in his longing for Buddhahood:—
- 101. "This is not the way of life for passionlessness, for enlightenment, for liberation. That is the sure procedure which I won that time beneath the *jambu* tree.
- 102. Nor can that be obtained by one who is weak." So in all seriousness he pondered further on this point in order to increase his bodily strength.
- 103. How can the result to be attained by the mind be reached by a man, who is not calmly at ease and who is so worn out with the exhaustion of hunger and thirst that his mind is unbalanced with the exhaustion?
- 104. Inward tranquillity is rightly gained by constant appearsment of the senses, and from the full appearement of the senses the mind becomes well-balanced.
- 105. The man whose mind is well-balanced and serene develops concentrated meditation; when the mind is possessed of concentrated meditation, the practice of trance begins.
- 106. By the practice of trance those *dharmas* are obtained, through which is won that highest, peaceful stage, so hard to reach, which is ageless and deathless.
- 102. Agatādara has been variously understood, 'resuming his care for his body' (Co.), 'so reflecting' (Formichi), 'who has gained respect for himself' (W).
- 103. T is surely wrong in omitting $\dot{s}rama$ in a, for the repetition of the word makes the second $p\bar{a}da$ the sequel of the first.
- 104. The first line is undoubtedly corrupt both in A and T, as the reading should be "tarpanam with the first word of a in the ablative; C has preserved the right sense, 'Eating and drinking satisfy the senses', but I cannot determine the opening word from this, vihrteh being perhaps the best.
 - 105. Read ran-bzhin for the first words of T, not ran-zhin?
 - 106. The reference is to the bodhipakṣika dharmas.

- 107. Accordingly the steadfast seer of unbounded wisdom concluded that this method was based on the eating of food and made up his mind to take food.
- 108. He bathed and, as in his emaciation he came painfully up the bank of the Nairañjanā, the trees growing on the slope bent low the tips of their branches in adoration to give him a helping hand.
- 109. At that time on divine instigation Nandabalā, the daughter of the cowherd chief, went there, joy bursting from her heart.
- 110. She was wearing a dark-blue cloth and her arms were brilliant with white shells, so that she seemed like Yamunā, best of rivers, when its dark-blue water is wreathed with foam.
- 111. Her delight was enhanced by faith, and her blue-lotus eyes opened wide, as, doing obeisance with her head, she caused him to accept milk rice.
- 112. By partaking of it he secured for her the full reward of her birth and himself through the satisfaction of the six sense faculties became capable of obtaining enlightenment.
- 113. Then the sage's form together with his fame reached full roundness and he bore united in his single person the loveliness of the moon and the steadfastness of the ocean.
- 114. The five mendicants, holding that he had renounced the holy life, left him, as the five elements leave the thinking soul when it is liberated.
 - 107. Constructionally this verse is joined to the next, which contains the main verb.
- 108. In the variants I have not given T's drans for uttarāra, but it might stand for ujjagrāha (cp. verse 111), and, if so, T should be understood to read taṭadrumam in d, no case-sign being given; this is inferior to the text in style. C does not indicate either reading clearly; it runs, 'After bathing, he wanted to come out of the pool; owing to the weakness of emaciation he could not rise up. A heavenly spirit pressed down a tree-branch; raising his hand, he grasped it and came out'.
- 113. The verse illustrates T's faithfulness to his text; he found $\delta a \delta \bar{a} k \bar{a}^{\circ}$ in d and refused to make the obvious amendment to $\delta a \delta \bar{a} n k \bar{a}^{\circ}$.

- 115. On this with his resolution for sole companion, he made up his mind for enlightenment and proceeded to the root of a *pipal* tree, where the ground was carpeted with green grass.
- 116. Then at that moment Kāla, the best of serpents, whose might was as that of the king of elephants, was awakened by the incomparable sound of his feet, and, realising that the great sage had determined on enlightenment, he uttered this eulogy:—
- 117. "Since, O sage, the earth thunders, as it were, again and again, as it is pressed by your feet, and since your splendour shines forth as of the sun, certainly you will to-day enjoy the desired result.
- 118. Since, O lotus-eyed one, the flocks of blue jays, circling in the air, proceed round you right-handed, and since gentle breezes blow in the sky, to-day without doubt you will become a Buddha."
- 119. Then, after the lordliest of serpents had thus extolled him, he took clean grass from a grass-cutter, and, betaking himself to the foot of the great pure tree, he made a vow for enlightenment and seated himself.
- 120. Then he took up the supreme, immoveable cross-legged posture with his limbs massed together like the coils of a sleeping serpent, saying, "I will not rise from this position on the ground till I achieve the completion of my task".
 - 115. For the imitation of the first $p\bar{a}da$ by Matrceta see the Introduction.
- 116. Apparently both C and T read $gajar\bar{a}javikramapada^{\circ}$, but the poet never elsewhere runs a compound over the division between two $p\bar{a}das$ of so long a metre, and in Vamsastha he always ends $p\bar{a}das$ a and c on a long syllable. For $\bar{a}gata$, which T also takes in this sense, see note on 38 above.
- 119. For the use of grass as a seat in yoga see *MBh.*, xii. 7164, and *Bhag. Gītā*, vi. 11.
- 120. W holds that T had the compound in b in the locative case (i.e. pindane?); but I think it more probable it took it as an adverb.

- 121. Then when the Holy One took his seat with determined soul, the denizens of the heavens felt unequalled joy, and the birds and the companies of wild beasts refrained from noise nor did the forest trees, when struck by the wind, rustle at all.
 - 121. For niścitātman ep. xiii. 11, and Jāt., xx. 38.



CANTO XIII

DEFEAT OF MĀRA

- 1. When the great sage, the scion of a line of royal seers, sat down there, after making his vow for liberation, the world rejoiced, but Māra, the enemy of the good Law, trembled.
- 2. Him whom in the world they call the God of Love, him of the bright weapon and also the flower-arrowed, that same one, as the monarch of the activities of the passions and as the enemy of liberation, they style Māra.
- 3. His three sons, Caprice, Gaiety and Wantonness, and his three daughters, Discontent, Delight and Thirst, asked him why he was depressed in mind, and he answered them thus:—
- The verse is puzzling because no other version mentions three sons of Māra; the LV knows of Māra having many sons, but none of the names correspond. All mention of them is omitted by C too, as if their presence were contrary to the legend in the form he knew. The three daughters according to LV are called Rati, Arati, and Tṛṣṇā, according to Mhv., Tandrī (a corruption?), Rati and Arati, and in the Pali canon Ragā, Arati and Taṇhā. equivalents of the names in the various Chinese versions I am unable to determine with precision, but, as the one point in which the Sanskrit and Pali versions agree is that one of the daughters was called Arati and as Rati is known to Aśvaghosa as the wife of Kandarpa (S., iv. 8), it is best to assume that the name of the first daughter should be read here as Arati and to insert an avagraha accordingly. It is remarkable that the sons and daughters play no part in the actual fight except for bare mentions in verses 7 and 14. In the oldest version of the tale (Padhānasutta, Suttanipāta, 425ff.,=LV., ch. xviii, 261-3), the daughters are not mentioned at all, but among the armies of Māra are named Kāmāḥ, Arati, Kṣutpipāsā and Tṛṣṇā. It looks as if the group of three daughters arose from a misunderstanding of this verse. later legend (e.g., LV., ch. xxi and xxiv, and the FP) they play a great part, and it is perhaps to be inferred that this development was just beginning in the poet's time.

- 4. "The sage, wearing the armour of his vow and drawing the bow of resolution with the arrow of wisdom, sits yonder, desiring to conquer my realm; hence this despondency of my mind.
- 5. For if he succeeds in overcoming me and expounds to the world the path of final release, then is my realm to-day empty, like that of the Videha king, when he fell from good conduct.
- 6. While therefore he has not yet attained spiritual eyesight and is still within my sphere, I shall go to break his vow, like the swollen current of a river breaking an embankment."
- 7. Then, seizing his flower-made bow and his five world-deluding arrows, he, the causer of unrest to mortal minds, approached the *aśvattha* tree accompanied by his children.
- 8. Next Māra placed his left hand on the tip of the bow and, fingering the arrow, thus addressed the sage, who was tranquilly seated in his desire to cross to the further shore of the ocean of existence:—
- 9. "Up, up, Sir Kṣatriya, afraid of death. Follow your own dharma, give up the dharma of liberation. Subdue the

सत्यमेव जयते

- 4. I follow C and Formichi in the translation of $\bar{a}yudha$ as 'bow ; T has 'sword 'and Co. 'barb
- 5. In a yāti seems to be purely an auxiliary to the gerundive. For c cp. LV., ch. xxi, 303, 9, and Mhv., II, 408, 9. The Videha king is presumably Karālajanaka, mentioned in iv. 80; Co. considers it a reference to Nimi Videha, who according to the MBh. gave his kingdom to the Brahmans.
- 7. T is apparently corrupt in b, as shown by the repetition of $grh\bar{\iota}tv\bar{a}$. C assumes a play of words on 'śvattha and asvāsthya.
- 8. There is little to choose between A and T's readings in a, C giving no lead.
- 9. The use of *mṛtyubhīta* is typical of the poet; it implies (1) ordinary cowardice, (2) a reference to the Buddha's statements such as at xi. 7, *ahām jarāmṛtyubhayam viditvā*, (3) an allusion to the etymology of Māra, i.e. 'afraid of Māra', just as at xxvii. 38, the word *māra* is used for "death". For the second line I follow T except for reading *vinīya*, certified by C; but *d* can hardly

world both with arrows and with sacrifices, and from the world obtain the world of Vāsava.

- 10. For this is the path to issue forth by, the famous one travelled by kings of olden time. It is ignominious for one born in a renowned family of royal seers to practise this mendicancy.
- 11. Or if, O firm in purpose, you do not rise up to-day, be steadfast, do not give up your vow. For this arrow that I have ready is the very one I discharged at Sūrpaka, the fishes' foe.
- 12. And at the mere touch of it the son of Ida, though he was the grandson of the moon, fell into a frenzy, and Santanu lost his self-control. How much more then would anyone else do so, who is weak with the decadence of the present age?
- 13. So rise up quickly and recover your senses; for this ever-destructive arrow stands ready. I do not discharge it at

be in order as it stands. Taking the indications of C, I surmise an original lokāt param prāpnuhi vāsavaryam.

- 10. The only occurrence of pūrvatama apparently. Bhaikṣākyam in d?
- 11. Pāda b is ironical, meaning 'you will need all your firmness not to give up your vow'. According to S., viii. 44, Śūrpaka was loved by Kumudvatī; and if he is the abjaśatru of ib., x. 53, he was burnt up by love (after being hit by Kāma's arrow?). The name is known to the lexicographers as that of the enemy of Kāmadeva and is so used at Padyacūdāmani, vi. 23. The story was well known at one time and formed apparently the subject of a play, as appears from the reference at Padmaprābhrtaka (ed. Caturbhānī), 25, l. 20, to the manuscript of a part in it, which was entitled Kumudvatīprakarane Śūrpakasaktām rājadārikām dhātrī rahasy upālambhate. That it dealt with an enemy to love is perhaps hinted at by the phrase avinayagrantha in the following verse. I can find no trace of any existing MS. of the play, and it may be an imaginary one. The details suggest that we may have a variant version in the story of the fisherman, Suprahāra, and the princess Māyāvatī, in Kathāsaritsāgara, ch. exii.
- 12. Vicitta is a very rare word, only recorded by PW from Suśruta. The reference is to Santanu's infatuation for Gangā, ep. S., vii. 41, and x. 56. T's equivalent for asvatantra is not clear.
- 13. For $samj\tilde{n}am$ C seems to transliterate $amj\tilde{n}a$. The exact correspondence of T in b is not clear (yin yan for hy ayam), but its byar-hos

those who are given to sensual pleasures and show compliance to their mistresses, any more than I would at sheldrakes."

- 14. Despite these words the sage of the Sākyas showed no concern and did not change his posture; so then Māra brought forward his sons and daughters and discharged the arrow at him.
- 15. But even when the arrow was shot at him, he paid no heed to it and did not falter in his firmness. Māra, seeing him thus, became despondent and, full of anxiety, said softly to himself:—
- 16. "When Sambhu, god as he was, was pierced with this arrow, he became agitated with love towards the mountain-king's daughter. That very arrow causes this man no feeling. Is it that he has no heart or that this is not that arrow?
- 17. Therefore he is no fit subject for my flower-arrow or for my excitation or for the application of sexual delight; he merits threats, revilings and blows at the hands of my troops of awe-inspiring spirits."
- 18. Then as soon as Māra thought of his army in his desire to obstruct the tranquillity of the Sākya sage, his followers

in c can only indicate A's °vidheyeşu, not the °abhidheyeşu of Co.'s MSS. There is a double point in the simile of the Brahminy ducks; not only are they the type of true lovers, but it is generally considered improper to shoot them in India, and many castes, which will eat other wild duck, will not touch them.

- 16. The first line is interesting as showing that the poet knew a different version of the story of Kāma, Pārvatī and Śiva to that immortalized in the Kumārasambhava and that, when he calls the god of love Ananga, he does not refer to this legend (see the Introduction). The line implies the Buddha's superiority to Śiva. I translate d according to T; Gawroński objected that the text should mean 'is this no arrow?', but I do not see that this is necessarily so. Formichi takes the question to be whether the sage or the arrow is acitta.
- 17. See note on verse 3, in view of which I do not take harṣaṇa and rati as names of Māra's son and daughter.
- 18. Ca...ca to denote simultaneity, correctly rendered by C. In c $\bar{a}\dot{s}raya$ in this sense is almost entirely restricted to Buddhism, but cp. Gauḍapāda on $S\bar{a}\dot{m}khyak\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$, 62. The exact equivalence of T in d is uncer-

stood round him, in various forms and carrying lances, trees, javelins, clubs and swords in their hands;

- 19. Having the faces of boars, fishes, horses, asses and camels, or the countenances of tigers, bears, lions and elephants, one-eyed, many-mouthed, three-headed, with pendulous bellies and speckled bellies;
- 20. Without knees or thighs, or with knees vast as pots, or armed with tusks or talons, or with skulls for faces, or with

tain, but gsum-mdun (= $tris\bar{u}la$) stands for the word I conjecture to be sala, i.e. T may have had $s\bar{u}la$. Sala is only known to the lexicographers, but the reading must be either that or $s\bar{u}la$ to bring A and T together. The corruption of A is perhaps due to the writing of a double sibilant ($par\bar{u}yus$ sala°, or $s\bar{u}la$ °) in some earlier MS.

19. The last compound of the verse is uncertain. For A's reading cp. kabarakucchi of a Yakṣa at $J\bar{a}taka$, I, 273, but T and C agree in a word meaning 'with large bellies'; akrśodarāś ca involves amending the preceding caiva to $c\bar{a}py$, and mahodarāś ca the change of two letters, while $prth\bar{u}darāś$ ca does not agree with T and C's indications. For Windisch's conjecture ep. MBh., x. 275.

This and the next five verses have parallels in LV., ch. xxi, Mhv., II, 338 and 410, and FP, ch. xxviii, and also in the descriptions of Siva's and Skanda's followers, MBh., ix. 2576ff., and x. 265ff. Whether Asvaghosa knew any of these Buddhist passages in their extant form is not clear, but Windisch's discussion should be consulted (i, 312ff.). C translates all the verses very fully except 23, which it omits entirely, and I have little doubt that this verse is spurious. Verses 21, 22 and 24 describe Māra's host as taking the form of Brahmanical ascetics (note kapālahasta also at 49 below), and this verse interrupts the order and adds nothing of value to the account. The description of the fiends as ascetics is developed from a hint in the Padhānasutta referred to under verse 3. According to Windisch's reconstruction (i, 31), which seems well established in this point, the following verse occurs in the account of Namuci's army, Pagāļhā ettha dissanti eke samaņabrāhmaņā Tañ ca maggam na jānanti yena gacchanti subbatā. This detail was omitted in later works and suggests that the poet either is embroidering on the early tale or knew an extended version, no longer extant.

20. C appears to support T's reading in c, its real meaning being perhaps some with heads that had neither faces nor eyes'. A's kabandhahastā is difficult; it should mean, not 'carrying kabandhas in their hands', for which

many bodies, or with half their faces broken off or with huge visages;

- 21. Ashy-grey in colour, tricked out with red spots, carrying ascetics' staves, with hair smoke-coloured like a monkey's, hung round with garlands, with pendent ears like elephants, clad in skins or entirely naked;
- 22. With half their countenances white or half their bodies green; some also copper-coloured, smoke-coloured, tawny or black; some too with arms having an overgarment of snakes, or with rows of jangling bells at their girdles;
- 23. Tall as toddy-palms and grasping stakes, or of the stature of children with projecting tusks, or with the faces of sheep and the eyes of birds, or with cat-faces and human bodies;
- 24. With dishevelled hair, or with topknots and half-shaven polls, clothed in red and with disordered headdresses, with bristling faces and frowning visages, suckers of the vital essence and suckers of the mind.

Windisch cites *Mhv.*, II, 411, in the account of the attack (not of the description of the army), but 'having hands like *kabandhas*'. The exact equivalent of T is *kaṅkālavaktrā*, but I prefer *karaṅka*° as better sense, as closer to A palæographically and as apparently indicated by C.

- 21. The first line seems to describe Saiva ascetics. For bhasmāruṇa cp.
 MBh., xvi. 5. Did C ('some like the brightness of the dawn-star') take
 lohita as meaning Mars? For the colour of ascetics' hair note Mhv., II, 195,
 19, of a rṣi, tāmradhūmrāruṇajaṭa. The first word in c is uncertain; C's
 meaning is not clear, but it might have had lambasphico. The garlands, if
 srajo is correct, may be garlands of skulls. For the next word cp. Bāṇa's
 description of the ascetic Jābāli, Kād., 43, 3-4, praśastavāraṇam iva pralambakarṇatālam.
- 22. In d one can divide ghanțā-kula as I do, or ghanțā-ākula as T does. For the compound cp. Ganḍīstotra, 10, which I restore (Ind. Ant., 1933, 65) prakatapaṭutaṭābaddhaghanṭā.
- 24. For ardhamunda cp. MBh., vii. 3383. Apte gives raktāmbara as the name of a kind of ascetic, presumably the raktapaṭas of Kād., 95, 1. I can make nothing out of A's rajvambara, and the confusion of jva and kta might easily occur. For tejohara I follow C; its apparent reading, vayoharāś ca, may well be right.

- 25. Some, as they ran, leapt wildly about, some jumped on each other; while some gambolled in the sky, others sped along among the treetops.
- 26. One danced about, brandishing a trident; another snorted, as he trailed a club; one roared like a bull in his excitement, another blazed fire from every hair.
- 27. Such were the hordes of fiends who stood encompassing the root of the *bodhi* tree on all sides, anxious to seize and to kill, and awaiting the command of their master.
- 28. Beholding in the beginning of the night the hour of conflict between Māra and the bull of the Śākyas, the sky lost its brightness, the earth shook and the quarters blazed and crashed.
- 29. The wind raged wildly in every direction, the stars did not shine, the moon was not seen, and night spread forth still thicker darkness and all the oceans were troubled.
- 30. And the earth-bearing Nāgas, devoted to *dharma*, did not brook obstruction to the great sage and, turning their eyes wrathfully on Māra, they hissed and unwound their coils.
- 31. But the divine sages of the Pure Abodes, absorbed in the fulfilment of the good Law, developed compassion for Māra in their minds, but were untouched by anger, because they were freed from all passion.
 - 32. When those who were given to dharma and desired the
- 27. Co. takes the bodhi tree as the object of $p\bar{a}da$ c; it seems more natural to suppose that the Bodhisattva is intended. Acceptance of T's reading would have made this clear.
- 28. According to Gandistotra, 4, the phenomena in this and the next verse were caused by Māra's followers.
- 30. For the eight Nāga kings who support the earth see AK., II, 175, n. 4. If dharmabhrtas is correct, ep. the use at S., i. 1. T takes jrmbh in the sense of $g\bar{a}travin\bar{a}ma$ here, which I understand as above.
- 32. Dharmātman is applied to the deities of the Buddhist heavens again at S., ii. 47.

liberation of the world saw the root of the *bodhi* tree beset by Māra's cruel host, they raised cries of "Ha! Ha!" in the sky.

- 33. But when the great seer beheld Māra's army standing as a menace to that method of *dharma*, like a lion seated amidst kine he did not quail nor was he at all perturbed.
- 34. Then Māra gave orders to his raging army of demons for terrifying the sage. Thereon that army of his resolved to break down his steadfastness with their various powers.
- 35. Some stood trying to frighten him, their many tongues hanging out flickering, their teeth sharp-pointed, their eyes like the sun's orb, their mouths gaping, their ears sticking up stiff as spikes.
- 36. As they stood there in such guise, horrible in appearance and manner, he was no more alarmed by them or shrank before them than before over-excited infants at play.
- 37. Then one of them, wrathfully turning his gaze on him, raised his club; then his arm with the club became immovable, as was Puramdara's of old with the thunderbolt.
- 38. Some lifted up rocks and trees, but were unable to hurl them at the sage. Instead they fell down with the trees and rocks, like the spurs of the Vindhyas when shattered by the levin.
- 33. T gives dharmavidhi no case-sign, but it can only have read as in the text. Upaplava in this sense is unusual; perhaps there is a suggestion of 'portent', without which the way of Buddhahood cannot be accomplished.
- 34. T's dran-po in the second line should be corrected to drag-po (udīrṇa). For the odd use of bhayāya see the Introduction.
- 35. For $n\bar{a}ma$ see note on iv. 29; kila $n\bar{a}ma$, literally 'apparently pretending'.
 - 36. T does not express su in °subālebhyaḥ.
- 37. C deals very scantily with the passage beginning here. The *MBh*. mentions several occasions of Indra's being paralysed; the use of the name Puraindara suggests that it was the occasion of the taking of Tripura, narrated at xiii. 7490, and in the Bombay edition at the close of the *Dronaparvan*.

- 39. The rocks and trees and axes, discharged by some who flew up into the sky, remained hanging in the air without falling down, like the many-hued rays of the evening clouds.
- 40. Another flung above him a blazing log as big as a mountain peak; no sooner was it discharged than, as it hung in the sky, it burst into a hundred fragments through the sage's magic power.
- 41. Another, shining like the rising sun, let loose from the sky a vast shower of red-hot coals, just as at the close of the æon Meru in full conflagration throws out the pulverised scoriæ of his golden rifts.
- 42. But the shower of hot coals, scattered full of sparks at the foot of the *bodhi* tree, became a shower of red lotus petals through the exercise of universal benevolence on the part of the best of sages.
- 43. And the Śākya sage, embracing his resolution like a kinsman, did not waver at all from his posture in spite of these various afflictions and distresses of body and mind, which were cast at him.
 - 44. Thereon others spat out snakes from their mouths as
- 39. In d I follow the previous translations. W objects, not unreasonably, that a cloud does not send out rays, and suggests 'the under edge', also somewhat difficult; ep. S., iii. 24.
- 40. Kaḍaṅgara, which beat T (did it read gajaṁ varam?), is evidently the same as Pali kaliṅgara, as Kern pointed out. Schmidt's Nachträge quotes the same form from the MBh.; cp. also kalāṅgala, ib., iii. 642.
 - 41. For references for the second line see AK., II, 184, n. 2.
- 42. Maitrīvihāra is one of the Brahmavihāras; cp. LV., ch. xxi. 310, 4-5.
- 43. Ātapa as a substantive seems to be only known in the sense of 'heat', but as it cannot be an adjective here, I take it as a substantive in the sense of the adjective. Sukumar Sen (Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit, 25) construes the instrumentals of the first line as absolute; more probably Aśvaghoṣa feels the intransitive cacāla to be equivalent to a causative passive, 'was not caused to waver by '.
- 44. The form nirjigiluh is remarkable; $P\bar{a}n$, viii. 2, 21, allows the present stem gil for $g\bar{r}$ when compounded with a preposition ending in a vowel and the

from rotten treetrunks; as if bound by spells, they did not hiss or raise themselves or move in his presence.

- 45. Others transformed themselves into huge clouds, accompanied by lightning and the fearsome crash of thunderstones, and let loose on the tree a shower of stones, which turned into a pleasant rain of flowers.
- 46. One too placed an arrow on his bow; it blazed there, but did not shoot forth, like the anger of a poor ill-tempered man, when it is fanned in his heart.
- 47. But five arrows shot by another stood arrested in the air and did not fall on the sage, just as, when their objects are present, the five senses of a wise man who is afraid of the cycle of existence remain inactive.
- 48. Another rushed wrathfully against the great seer, grasping a club in order to kill him; he fell helpless without obtaining his object, as men, not obtaining their desires, fall helplessly into calamitous sins.
- 49. But a woman, black as a cloud, with a skull in her hand, wandered about there unrestrainedly and did not remain still, with the intention of deluding the great seer's heart, and resembling the intelligence of a man of inconstant mind wandering uncertainly among the various sacred traditions.

preceding rule authorises the intensive *jegilyate*. But a perfect formation from this stem appears to have no parallel. *Utsasrpuh*, Kern's conjecture, seems certified by T, which takes it in the sense of 'going along'; the sense I propose is better, as suggesting preparation to strike.

- 46. The point of the simile lies in anīśvara, whose exact sense is uncertain; īśvara is used by the poet for 'rich', so I conjecture 'poor' here. Co.'s 'impotent' is as good. A man who is anīśvara has perforce to keep his anger in his heart, because he cannot give it effective expression.
- 47. There is nothing to choose between nabhasi and viyati in b, except that Asvaghosa uses the former rather oftener.
- 49. C may be right in taking *meghakālī* as a proper name; he describes her as an elder sister of Māra, but otherwise she is unknown. Or the verse may be intended as a reference to some Hindu goddess or to female Śaiva ascetics. *Aniyatam* probably implies making lewd gestures, as C suggests

- 50. One, wishing to burn him up like a venomous snake with the fire of his glance, levelled a blazing eye on the seer, but failed to see him, as he sat still in the same place, just as a man absorbed in the passions fails to see the true good when it is pointed out to him.
- 51. Thus another, lifting a ponderous rock, toiled in vain with his efforts baffled, like one who desires to obtain by affliction of the body the *dharma* which is the ultimate good and which is only to be reached by knowledge and concentration of mind.
- 52. Others again, assuming the forms of hyenas and lions, loudly roared mighty roars, from which living beings cowered away on every side, thinking the sky had been split by the blow of a thunderbolt.
- 53. The deer and the elephants, giving forth cries of distress, ran about and hid themselves, and on that night, as if it were day, the birds on all sides fluttered about, screaming in distress.
- 54. But although all beings shivered at such howls of theirs, the sage, like Garuda at the noise of crows, neither trembled nor quailed.
- 55. The less the sage was afraid of the fearsome troops of that array, the more was Māra, the enemy of the upholders of the Law, cast down with grief and wrath.
- 56. Then a certain being of high station and invisible form, standing in the sky and seeing that Māra was menacing the seer and without cause of enmity was displaying wrath, addressed him with imperious voice:—

The simile is a reference to the various *āgamas*, which the poet considered to be mutually contradictory and uncertain (cp. ix. 76, and S., i. 14, and iii. 2).

- 55. A's sasāra in d is hopeless, and C and FP clearly indicate sasāda; T's mysterious byer is probably corrupt for byin (to hbyin-ba), which would stand for the same reading.
- 56. Vaira is not exactly 'enmity', but more like 'feud', the hostile feeling which two factions or opponents maintain to each other. In this case

- 57. "Māra, you should not toil to no purpose, give up your murderous intent and go in peace. For this sage can no more be shaken by you than Meru, greatest of mountains, by the wind.
- 58. Fire might lose its nature of being hot, water its liquidity, earth its solidity, but in view of the meritorious deeds accumulated by him through many ages he cannot abandon his resolution.
- 59. For such is his vow, his energy, his psychic power, his compassion for creation, that he will not rise up till he has attained the truth, just as the thousand-rayed sun does not rise without dispelling the darkness.
- 60. For by rubbing wood long enough a man obtains fire, and by digging the earth deep enough he obtains water; nothing is impossible of achievement to the man of perseverance. Everything that is undertaken by the proper method is thereby necessarily carried out with success.
- 61. Therefore since the great physician, in his pity for the world lying distressed in the diseases of passion, etc., toils for the medicine of knowledge, he should not be hindered.
- 62. And since the world is being carried away along wrong paths, it is no more proper to harass him, the guide who is laboriously searching for the right path, than it is to harass a good guide, when a caravan has lost its way.

the enmity was only on Māra's side, the Buddha having no similar feeling against him; there was therefore no real vaira between them.

- 57. Śarma, 'home' and 'peace'. Presumably the reading should be either himsātmatām here or himsrātmanā in verse 32.
 - 59. In T for bcom gnas read bcom-nas.
- 60. The point in d, as correctly seen by most translators, lies in the significance of the doubled ca; yuktam properly 'conjoined with'. The verse, which is imitated in $Pratij\tilde{n}\tilde{a}yaugandhar\tilde{a}yana$, i. 18, contains ideas used again in S., xii. 33, 34, and xvi. 97.
 - 61. $R\bar{a}g\bar{a}di$, i.e. dvesa and moha also.
- 62. The collocation of daiśika and sudeśika is suspicious. The MSS. of S. read daiśika in every case and sudaiśika once and sudeśika once. Probably sudaiśikah is right here.

- 63. When all beings are lost in the great darkness, he is being made into the lamp of knowledge; it is no more right for your Honour to cause his extinction than it would be to put out a lamp which has been made to shed light in the darkness.
- 64. But what honourable man indeed would meditate wrong towards him who, when he sees the world to be drowning in the great flood of the cycle of existence and to be unable to find the further shore, engages himself in ferrying it across?
- 65. For the tree of knowledge, when flourishing, should not be cut down, the tree whose fibres are forbearance, which is rooted deep in resolution, whose flowers are good conduct and whose boughs awareness and wisdom, and which yields the fruit of *dharma*.
- 66. His purpose is to deliver creation which is bound fast in mind by the snares of delusion. It does not befit you to try to kill him who is exerting himself to deliver mankind from their bondage.
- 67. For to-day is the appointed time for the ripening of those deeds which he has done in the past for the sake of illumination. Thus he is seated in this place exactly like the previous sages.
- 63. The application of ārya to Māra is curious. Properly it means either a member of one of the three ārya castes or one who has entered on the path to salvation and is no longer a pṛṭhagjana. I take it here primarily as equivalent to bhavat in accordance with dramatic usage; secondarily it may allude to the legend that Māra was ultimately converted. The verb nirvāpayitum, which T renders 'cause to attain Nirvāṇa', probably hints at the story of Māra's tempting the Buddha to enter Parinirvāṇa before his time.
- 64. The three conjunctions have bothered the critics. I take tu as governing the whole sentence to emphasise that it is taking up the $\tilde{a}rya$ of the previous verse and giving it a new twist. The doubled ca I construe only in the relative sentence, implying the simultaneity of the two clauses, 'as soon as he saw.., he started etc.', but properly a finite verb is wanted in the first line.
- 66. Aśvaghoṣa uses śrānta for 'wearied by strenuous activity', and so 'strenuous'; cp. iv. 103, and S_{\cdot} , i. 1.

- 68. For this is the navel of earth's surface, entirely possessed of the highest power; for there is no other spot on earth which can bear the force of his concentrated thought.
- 69. Therefore be not grieved, calm yourself, Māra, and be not over-proud of your might. Inconstant fortune should not be relied on; you display arrogance, when your very position is tottering."
- 70. And when Māra heard that speech of his and observed the great sage's unshakenness, then, his efforts frustrated, he went away dejectedly with the arrows by which the world is smitten in the heart.
- 71. Then his host fled away in all directions, its elation gone, its toil rendered fruitless, its rocks, logs and trees scattered everywhere, like a hostile army whose chief has been slain by the foe.
- 72. As he of the flower-banner fled away defeated with his following, and the great seer, the passion-free conqueror of
- 68. This idea of the navel of the earth goes back to the Rigveda, where the place of Agni and Soma is repeatedly called the navel of the earth. That the poet had this in mind is shown by dhāmnā, a word specially applied to the seat of Agni and Soma, and which should therefore possibly be understood here as also meaning the supreme 'seat', the vajrāsana described at AK., II, 145-6. For the general idea see Jātaka, I, 71, and IV, 229, and AAA., 178 (explaining the word aviṣāhyatvam of Asanga's kārikā), and for the use of nābhi Mhv., III, 275, 1-2, and Coomaraswamy's reference to Mahābodhivamsa 79, in Eastern Art, III, 217. For d cp. Rām., v. 3, 78, and MBh., v. 55.
 - 69. C gives no help in determining the reading in d.
- 70. In d T takes jagaccetasi as a compound and vihanyate (if it read so) therefore as impersonal; it may have read yasya (i.e. hanyate?). Possibly one should take yair as equivalent to yasya, 'by whose arrows', and attracted into the instrumental by the nearer noun.
- 71. C and T agree that āśraya here means 'leader'; cp. viii. 23, and note. It is a well-recognized phenomenon in Indian history and literature that, when the leader is killed in battle, his army promptly disperses.
- 72. Paripakṣa does not occur elsewhere; those who do not like it can choose between saparirakṣe, saparivāre and saparibarhe. The following verse, as pointed out by Lüders long ago, is undoubtedly spurious, as not in C, as

the darkness of ignorance, remained victorious, the heavens shone with the moon like a maiden with a smile, and there fell a rain of sweet-smelling flowers filled with water.

simply repeating 72 in different terms, as containing words not used elsewhere by the poet $(p\bar{a}p\bar{i}yas, yos\bar{a}, vikalmasa)$, and as following a verse in a longer metre.



CANTO XIV

ENLIGHTENMENT

- 1. Then, after conquering Māra's host by his steadfastness and tranquillity, he, the master of trance, put himself into trance in order to obtain exact knowledge of the ultimate reality.
- 2. And after winning entire control over all the methods of trance, he called to mind in the first watch the succession of his previous births.
- 3. As though living them over again, he recalled thousands of births, that he had been so-and-so in such-and-such a place and that passing out of that life he had come hither.
- 4. Then after recalling his birth and death in these various existences, the compassionate one was filled with compassion for all living beings:—
- 5. "Truly the world, in abandoning its kinsfolk in this life and yet proceeding to activity in another existence, is without means of rescue and turns round and round like a wheel."
- 6. As he thus with resolute soul was mindful of the past, the conviction grew in him that the cycle of existence was as lacking in substance as the pith of a plantain-tree.
 - 3. T's amuko is contrary to the usual wording, e.g. LV., ch. xxii, 345, 12.
- 5. The words ca kriyāḥ are very puzzling and can only be construed by understanding kṛtvā from a; in view of the assonance with cakravat in d, the original reading may have been cakriyaḥ, 'travelling onwards' (Aitareyabrāhmaṇa, i. 14, 4). In either case the thought is that the Buddha and the world generally both have to abandon their kindred, but the world does it to repeat the performance in the next life, while the Buddha intends never to have to do it again. But C's 'The wheel turns round in the six gatis, birth and death (=samsāra) are never exhausted', suggests that the reading should be cākṣayam, 'without ever stopping', which is palæographically sound and expresses the sense more clearly. The form bhramati is permissible according to Pān., iii. 1, 70.

- 7. But in the second watch he, whose energy had no peer, gained the supreme divine eyesight, being himself the highest of all who possess sight.
- 8. Then with that completely purified divine eyesight he beheld the entire world, as it were in a spotless mirror.
- 9. His compassionateness waxed greater, as he saw the passing away and rebirth of all creatures according as their acts were lower or higher.
- 10. Those living beings whose acts are sinful pass to the sphere of misery, those others whose deeds are good win a place in the triple heaven.
- 11. The former are reborn in the very dreadful fearsome hell and, alas, are woefully tormented with sufferings of many kinds.
- 12. Some are made to drink molten iron of the colour of fire; others are impaled howling on a redhot iron pillar.
- 13. Some, head downwards, are boiled like meal in iron cauldrons; others are miserably broiled on heaps of burning redhot coals.
- 14. Some are devoured by fierce horrid dogs with iron teeth, others by the gloating Iron-beaks as if by crows of iron
- 15. Some, exhausted with the burning, long for cool shade and enter like captives the dark sword-leaved forest
 - 7. For the divine eyesight, see AK., Index s. divyacakşus.
- 9. Cp. AAA., 130, 25, ayam hi hetuphalayor dharmo yat prakṛṣṭād dhetoh prakṛṣṭam phalam aprakṛṣṭāc cā prakṛṣṭam.
- 10. The durgati par excellence is hell, but the term usually includes existence as an animal or as a Preta.
- 12. The following description has many analogies in Buddhist literature; for another $k\bar{a}vya$ account see $J\bar{a}t.$, xxix, and for the classic description with references to literature AK., II, 148ff.
 - 13. Should it be dahyante 'karuṇam' in c?
- 14. For the ayastundas, AK., II, 151; it is wrong to take vāyasaih with ayastundaih.
- 15. The asipattravana figures also in Brahmanical literature, MBh., xii. 12075, Manu, iv. 90, R., xiv. 48; see also Kirfel, Kosmographie der Inder, Index s.v. The point of baddhā iva escapes me; should it be vadhyā iva?

- 16. Some have their arms bound and like wood are chopped up with axes; even in this suffering they do not cease to exist, the power of their acts holding back their vital breaths.
- 17. The retribution of the act which was committed by them for the cessation of suffering in the hope of obtaining pleasure, is experienced by them against their will in the shape of this suffering.
- 18. These did evil for the sake of pleasure and are now exceedingly tormented. What pleasure, even the slightest, does that enjoyment of theirs cause?
- 19. The consequences of the foul act, mirthfully carried out by the foul-minded, are reaped by them with lamentations, when the hour of retribution has matured.
- 20. If sinners could thus see the fruit of their acts, they would vomit forth hot blood, as if they had been struck in a vital part.
- 21. By reason of their various actions arising from the activity of the mind, these other unfortunates are born among the various kinds of animals.
- 22. In this state they are miserably slaughtered, even before the eyes of their relatives, for the sake of their flesh, skin, fur or tusks, or out of mutual enmity or mere wantonness.
- 23. And powerless and helpless too, tormented by hunger, thirst and exhaustion, those who become oxen or horses are driven along, their bodies wounded with goads.
- 16. In T correct bleg to blags in b. Vipacyante seems better than vipadyante; it refers to vipāka, the retribution of the act, but primarily it means 'come to an end', by transition from the idea of completion on maturity. The passive of paripac is recorded in this sense.
- 20. The verse which A and T add here is so obviously out of place that there can be no doubt of the correctness of Lüders' opinion rejecting it; it is not in C.
 - 21. For vispanda, see references in Ind. Ant., 1933, 114.
- 22. I understand vairād api to mean the animals kill each otner; as C has it, 'still more they mutually tear and kill each other'. T's rāgād for it is inferior.

- 24. And those who become elephants are ridden despite their strength by weaklings, who kick them with foot and heel or torment their heads with the ankus.
- 25. In this state, though there are other forms of suffering, suffering arises especially from mutual enmity and from subjection to others.
- 26. For catching each other mutually, the sky-dwellers are oppressed by sky-dwellers, water-dwellers by those who move in the water, and land-dwellers by land-dwellers.
- 27. And so those, who are obsessed by stinginess, are reborn in the dark world of the Pretas and reap their reward in wretchedness.
- 28. With mouths small as the eye of a needle and bellies vast as mountains, their lot is suffering and they are tortured with the sufferings of hunger and thirst.
- 29. For reaching the limit of longing, yet kept in existence by their own deeds, they do not succeed in swallowing even the filth thrown away by others.
- 30. If man knew that such was the fruit of avarice, he would always give away even the limbs of his own body, as Sibi did.

सद्यमेव जयते

- 24. The mahout sits on the neck of the elephant with his feet under the ears, ordinarily controlling him with his feet, but, when he is refractory, bringing down the ankus, often with great force, on the crown of his head.
 - 26. I do not like the reading in d, but see no alternative.
- 27. Pitr is here used for preta, a class of being about whom Buddhist traditions are very confused. The reference here, as is shown by nirāloka, is to the realm of Yama, which according to the Saddharmasmṛṭyupasthānasūtra (S. Lévi, JA, 1918, i, p. 36) is 'tout assombri par l'égarement et par l'obscurcissement des esprits qui s'y trouvent.' It places the land of Yama on the surface of the earth, while AK., II, 156, puts it 500 yojanas below.
- 29. C and the sense show that this and the next verse must be read in this order. The reading in a is not quite satisfactory; the sense clearly being that they reach the extreme limit of starvation, should it run aśanāsamati-krāntā? Note the idiomatic use of labh with the infinitive.

- 31. These other creatures take form again in the filthy hell-like pool called the womb and experience suffering amongst men.
- 32. At the first even at the moment of birth they are gripped by sharp hands, as if sharp swords were piercing them, whereat they weep bitterly.
- 33. They are loved and cherished and guarded by their kindred who bring them up with every care, only to be defiled by their own various deeds as they pass from suffering to greater suffering.
- 34. And in this state the fools, obsessed with desire, are borne along in the ever-flowing stream, thinking all the more, 'this is to be done and this is to be done'.
- 35. These others, who have accumulated merit, are born in heaven, and are terribly burned by the flames of sensual passion, as by a fire.
- 36. And from there they fall, still not satiated with the objects of sense, with eyes turned upwards, their brilliance gone, and wretched at the fading of their garlands.
- 37. And as their lovers fall helplessly, the Apsarases regard them pitifully and catch their clothes with their hands.
- 38. Some look as if they were falling to earth with their ropes of pearls swaying, as they try to hold up their lovers falling miserably from the pavilions.
- 39. Others, wearing ornaments and garlands of many kinds and grieved at their fall into suffering, follow them with eyes unsteady with sympathy.
- 40. In their love for those who are falling, the troops of Apsarases beat their breasts with their hands and, distressed, as it were, with great affliction, remain attached to them.

^{33. &#}x27;Defiled', ñon-mons, kliś or kalusa.

^{38.} Lun-hdod, inexplicable by the dictionaries, I interpret through the use of lun mno-ba at $K\bar{a}\dot{s}yapaparivarta$, 159, corresponding to udgrhneya $dh\bar{a}ra < yeya >$. Cp. iii. 22 above and S., vi. 3.

^{40.} The sense of the main verb brten (sev, saj, bhaj etc.) is not clear to me.

- 41. The dwellers in Paradise fall distressed to earth, lamenting, "Alas, grove of Caitraratha! Alas, heavenly lake! Alas, Mandākinī! Alas, beloved!"
- 42. Seeing that Paradise, obtained by many labours, is uncertain and transitory, and that such suffering will be caused by separation from it,
- 43. Alas, inexorably this is in an especial degree the law of action in the world; this is the nature of the world and yet they do not see it to be such.
- 44. Others, who have disjoined themselves from sensual passion, conclude in their minds that their station is eternal; yet they fall miserably from heaven.
- 45. In the hells is excessive torture, among animals eating each other, the suffering of hunger and thirst among the pretas, among men the suffering of longings,
- 46. In the heavens that are free from love the suffering of rebirth is excessive. For the ever-wandering world of the living there is most certainly no peace anywhere.
- 47. This stream of the cycle of existence has no support and is ever subject to death. Creatures, thus beset on all sides, find no resting-place.
- 48. Thus with the divine eyesight he examined the five spheres of life and found nothing substantial in existence, just as no heartwood is found in a plantain-tree when it is cut open.
- 49. Then as the third watch of that night drew on, the best of those who understand trance meditated on the real nature of this world:—

^{41.} This is S., xi. 50.

^{43, 44.} C shows T's order to be wrong here: my verse 43 is made up of W's 44ab, 45cd, and verse 44 of 45ab, 44cd. In the first line of 43 I read nes-par for des las and understand something like lokakāryasya dharmo 'yam dhruvam bata višeṣatah. Verse 44 refers to the inhabitants of the Brahmā world.

- 50. "Alas! Living creatures obtain but toil; over and over again they are born, grow old, die, pass on and are reborn.
- 51. Further man's sight is veiled by passion and by the darkness of delusion, and from the excess of his blindness he does not know the way out of this great suffering."
- 52. After thus considering, he reflected in his mind, "What is it verily, whose existence causes the approach of old age and death?"
- 53. Penetrating the truth to its core, he understood that old age and death are produced, when there is birth.
- 54. He saw that head-ache is only possible when the head is already in existence; for when the birth of a tree has come to pass, then only can the felling of it take place.
- 55. Then the thought again arose in him, "What does this birth proceed from?" Then he saw rightly that birth is produced from existence due to the power of the act.
- 56. With his divine eyesight he saw that active being proceeds from the act, not from a Creator or from Nature or from a self or without a cause.

सन्यमेव जयते

- 50. 'Pass on', hpho-ba, cyu; W takes 'die and pass on' as a compound, at there is a distinction, as cyu implies passing to the next life, particularly from a higher sphere to a lower.
- 51. 'Passion', chags-pa, rajas, i.e. rāga and dveṣa. 'Sight is veiled', bsgribs-pa, āvṛta. I read śin-tu dgos-pa (for dogs-pa) and take it as equivalent to atyartha.
- 52. The translation of the second line involves reading rga-ba for W's rga-bas and the xylographs' sga-bas, but the context shows it to be the only possible text. C has wrongly 'birth and death', but 'old age and death' correctly in the next column. The following description of the pratity as amutpāda is on perfectly orthodox lines.
 - 53. 'To its core', skye-gnas-nas, yoniśah.
- 55. 'Existence due to the power of the act', las-srid, karmdbhava; cp. AK., II, 64.
 - 56. 'Active being', hjug-pa, pravrtti.

- 57. Just as, if the first knot in a bamboo is wisely cut, everything quickly comes into order, so his knowledge advanced in proper order.
- 58. Thereon the sage applied his mind to determining the origin of existence. Then he saw that the origin of existence was to be found in appropriation.
- 59. This act arises from appropriating the various vows and rules of life, sensual pleasure, views of self and false views, as fire arises by appropriating fuel.
- 60. Then the thought occurred to him, "From what cause does appropriation come?" Thereon he recognised the causal condition of appropriation to lie in thirst.
- 61. Just as the forest is set ablaze by a little fire, when the wind fans it, so thirst gives birth to the vast sins of sensual passion and the rest.
- 62. Then he reflected, "From what does thirst arise?" Thereon he concluded that the cause of thirst is sensation.
- 63. Mankind, overwhelmed by their sensations, thirst for the means of satisfying them; for no one in the absence of thirst takes pleasure in water.
- 64. Then he again meditated, "What is the source of sensation?" He, who had put an end to sensation, saw also the cause of sensation to be in contact.
- 57. C shows clearly that *tsheg* in T stands for *tshigs*, 'a joint'. W suggests that the simile refers to cutting holes in a bamboo flute; I take it to splitting a bamboo, a common operation in India, in which all depends upon accurate splitting of the first knot.
 - 58. 'Appropriation', upādāna.
 - 59. The reference is to the four kinds of upādāna; cp. AK., II, 86.
 - 60. 'Cause', rgyu, hetu; 'causal condition', rkyen, pratyaya.
 - 61. Bus, read phus? 'Sin', ñon-mons, kleśa.
 - 62. C adds the threefold definition of vedanā as sukha, duḥkha, upekṣā.
- 63. W misunderstands gnen-por byed-la as gnen-byed-la, 'marrying'; gnen-po means 'remedy', 'means'. The last word of the verse should be clearly min, not yin, as kha-cig=kaścit, not kah.

- 65. Contact is to be explained as the uniting of the object, the sense and the mind, whence sensation is produced, just as fire is produced from the uniting of the two rubbing sticks and fuel.
- 66. Next he considered that contact has a cause. Thereon he recognised the cause to lie in the six organs of sense.
- 67. The blind man does not perceive objects, since his eye does not bring them into junction with his mind; if sight exists, the junction takes place. Therefore there is contact, when the sense-organ exists.
- 68. Further he made up his mind to understand the origin of the six organs of sense. Thereon the knower of causes knew the cause to be name-and-form.
- 69. Just as the leaf and the stalk are only said to exist when there is a shoot in existence, so the aix organs of sense only arise when name-and-form is in existence.
- 70. Then the thought occurred to him, "What is the cause of name-and-form?" Thereon he, who had passed to the further side of knowledge, saw its origin to lie in consciousness.
- 71. When consciousness arises, name-and-form is produced. When the development of the seed is completed, the sprout assumes a bodily form.
- 72. Next he considered, "From what does consciousness come into being?" Then he knew that it is produced by supporting itself on name-and-form.
- 73. Then after he had understood the order of causality, he thought over it; his mind travelled over the views that he had formed and did not turn aside to other thoughts.
- 71. The translation of the first line is conjectural; for T's nonsensical hdas-pa I put an o over h and read hons-pa, and I also retain ni for W's amendment na. T inserts a single pāda before this verse, 'when there is knowledge by means of consciousness'; this must be an interpolation, not a fragment of an incomplete verse. For C has nothing to correspond, and the composition of the parallel passages and the sense negative the idea of a verse being missing here.

- 74. Consciousness is the causal condition from which name-and-form is produced. Name-and-form again is the support on which consciousness is based.
- 75. Just as a boat conveys a man. , so consciousness and name-and-form are causes of each other.
- 76. Just as redhot iron causes grass to blaze and as blazing grass makes iron redhot, of such a kind is their mutual causality.
- 77. Thus he understood that from consciousness arises name-and-form, from the latter originate the senses and from the senses arises contact.
- 78. But of contact he knew sensation to be born, out of sensation thirst, out of thirst appropriation, and out of appropriation similarly existence.
- 79. From existence comes birth, from birth he knew old age and death to arise. He rightly understood that the world is produced by the causal conditions.
- 80. Then this conclusion came firmly on him, that from the annihilation of birth old age and death are suppressed, that from the destruction of existence birth itself is destroyed, and that existence ceases to be through the suppression of appropriation.
- 81. Further the latter is suppressed through the suppression of thirst; if sensation does not exist, thirst does not exist; if contact is destroyed, sensation does not come into existence; from the non-existence of the six organs of sense contact is destroyed.
- 82. Similarly if name-and-form is rightly suppressed, all the six organs of sense are destroyed too; and the former is
- 75. T has one pāda missing. C suggests the sense to be that a boat carries a man on the water and the man carries the boat on dry land, but one would expect to be told that a man propels a boat, as the boat conveys the man.
 - 76. Comits this verse.
- 82. 'The factors', hdu-byed, samskāra, here the working of deeds done in a former life.

suppressed through the suppression of consciousness, and the latter is suppressed also through the suppression of the factors.

- 83. Similarly the great seer understood that the factors are suppressed by the complete absence of ignorance. Therefore he knew properly what was to be known and stood out before the world as the Buddha.
- 84. The best of men saw no self anywhere from the summit of existence downwards and came to tranquillity, like a fire whose fuel is burnt out, by the eightfold path of supreme insight, which starts forth and quickly reaches the desired point.
- 85. Then as his being was perfected, the thought arose in him, "I have obtained this perfect path which was travelled for the sake of the ultimate reality by former families of great seers, who knew the higher and the lower things".
- 86. At that moment of the fourth watch when the dawn came up and all that moves or moves not was stilled, the great seer reached the stage which knows no alteration, the sovereign leader the state of omniscience.
- 87. When, as the Buddha, he knew this truth, the earth swayed like a woman drunken with wine, the quarters shone bright with crowds of Siddhas, and mighty drums resounded in the sky.
- 84. The translation is uncertain as regards the first phrase and the closing relative sentence. In T's third line I take bar-las as bar-la=Sk. ā. C inserts the expression krtam karanīyam, for which T has no equivalent as it stands; it omits the reference to the summit of existence, substituting 'without self at all (or, finally)'.
- 85. T's miah-ma-rnams-kyi is sheer nonsense, the literal Sanskrit equivalent being vadhūnām paramārthahetoh. An instrumental is also required, and I propose sia-ma-rnams-kyis (pūrvaih) to agree with the words in the previous line. This in fact is the word that the context makes indispensable. Tshogs in view of C I take as=kula. Mchog dan mchog-min mkhyen-pa, parāparajña.
- 86. 'All that moves or moves not', rgyu dan mi-rgyu-hi hbyun-po-rnams, carācarāni bhūtāni.

- 88. Pleasant breezes blew softly, the heaven rained moisture from a cloudless sky, and from the trees there dropped flowers and fruit out of due season as if to do him honour.
- 89. At that time, just as in Paradise, *māndārava* flowers, lotuses and water-lilies of gold and beryl fell from the sky and bestrewed the place of the Śākya sage.
- 90. At that moment none gave way to anger, no one was ill or experienced any discomfort, none resorted to sinful ways or indulged in intoxication of mind; the world became tranquil, as though it had reached perfection.
- 91. The companies of deities, who are devoted to salvation, rejoiced; even the beings in the spheres below felt joy. Through the prosperity of the party who favoured virtue the *dharma* spread abroad and the world rose above passion and the darkness of ignorance.
- 92. The seers of the Ikṣvāku race who had been rulers of men, the royal seers and the great seers, filled with joy and wonder at his achievement, stood in their mansions in the heavens reverencing him.
- 93. The great seers of the groups of invisible beings proclaimed his praises with loud utterance and the world of the living rejoiced as if flourishing. But Māra was filled with despondency, as before a great precipice.
- 94. Then for seven days, free from discomfort of body, he sat, looking into his own mind, his eyes never winking. The
- 88. The second pāda may have run, payāmsy anabhre pravavarṣa devaḥ. Read at the end of the last pāda with the Peking edition brul-par-gyur; C confirms the reading.
- 91. 'The beings in the spheres below', primarily those in hell, but may include pretas and animals.
- 93. The last four words of the translation are conjectural, the text being uncertain both in reading and meaning (llun-ba mchog-la, Peking ed.; llun-ba mtshog-le W).
- 94. C says the Buddha sat examining the bodhi tree, for which cp. LV., ch. xxiv. 377, 5, and 385, 9, and W therefore takes $gzigs-\delta i\dot{n}$, which is normally

sage fulfilled his heart's desire, reflecting that on that spot he had obtained liberation.

- 95. Then the sage, who had grasped the principle of causation and was firmly fixed in the system of impersonality, roused himself, and, filled with great compassion, he gazed on the world with his Buddha-eye for the sake of its tranquility.
- 96. Seeing that the world was lost in false views and vain efforts and that its passions were gross, seeing too that the law of salvation was exceeding subtle, he set his mind on remaining immobile.
- 97. Then remembering his former promise, he formed a resolution for the preaching of tranquillity. Thereon he reflected in his mind how there are some persons with great passion and others with little passion.
- 98. Then when the two chiefs of the be venly dwellings knew that the Sugata's mind had taken the decision to preach tranquillity, they were filled with a desire for the world's benefit and, shining brightly, approached him.
- 99. As he sat, his aim accomplished by the rejection of sin, and the excellent *dharma* he had seen as his best companion,

सन्धमेव जयते

simply 'looking', to mean 'looking at the tree'; this is so odd a construction that I hesitate to follow.

- 95. 'Principle of causation', possibly idampratyayatā.
- 97. C and T agree in the meaning of this verse, the second $p\bar{a}da$ of which may have run, $\dot{s}am\bar{a}vav\bar{a}dam$ prati ni $\dot{s}cayam$ yayau. The intention evidently is to remove from the Buddha the reproach of having decided not to preach the Law for the good of the world; the heavenly visitants do not change his resolution as in the parallel accounts such as Majjhima, I, 168, and Mhv., III, 314ff., but merely strengthen it by their encouragement.
- 98. That Indra accompanies Brahmā is a form of the legend current only among the Mahāsaṅghikas (*Mhv.*, III, 315), so far as we know at present, but it may well have been the original form in view of the condominium of Indra and Brahmā in the older teaching (J. Przyluski, *Le Bouddhisme*, 34). Comits all mention of Indra.
- 99. The translation of the second line follows W and recalls vyavasāya-dvitīya of xii. 115.

they lauded him in all reverence and addressed these words to him for the good of the world:—

- 100. "Ah! Does not the world deserve such good fortune that your mind should feel compassion for the creatures? In the world there exist beings of varied capacity, some with great passion, some with little passion.
- 101. O sage, having yourself crossed beyond the ocean of existence, rescue the world which is drowning in suffering, and, like a great merchant his wealth, bestow your excellencies on others also.
- 102. There are some people here who, knowing what is to their advantage in this world and the hereafter, act only for their own good. But it is hard to find in this world or in heaven one who will be active for the good of the world."
- 103. After thus addressing the great seer, they returned to the celestial sphere by the way they had come. After the sage also had pondered on that speech, the decision grew strong in him for the liberation of the world.
- 104. At the time for the alms-round the gods of the four quarters presented the seer with begging-bowls; Gautama, accepting the four, turned them into one for the sake of his dharma.
- 105. Then at that time two merchants of a passing caravan, being instigated thereto by a friendly deity, joyfully did obeisance to the seer with exalted minds and were the first to give him alms.
- 100. The translation of the first hemistich is speculative, following C's line of thought.
- 101. 'Great merchant', legs-kyi dban-phyug, evidently śreṣṭhin. The third pāda is two syllables in excess; I omit thob-nas, which appears to be an interpolation.
- 102. W translates differently, missing the antithesis; for a more elaborate treatment of the idea see S., xviii. 55-56.
- 105. It is not clear from T whether it is the Buddha or the merchants who were exalted in mind; C gives no help and W takes the former alternative.

- 106. The sage reflected that Arāḍa and Udraka Rāmaputra were the two who had minds capable of accepting the *dharma*, but, when he saw that both had gone to heaven, his thoughts turned to the five mendicants.
- 107. Then, wishing to preach tranquillity in order to dispel the darkness of ignorance, as the rising sun the darkness, Gautama proceeded to the blessed city, which was beloved of Bhīmaratha, and whose various forests are ornamented by the Varānasī.
- 108. Then the sage, whose eye was like a bull's, whose gait like a rutting elephant's, desired to go to the land of Kāśi, in order to convert the world, and turning his entire body like an elephant, he fixed his unwinking eyes on the *bodhi* tree.
- 107. For Varāṇasī cp. xv. 14, as translated by W, and S., iii. 10, and for the second pāda ib., 16. Bhīmaratha occurs in the genealogies as one of the kings of Kāśi, and T's ambiguous expression may possibly imply that the town was founded by him. It does not support the more natural alternative of reading Bhaimarathi, i.e. Divodāsa, whom legend associates especially with the restoration of Benares. There may be a second meaning, a reference to Siva, the special deity of Benares; his chariot, made by Viśvakarman, is described in the *Tripurākhyāna*, MBh., viii, a story referred to at B., xxiii. 32.



सद्यमेव जयते

INDEX

N.B.—References are to the page numbers of the Introduction and to the numbers of the verses in the text and translation, adding to the latter the letter n., where the occurrence is in the notes only. The colon is used to separate different meanings of the same word or different per ons of the same name.

amśu, vi. 57 n. amsuka, iv. 33; vi. 57. Akanistha, v. 47. akuśalamūla, xlii. akrama, v. 36. Akşamālā, iv. 77. Agastya, iv. 73 ; ix. 9 n., 26. Agni, liii; i. 16 n., 61. See asitagati, dvija. agnihotra, vii. 33. ańgārakarsū, xi. 30. Angiras, i. 41; iv. 74 n. Aja, viii. 79. ajira, vii. 2; viii. 80; x. 10. ajña, lx; xii. 80, 81. ajñāna, lx; xii. 23, 73, 81. atrpta, v. 38 Atri, i. 43. adráva, ix. 43. adruta, ix. 72. adhyātma, xii. 63. Ananga, liv. anaya, li; ii. 41 n., 42. Anaranya, ii. 15. anarha, x. 24. anārya, vii. 35; ix. 69. anāsrava, v. 10. aniyata, xiii. 49. anīśvara, xiii. 46. anupāya, xii. 24, 30. anurodha, ix. 36. anuśamsa, vi. 12.

anrta, iv. 67, 92. antaga, ii. 1. antara, i. 16. Antideva, i. 52; ix. 20, 70. Andhaka, xi. 31. andhatāmisra, xii. 36. anyāya, x. 6. anyubja, 1. 14. anvaksam, iv. 51. apatu, xii. 87. apasnāta, viii. 7. apratibuddha, xii. 21. aprabuddha, xii. 40. apravrtta, ii. 44. Apsaras, i. 89; ii. 30; iii. 20, 65; iv. 11, 20, 28, 78; v. 45; viii. 64; xiv. 37, 40. abhava, ix. 58. abhāgin, lxvii; viii. 54, 67. abhitaḥ, xi. 27. Abhidharmakośa, xli. abhidhāna, ii. 26; iii. 3. abhimāna, ix. 50; xii. 32 n. abhisvanga, xii. 31. abhisamplava, xii. 24, 28. abhisambhava, xii. 24 n. abhyavapāta, xii. 24, 32. abhyuksana, xlv; xii. 30. abhyucita, viii. 57. Ambarisa, ix. 69. avastunda, xiv. 14. arajaska, ii. 5.

Arati, xiii. 3. Arāda, vii. 54; ix. 6; xi. 69; xii. 1, 11, 15, 45, 83; xiv. 106. aruna, v. 87; xiii. 21. Arjuna, xlvii. See Pāndava. arthavat, iii. 56. Arthaśāstra, xvi ; li. aryaputra, lxx; viii. 34. Alakādhipa, iii. 65. av, xi. 70. avāpta ~. 76. avi, x. 15. avidyā, lx; xii. 33, 37. aviśesa, xii. 24, 29. avyakta, lviii ; xii. 18, 22, 40. aśakya, i. 1 n. aśubha, ix. 58, 75; xi. 7; xiv. 18. Aśoka, xvii; xx; xxxix; lxxxvii; v. 86 n. Aśokāvadāna, xvił. aśmakutta, vii. 16 n. Aśvin, vii. 7. Asanga, xxix; xxxviii. asamjñāsamjñātmaka, xii. 85. asamjňitva, xii. 87. asamjňin, xii. 86. Asita, i. 49, 62, 80; ii. 25; viii. 84. asitagati, v. 79. asipattravana, xiv. 15. Asura, xi. 32. asti, lxviii ; lxxv ; ix. 6. asmi, lxix; i. 67. ahamkāra, xii. 18, 21 n., 24, 26, 76. Ahalyā, iv. 72.

ākāśa, xii. 61, 62. ākimeanya, xii. 63, 85. āgama, iv. 83; vii. 14; ix. 76; xiii. 49. āgranthana, v. 60. Āngirasa, ii. 36; ix. 10. ājavamjavatā, xxx; xii. 41. ātapa, xiii. 43. ātarjana, xiii. 17.

ātman, lx; ix. 61, 64; xii. 20, 62. 63, 71, 74, 81, 84, 114. ātmabhāva, v. 42. ātmavat, viii. 66. Atreya, xv ; i. 43. ādara, xii. 102. $ar{ extbf{A}} ext{ditya}, ext{ i. 57 (°patha) ; ii. 16 ; x. 23.}$ Ananda, xxx; xxxix. ānuśamsā, vi. 12 n. āpta, ix. 76. Ābhāsvara, xii. 53. āmukha, xxx. āyatana, xi. 27, 68 n. āyuşmat, lxii; iii. 33. ārambha, see nirārambha. ārāt, vi. 62. ārcika, ii. 51. ārya, viii. 54; ix. 76 n.; xi. 70; xiii. 63, 64. See anārya. Aryadeva, xxix. Āryaśūra, see Śūra. ārṣa, i. 79. ālakṣya, lxxvi ; iv. 33. ālaya, ix. 79. Aviksita Marutta, iv. 74 n. āśaya, iii. 34. āśraya, ii. 29 : xiii. 18 : xiii. 71. See nirāsraya. āśu, lxxvi ; vi. 64. Aṣādha, ix. 20. āsangakāstha, xi. 45. Asuri, xii. 21 n. āsrava, xliv; v. 10 n.

i, ati+, viii. 83; ix. 71. adhi+, ix. 4.
parā+, iv. 99; vii. 31; ix. 14; xi. 4; xii. 17.
Ikṣvāku, i. 1, 44; vii. 6; ix. 4; xii. 1; xiv. 92.
idainpratyayatā, xiv. 95 n.
Indra, xxvii; xxviii; liii; i. 2, 10; v. 22, 45; vii. 3, 43; viii. 79;

ix, 5; xi. 70; xiv. 98 n. See Deva, Puramdara, Maghavat, Marutvat, Mahendra, Lekharşabha, Vajrabāhu, Valabhid, Vāsava, Śakra, Śacīpati, Śatakratu, Sahasrākṣa.

işīkā, xii. 64.

iks, ava+, v. 22.Iśwara, liv; lv; ix. 63.ih, sam+, xii. 33.

Ugrāyudha, xi. 18.
ueitadarsitva, vi. 37.
Ujjvaladatta, lxxx; viii. 13 n.
udurāja, vi. 65.
Utathya, iv. 74.
Udāyin, lii; iv. 8, 24, 62.
Udraka, xii. 84, 85, 88; xiv. 106.
upapatti, ix. 56.
Upasunda, xi. 32.
upādāna, xiv. 58 n., 59 n.
Upāli, xxxix.
ubja, i. 14 n.
uraga, i. 19.
Urvasī, ix. 9 n.; xi. 15.
ulbaņam, v. 59.

Rtusamhāra, lxxxi. Rsyaśrnga, iv. 19.

Ekottarāgama, xxvii.

Aida, xi. 15; xiii. 12.

Aurva, i. 10. Aurvaseya, xlv; ix. 9.

Ka, ii. 51. Kaksīvat, i. 10. kaṇṭhasūtra, lii; v. 58. kaḍaṅgara, xiii. 40, 71. Kanthaka, xxxix; v. 3, 68, 78 n.; vi. 53, 55, 67; viii. 3, 17, 19, 32, 38, 43, 73, 75.
Kapiñjalāda, iv. 77.
Kapila, xii. 21.
Kapilavāstu, xxxviii; vi. 30, 51.

Kapilāhvaya (pura), i. 89; v. 84; viii. 5.

karāla, iii. 20.

Karālajanaka, iv. 80; xiii. 5 n.

karkaśa, ii. 32.

karnikā, viii. 22 n.

karman, lx; ii. 56; xii. 23, 73; xiv. 10, 16, 19, 20, 29.

karmabhava, xiv. 55 n.

karmānta, vii. 33.

kal, iv. 11.

kaluşa, m. (?), ii. 16.

Kalpanāmaņditikā, xvi; xxii;

kaļāra, iii. 20 n.

Kavindravacanasamuccaya, xx; ; xxiii.

kāma, xi. 9ff.

Kāma, liv; iv. 4; xiii. 11 n. See Puspaketu, Manmatha.

Kāmadeva (Māra), i. 27 ; xiii. 2.

kāmaguņa, v. 15; xi. 36 n.

kāmasukha, i. 76.

Kāmasūtra, lii.

Kāla, xii. 116.

Kālāma, xii. 2.

Kālidāsa, xvi; liv; lxvi; lxxv; lxxviii; lxxx; lxxxi; lxxxiv; lxxxix; xcv.

Kālī, iv. 76.

Kāvyamīmāmsā, lxxix; viii. 25 n.

Kāvyādarša, lxiii.

Kāśi, xiv. 108.

Kāśisundari, iv. 16.

Kāśyapa, xxvii; xxix.

kilādri, i. 21 n.

kilita, i. 21.

kuc, ni+, iv. 14.

Kunthadhāna, Kundadhāna. Kundopadhāniyaka, xxviii.

kutühala, adj. (?), v. 31.

Kubera, liii; iv. 10. Scc Alakā-dhipa, Draviņapati, Draviņendra. Dhanada, Vaiśravana.

Kumārajīva, xxiii; xxx.

Kumāralāta, xxii; xxvi.

Kumudvatī, xlvii; xiii. 11 n.

Kuru, xlvii ; xi. 31 : (Uttara) iv. 10.

kuśala, xi. 9.

kuśalamūla, xlii; ii. 56 n.

Kuśika, i. 44.

kūbara, iii. 60.

kṛtin, xii. 47.

kṛśana, ii. 36.

Kṛṣṇa, xlvii ; liv ; lxxix. See Sauri.

klp, pari+, xii. 61, 75, 76.

ketu, v. 3.

Kairātaka, iii. 12.

Kailāsa, ii. 30 ; x. 41.

kostha, vii. 33.

Kosalasamyutta, xxxix.

Kaukulika, xxxv ; xliii.

Kautilya, xvi; li.

Kaurava, iv. 79.

krama, v. 36 n., 37.

krimi, v. 5.

Kşīrasvāmin, lxxx.

kşetra, xii. 20.

kṣetrajña, lx; xii. 20, 41, 64, 69, 70, 80.

khalina, v. 3, 72.

khela (or, kheda), vii. 36.

Gangā, xl^r i ; ix. 25 ; x. 1.

gaṇḍa, v. 53 n.

Gandistotra, xxii; xciii. See Addenda.

gati, i. 15: xxiv; xi. 68 n. See durgati.

gam, ā+, xii. 38, 116. samud+, i. 14; viii. 52. vinis+, lxxii; v. 67. pari+, v. 78. prati+, xii. 83.

Gaya, xii. 89.

Garuḍa, liv; lxxix; vi. 5 n. See Garutmat, Tārksya.

Garutmat, xiii. 54.

garbha, v. 44.

garvita, vii. 50; viii. 57.

Gavāmpati, xxxix.

Gādhin, i. 44.

Girivraja, xi. 73.

gil, nis+, xiii. 44.

guṇa, iii. $\mathbf{57}$; v. $\mathbf{65}$; xi. $\mathbf{36}$; xii. $\mathbf{78},$

79 : lvii—lx ; xii. 77 n. See kāmaguņa, nirguņa, nairguņya.

guņin, xii. 78, 79.

Guru (Buddha), i. 27.

goputraka (?), ii. 22.

gorūpaka, ii. 22 n.

Gautama, iv. 16: iv. 17: iv. 72:

agula sexiv. 104, 107.

Gautami, viii. 24, 51. See Devi. grāha, xii. 84.

ghṛṇā, ix. 42. See saghṛṇa. Ghṛṭācī, xlix; iv. 20.

cak, v. 81.

cakracara, vii. 3 n.

cakradhara, vii. 3.

cakravartin, xxxix; i. 34; viii. 84.

cakriya, xiv. 5 n.

cakşus (divya), xiv. 7, 8.

cañe, viii. 19 n. vi+, i. 61.

Candrakīrti, xxix; xxx.

Caraka, xv; lvi; lix; i. 43 n.; xii.

23 n., 24 n.

caraka, vii. 3 n.

Cāṇakyarājanītišāstra, lxxix; iv. 87 n.
Citrāyudha, xiii. 2.
Caitraratha, i. 6; iv. 78; xiv. 41.
Cyavana, i. 43.
cyu, i. 11; xiv. 50 n.

Chanda, Chandaka, v. 68; vi. 4, 14, 25, 42, 43, 56, 65; vii. 1; viii. 9, 23, 32, 42, 73. chid (kathām), ix. 3.

Janghā, iv. 17. Janaka, i. 45; ix. 20; xii. 67. Karālajanaka. janani, ii. 34. janībhū, vi. 9. jantu, xii. 23. Javanta, liii; v. 27 n.; ix. 5, 12. jalāgama, viii. 56. Jātakamālā, xxxvi ; xxxvii. jāla, i. 60. jugupsa, vi+, lxviii ; v. 12, 13. Juhvatī, iv. 75 n. jrmbh, iv. 6; v. 59; xiii. 30. Jetavana, xl. Jaigīsavya, lxi ; xii. 67. jña, lx ; xii. 80. jñā, vi+, xii. 10.

tattva, vii. 55; xii. 65.
Tattvasiddhi, xxxi.
tatrabhavat, lxii; ix. 37.
tathāgata, i. 20.
tanu, xi. 71.
tanmātra, lx; xii. 18 n.
tapoda, x. 2.
tamas, lviii; xii. 33, 34, 77 n.
tāḍa, i. 74.
tāmisra, xii. 33, 36.
Tārkṣya, vi. 5.
tāla, i. 74 n.

tīrtha, vii. 31, 40. Tuṣita, xxxix. Tṛṣ, xiii. 3. tṛṣṇā, lx; xii. 23, 73.

Dandaka, xi. 31. Dandin, lxiii ; lxxxii. dantolukhalika, vii. 16 n. Darpa, xiii. 3. darśana, i. 24; xii. 13. Dasaratha, viii. 81. See A a. dākṣiṇya, iv. 67 n., 69, 70, 71, 92. Dāśarathi, viii. 8. diva, viii. 13. Divodāsa, xiv. 107 n. divaukas, i. 18; v. 20, 86; vi. 58, 60; viii. 48; xii. 121. Divyāvadāna, xxv ; xxviii. Dirghatapas, iv. 18. durgati, xi. 21; xiv. 10. Durghatavrtti, lxxx; viii. 13 n. Deva (Indra), iii. 12. Devadatta, xl. Devi, i. 61 : (Gautami) vi. 32 ; ix. 26 : (Yaśodharā) vi. 33. daisika, xiii. 62. dosa (dvesa), ii. 39; v. 18; (kleśa) xii. 34 n., 75. dosato gam, viii. 49. Dyumatsena, ix. 70 n. Dravinapati, v. 85. Dravinendra, v. 45. dravya, xi. 36. druta. see adruta. Druma, ix. 20, 70. drumābja, v. 3. dvandva, xi. 43. See nirdvandva. dvija, xi. 71. dveşa, xlii. See doşa.

Dhanada, i. 89. Dharmakīrti, xxii.

Dharmagupta, xxviii. dharmapidā, ix. 40. dharmarāja, i. 75. dhā, ni+, x. 13. anuvi+, vii. 58. dhātu, iii. 42: (pañca) xii. 114. Dhātupātha, lxviii; i. 41 n.; iv. 6 n.; v. 81 n. dhāman, xlv; xiii. 68. dhiṣṇya, iv. 102; viii. 40; ix. 2. dhṛti, vi. 65. dhyāna, liii; i. 77; xii. 105, 106; xiv. 1, 2: (prathama) v. 10; xii. 49, 50 : (dvitīya) xii. 52 : (tṛtīya) xii. 54: (caturtha) xii. 56, 58, 60. Dhruva, ix. 20; x. 41 n. dhruva, viii. 35 n.

Nagarī, xii. 89. Naghusa, xi. 14 n. Nanda, xxvii ; xxx; See xcii. Sundarananda. Nandana, iii. 64. Nandabalä, xii. 109. Nalakūbara, 1. 89. See Dravinendra. सरामव navagraha, vii. 46. Nahusa, xi. 14, 16. nākaprstha, x. 39. Nāga, xiii. 30. Nāgārjuna, xxix-xxx; xxxviii. Addenda. nānābhāva, vi. 43. nānyakārya, xi. 17. nābhi, xlv; xiii. 68. nāma, lxxvi; iv. 29; xiii. 35. Nāhusa, ii. 11. Nidānakathā, xl. Nimi Videha, xiii. 5 n. nimitta, ix. 64. niyati, liv ; fx. 55 n. nirārambha, vi. 52. nirāśraya, viii. 23.

nirudvigna, iv. 56 n., 58.
nirguņa, xii. 77.
nirdvandva, xii. 47.
nirvāhaka, ix. 38.
nivṛtti, vii. 48; ix. 63.
niṣpeṣavat, i. 14.
nihrādavat, iii. 60.
nī, abhi+, ii. 3.
nīti, li; lii; iv. 62.
Nairañjanā, xii. 90, 108.
nairguṇya, xii. 77.
nyāya, see anyāya and nyāyavid.
nyāyavid. x. 20.
Nyāyasūtra, lv.

pac, vi+, xiv. 16. Pañcagatidipani, xxiii. pañcaparva, xii. 33, 37. Pañeasikha, lxii; xii. 21 n., 23 n., 53 n., 67 n. patu, see apatu. pattralekha, v. 53. Padma, ii. 3. Padmapurāna, xlvii. Padmaśrī, iv. 36. Padmasanda, iii. 63. Padmā, i. 2. Padhānasutta, xl; xiii. 3 n., 19 n. parapratyaya, xxxiv; ix. 74. Paramārtha, xxxi; xxxv. parāparajña, xiv. 85 n. Parāśara, iv. 76: (Pañeaśikha) xii. 67. parikalpa, v. 65 n. parinirvāna, v. 25. paripaksa, xiii. 72. parihāra, iv. 67. parihārikā, xc; xi. 71 n. parusa, v. 87. pavanapatha, i. 80. pavitra, vii. 4. pā, ni+, ii. 54.

pāmsukrīdita, iii. 31 n. Pāṇini, xvii; lxvii; lxxvii. Pändava, x. 14, 17: x. 17. Pandu, xlvii ; iv. 79. Pārāśari, lxii. pārijāta, ix. 12. pāriplava, viii. 51. Pārvatī, i. 61 n. See Devī. Śailendraputri. Pārśva, xxiv. pitr, xiv. 27. See preta. putri, ii. 22. punarbhava, ix. 55. punarbhāva, iii, 25. Punarvasu, ix. 11. Puramdara, iv. 72; ix. 45; xiii. 37. Pururavas, see Aida. Puspaketu, iii. 24 : (Māra) xiii. 72. Puspasara, xiii. 2. Pusya, xxix; liv; i. 9; ii. 36 n. Pūrnabhadra, lxxx. pūrvatama, lxix; xiii. 10. Pūrvamīmāmsāsūtra, lv. prthagjana, ix. 78; xiii. 63 n. Prthu, i. 10. prstha, lxviii; ii. 32; iii. 6; v. 67; viii. 56; x 2, 39. prakrti, lvii-lx; iii. 28; v. 65; ix. 57; xii. 17, 18, 29, 70. Prajāpati, viii. 78: xii. 21. See Ka. prajñā, xliii ; i. 71 ; xii. 58. pratipatti, ii. 24. pratibuddha, xii. 40. pratibuddhi, xii. 21. pratiyātanā, v. 58. pratiyoga, iv. 41. pratisamkhyāna, xliii. pratītyasamutpāda, xiv. 52 n. pratoli, v. 82. pratyaya, xii. 72, 73; xiv. 60 n. pramāda, v. 65. pravrtta, see apravrtta.

pravrtti, vii. 22, 23, 48; ix. 56, 57, 63; xi. 63; xiv. 56 n. prasavadharman, xii. 70. Prasenajit, xxxix. präg eva, lxviii; iv. 10, 81; xi. 7. prāthamakalpika, ii. 49. Priti, xiii. 3. prīti, v. 11; xii. 52, 54, 111. preta, viii. 80; xiv. 10 n., 27 n.. 91 n. proksana, xlv; xii. 30. Balarāma, xlvii; liv; ix. 69 n. Bali, ix. 20; xi. 12. Balivajra, ix. 20 n. Bahuśrutika, xxx-xxxv. Bāna, lxxxii ; lxxxvi. Bāhu, ix. 20 n. Bāhuśrutīya, xxxiii. Bimbisāra, xxxix; xcii; x. 17 n., 22 n., 25 n., 41 n.; xi. 72 n. See Srenya. bijadharman, xii. 70. Buddha, xiv. 83, 87: (atīta) i. 19: v. 20. Buddhaghosa, xxxviii. buddhi, lx ; xii. 18, 87. Budha, iv. 75. Brhatphala, xii. 58. Brhadratha, x. 17 n.; xi. 2 n. Brhaspati, 1; i. 41; ii. 36 n.; iv. 74, 75; vii. 43; ix. 12. See Āngirasa. bodhisattva, ii. 56; ix. 30; x. 18; xii. 88. brahmacarya, xii. 42, 44. Brahman, m., xxvii; xxviii; xiv. See Dhruva, Svayambhū. brahman, n., i. 50; xii. 42, 65. Brahmaloka, xii. 51; xiv. 44 n.

Bhagavadgītā, xxxviii; xlvi.

Bhadrajit, xxviii.

Bharadvāja, iv. 74. Bhartrhari, lxxx; lxxxii. Bhava, i. 88. bhava, i. 15; vii. 44; ix. 58, 64; xi. 67, 68; xii. 100; xiii. 8. bhavya, i. 15; ii. 25. Bhāmaha, lxxxii : lxxxviii ; xeiii. Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra, lxii. Bhāravi, lxxxii. Bhārgava, vi. 1; ix. 2, 3; (Paraśurāma) ix. 25. bhāva, lviji-lix. bhāvanā, xliii. Bhāsa, xvi; lxxx. bhikşu, des. of bhaj (?), lxx; iv. 17: v. 16: (pañea) xii. 91, 92, 114; xiv. 106. Bhimaratha, xiv. 107. Bhīsma, xlvii; ix 25; xi. 18. bhuj, vi+, v. 52. bhuj, nis+, xxx; iv. 47. bhūta, ix. 60; xii. 18. Bhūtagana, i. 24. bhūtātman, xii. 21 n. Bhrgu, i. 41. bhaikṣāka, x. 23; xii. 46; xiii. 10. bhoga, xi. 36ff.

Bhojaprabandha, lxxix; iv. 59 n.

Magadha, x. 10, 41; xi. 1.

Maghavat, i. 87; v. 27.

maṇḍala, ii. 3; v. 23.

mati, v. 30.

mada, i. 76; v. 14.

Manu, ii. 16; viii. 78.

manoratha, xi. 62.

Manthāla, iv. 17.

Mandara, vi. 13.

Mandākinī, xiv. 41.

Manmatha, iv. 101.

Mamatā, iv. 74.

mamatva, vi. 48.

Marut, liii; iv. 74 n.; v. 27.

Marutta, iv. 74 n. Marutvat, iv. 27 n.; viii. 13; x. 3 n. Mahādeva, xxxiv. Mahāparinirvānasūtra, xl. Mahābhārata, xlvi-xlvii. mahāmoha, xii. 33, 34, 35. Mahāsanghika, xxviii-xxxvi; ii. 36 n.; xiv. 98 n. Mahāsudarša, viii. 62. Mahendra, viii. 64 ; ix. 10 ; xi. 16. Māgha, lxxxii ; xciii. Mātangī, iv. 77. Mātrceţa, xiv; xxvi; xxxvi; xii. 115 n. Mādrī, iv. 79. Mādhyamika, xxix-xxx ; xxxv. Māndhātr, i. 10; x. 31; xi. 13. Māyā, xxvii ; xxviii ; xxxix ; i. 2, 5 ; ii. 18 : (qoddess) i. 2. Māyāvatī, xiii. 11 n. Māra, xl; xiii. 1, 2, 8, 14, 15, 18, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 55, 56, 57, 69, 70; xiv. 1, 93. See Kāmadeva. Citrāyudha, Puspaketu, Puspaśara. Mārutī, iv. 74. miti, i. 81. muc, adhi+, i. 30 n.; xii. 61. muñja, xii. 64. mrgacārin, vii. 5. Mekhala, xi. 31. Meghakālī, xiii, 49 n. Menakā, xlix; iv. 20 n. Meru, i. 36, 37; v. 37, 43; xiii. 41, 57. maitrīvihāra, xiii. 42. Maithila, xi. 31 (v. l.). moha, xlii; xii. 33, 34. Maudgalyāyana, xix; xxviii. Yakşa, i. 17; v. 81.

yadrechā, iii. 28.

Yamunā, iv. 76; xii. 110.

Yayāti, ii. 11; iv. 78.
Yaśodharā, lv; xe; ii. 26, 46; viii. 31, 60, 71. Sce Devī.
Yaśomitra, xxvi.
Yāśodhara, vi. 34.
yuga, vii. 3.
yuj, vi+, iv. 13.
yudh, viii. 16.
yoktra, yoktraka, v. 55; viii. 22.
yoga, xxxix-xliii; lx-lxii; i. 45; ii. 45; xii. 105.
Yogāeāra, xxxv; xliii.

raktāmbara, xiii. 24. rajas, lviii; v. 16 n.; vii. 53 n.; xii. 77 n.; xiv. 51 n. rañj, ii. 29. Rati, xiii. 3 n., 17 n. Rantideva, i. 52 n. rasā, v. 5. rasāntara, lxii; iii. 51. rahah, iii. 17. rahasya, iv. 31. rāga, xlii. Rāghava, vi. 36. Rājagrha, x. 1, 9; xi. 2 n. SeeGirivraja. rājaśāstra, li ; i. 41. Rājaśekhara, lxxix; lxxxii. Rāma, xlviiiff.; viii. 81; ix. 9, 25. – See Dāśarathi, Rāghava. Rāma (Paraśu°), ix. 25, 69(?), 77(?). Rāmāyaṇa, xlvii-l; lxxvii; lxxxiiff. Rāyamukuta, lxxx; viii. 13 n. Rāhu, ii. 46; ix. 28. Rāhula, ii. 46; viii. 67; ix. 28, SecYāśodhara. rudh, anu+, vii. 36. ruh, samā+, iv. 24. rūpa, xii. 60, 78. Rohini, iv. 73.

Lakşmī, x. 9. laṅgh, vi+, xi. 28. laḍita, iv. 25. lāja, iii. 9 n. liṅga, ix. 18; xii. 46. Lumbinī, i. 6. Lekharṣabha, vii. 8. Lopamudrā, iv. 73.

Vajrabāhu, ix. 20 ; x. 41 n.

vañcita, ii. 31.

Vajrasūcī, xxii. Varāņasī, xiv. 107.

vareas, viii. 68. Valabhid, x. 41. vallabha, viii. 64. vas, cs., xii. 42. Vasistha, xdv; xlix; i. 42, 52; iv. 77; ix. 70. See Auryaścya. Vasu, xxix : vii. 7. Vasubandhu, xxv; xxvi; xxxii; xxxviii; xli. Vasumitra, xxxi; xxxiii. vah, ud+, ix. 28. nis+, es., viii. 40 ; see nirvāhaka. vā, iv. 44. vātapāna, iii. 20 n. vātayāna, iii. 20. vāda, xii. 19. Vāmadova, xlix; ix. 9. Vārsaganya, xlvi ; lvi ; xii. 33 n. Vālmīki, xlvii; i. 43. Vāsava, xiii. 9. vāsavrksa, vi. 46. vikāra, lvii; v. 65; xii. 17, 19, 70. vikrsta, v. 4. vikrama, v. 32; ix. 66; x. 25. vikriyā, iii. 28. vigadha, viii. 31, 76. vicāra, v. 10; xii. 49 n. vicitta, xiii. 12. vij, sam + 1, iii. 4, 34, 35.

Vijñānavāda, xxix; xxxv. vitanka, viii. 37. vitarka, v. 10; xii. 49, 52. vitta, ix. 21. Videha, ix. 20; xiii. 5. vidhi, lv; viii. 85; ix. 66, 67. vinivrtti, xi. 63. Vindhya, xiii. 38. Vindhyakoştha, vii. 54. Vindhyavāsin, vii. 54 n. vipratysya, xii. 24, 25. vipravāsa, vi. 59. Vibhāṣā, xv ; xxiv ; xli. Vibhrama, xiii. 3. Vibhrāja, iv. 28. vimāna, ii. 29; iii. 64. vivarna, vi. 66. Vivasvat, iv. 28; vii. 32 • viii. 78. viveka, v. 11; xii. 49. visista, i. 19. visesa, xii. 53, 55, 60, 62, 74, 84. See avisesa. Viśvāci, iv. 78. xlix; iv. 20. See Viśvāmitra. Gādhin. सन्दर्भव visakta, ix. 19. visama, ii. 34. visaya, i. 85. Visnu, liv. vispanda, xiv. 21. vrt, pari+, xii. 16 n. prā+, iv. 38. Vrtra, viii. 13; xi. 14. vṛddhi, i. 84, 89. vrdh, vi+, v. 61. Vrsni, xi. 31. Veda, xlv; i. 42; ii. 37. vedaka, xxxiii. vedanā, xiv. 62 n. veraya, pra+, viii. 52. Vaibhrāja, iv. 28 n.: ix. 20. Vaiśālī, liv; xi. 73 n.

Vaiśesika, xvii ; lv ; lvii.

Vaiśravana, i. 3. See Kubera Vaisvaintara āsrama, xi. 73. vyakta, xii. 22, 40. Vyāsa, i. 42; iv. 16. śams, ā+, v. 85. Sakti, i. 42 n. Sakra, i. 58; vi. 62; ix. 12; x. 19: xi. 13. Sacī, i. 2; ii. 27. Sacīpati, viii. 73. Satakratu, xi. 14. Šatapañcāśatka, xiv. Šatapathabrāhmana, xlv. Śantanu, xlvii ; xiii. 12. Sambhu, xiii. 16. śaririn, xii. 79. śala, xiii. 18. Sākya, i. 1, 58 ; viii. 8 ; ix. 11. Śākyanarendra, Śākyarāja, Śākyādhipati, Śākyeśvara, i. 49, 88; ii. 25; v. 1, 36; vi. 60; ix. 24; x. 11. Sākvamuni, xiii, 14, 18, 43; xiv. 89. Śākyarṣabha, vii. 13; xiii. 28. Sāntanu, xiii. 12 n. Santa, iv. 19. Śāriputra, xix ; xxvii ; xxviii. Šāriputraprakaraņa, xiii ; xviiift : lxii ; lxiv ; xii. 75 n. śālabhañjikā, v. 52. Sālihotraśāstra, lii ; v. 73 n. Sālva, ix. 20 n., 70. Sikṣāsamuccaya, xxx. Sibi, xiv. 30. Šiva, liv; xiv. 107 n. See Bhava, Śambhu, Sthāņuvrata. śivikā, i. 86. śila, xlii; lxi; i. 71; vi. 65 n.; xi. 66; xii, 46,

Sīvala, xxvii,

INDEX 229

samjñā, i. 51; v. 21; xi. 41; xii.

Sukra 1; i. 41; ix. 10. Suddhādhivāsa, i. 20; iii. 26, 56; vi. 60 n.; xiii. 31. Suddhodana, xxxviii; xxxix; lxxxvii; i. 1. See Sākyanarendra. śubha, ix. 58, 75; xiv. 10. Subhakṛtsna, xii. 55. Sūra, 1. 45 : (Ārya°) xxxvi. Sūrpaka, xlvii; xiii. 11. SecAddenda. śaila, x. 2. Sailendraputrī, xiii. 16. Saivala, xxvii. Sauddhodani, ii. 46; iii. 40; xi. 1. Sauri, i. 45. śraddhā, xxv; xxx; xxxviii; xii. 111. śraddhānusārin, xxxiv. śramana, v. 17. Šrāvastī, liv ; xi. 2 n. Śrī, i. 3 n. ; ii. 26 ; vi. 59 ; viii. 69 ; xi. 16 n. See Padmaśri, Padmā. Srenya, x. 10, 16. śresthin, xiv. 101 n. Svetāśvatara Upanisad, xlv; liv.

Ṣadgatikārikāḥ, xxiii. Ṣaddarśanasamuecaya, lxxix. Ṣaṇmukha, i. 88.

samyojana, xi. 19.
samyid, vi. 65 n.
samyrt, vi. 65 n.
samyrt, vi. 65 n.
samyega, iii. 4 n., 36; iv. 90.
samskāra, xiv. 82 n.
Sagara, i. 44.
saghrna, xi. 67.
samkalpa, v. 65.
samkhyā, xii. 77.
sanga, xii. 24.
samgrāhaka, iii. 27.
Samjaya, viii. 77.

85 n.; xiii. 13. samjñāsamjña, xii. 86. samjñāsamjñitva, xii. 85. samjñitā, xii. 87. saminin, xii. 20, 86. sattva, lviii; vii. 53; xii. 77 n.: lvi; xii. 17, 23. Satyasiddhi, xxxi. Sanatkumāra, liii ; ii. 27 ; v. 27. samdeha, xii. 24, 27. Saptarșitārā, i. 14. samādhi, xliii; i. 3, 71; v. 11; xii. 59, 105; xiii. 51, 68. samprajānan, i. 11. sammatta, iv. 56. sarj, i. 41 n. sarvagata, xi. 68. Sarvārthasiddha, ii. 17; vii. 1. Sarvānanda, lxxx. Sarvāstivādin, xxiv-xxviii; xxxiii. Sahasrāksa, ii. 27. sahīyā, x. 26. Sāketa, xiv; xvii; xlvii. Sāmkṛti, i. 52 n.; ix. 70. Sāmkhya, xxxix; xlvi; lvi–lx; vii. 53 n., 54 n., 55 n.; ix. 57 n., 64 n.; xii. 17ff. n. Sāmkhyakārikāḥ, lvi-lx. sādhāraņat va, xi. 26. sādhaya, lxii. sānu, x. 41 n. sāpekşa, ix. 81. Sārasvata, i. 42. Sāvitrī, ix. 70 n. sic, abhini+, xxx; xii. 37. sitapuspa, i. 86. Siddha, vii. 1; xiv. 87. Sindhu, ii. I n. sukha, v. 11; vii. 18, 26; xii. 50, 52, 55, 56, 57. Sugata, xiv. 98.

Sudarśana, xxviii; xxix. sudeśika, xiii. 62. Sunda, xi. 32. Sundarananda, xxix. Sundari, xxx. Suprahāra, xiii. 11 n. Subhāsitāvalī, xxiii. Subhūti, xxiii; xxvi. Sumantra, vi. 36. Sumitra, vi. 36 (v. 1.). Suvarnanisthivin, viii. 77. Suvarnāksīputra, xiii; xviii. sūksma (dharma), i. 56. Sūtrālamkāra, xxii; xxxvi. sūnāsi, xi. 31. Senajit, ix. 20. sotsuka, iii. 16. Soma, iv. 73; xiii. 12. Sautrāntika, xxv XXX; xviii-xx; Saundarananda, xxxvi ; xl ; xeii. Skanda, liv; i. 61 n. See

sthā, adhi+, x. 39. vyut+, xii. 59.

mukha.

Sthānuvrata, x. 3. spṛhā, viii. 66; xii. 86 n. smṛti, xlii; lxxiii; v. 20, 23; xii. 21. svaḥ, lxix; viii. 43. svatā, vi. 10. svabhāva, lix-lx: ix. 58, 59, 62. svabhāvavāda, liv. Svayambhū, ii. 51 n.; x. 2, 19. svābhāvika, ix. 58, 61. Svāyambhuva, ii. 51.

Harituraga, v. 87.
Harivarman, xxxi.
Harivarman, xxxi.
Harivarmán, xlvii.
Hariscandra, i. 1 n.; ix. 69 n.
Haryańka, xi. 2.
Haryańga, xi. 2 n.
Haryaśva, xi. 2 n.
Harsa, xiii. 3, 17 n.
harsana, xiii. 17.
Himavat, iv. 27; v. 45; vii. 39;
viii. 36; ix. 78.
hetu, xxxiv; xlii; ii. 56; xii. 68.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

PART I

Despite the great help rendered to me in proof-reading by Professor Raghu Vira, there are a few misprints left in the text, in addition to the usual casualties due to the breaking of type in printing. The following list is, it is hoped, complete.

- i. 24b, variants, read nags-tshal for nags-tsha.
- i. 54a, read nrpenopanimantritah for opamantritah.
- i. 89c, read °āpsaro'vakīrņam for °āpsaraso'vakīrņam.
- iv. 10c, read Kuberasyāpi for Kuve³.
- iv. 23d, read tu tāh striyah for tā tu.
- v. 37a, read Merugurur for °garur.
- v. 61a, variants, read brgyan for brgyan.
- vi. 15a, read jarāmaraņa° for metrical reasons.
- vii. 19a, read dvipadendravatsah for dvipendra°.
- vii. 37b, read manusyavaryam for varya.
- ix. 45d, read puranda° for puranda°.
- x. 18d, variants, read mtshan for mtuhan.
- xii. 46d, read °vistīrņam for °vistīrņa.
- xii. 111a, read śraddhāvardhita° for śrāddhā°.
- xiii. 8a, variants, read °sainstham for °saintham.
- xiii. 18b, variants, read thub-pahi for thub-pa-h.

Part II

Introduction, p. xvii. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has edited and explained in An Imperial History of India (Lahore, 1934) the fifty third chapter of the Aryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, which gives the Buddhist version of the history of India as current about the beginning of the Pāla dynasty; he holds that the akārākhyo yatih of the verse he numbers 940 (Trivandrum S.S. ed., p. 651) is Aśvaghoṣa and that his time is given as that of king Buddhapakṣa, whom he identifies with Kadphises I (p. 19) and whose name he would read as Buddhayakṣa. While this supports the date I think the most probable, the evidence is not in my opinion usable. The textual constitution of the passage in question remains uncertain, and, if it is accepted as it stands, I do not think it is possible to avoid the identification of Buddhapakṣa with Kaniṣka, that is, the text merely gives the Buddhist legend already current in China three centuries earlier.

p. xxii. My view of the date of the Gandistotra is corroborated by the evidence of the late Professor S. Lévi's Sanskrit Texts from Bāli (Gaekwad's O. S. no. 67), which contains on p. 49 under the heading of Buddhastava verses I and II of this work. As the remaining Buddhist texts still extant in Bali are from Tantric works, it seems likely that this text also is of more or less the same epoch.

p. xxix. For Aśvaghoşa's influence on Nāgārjuna see now $Ratnāval\bar{\imath}$, iv. 46-49~(JRAS, 1936, 249), which is closely related in argument and wording to B., xi. 36-48.

p. lxx. On the question of samdhi note that the MS. at B., xi. 24, 28, and xiv. 31, shows arccha(n)ti in place of $\bar{a}rccha(n)ti$ prescribed by the grammarians; this is in accord with arti at S., x. 32, but the MSS. of the latter poem apparently indicate the use of the simple verb only (viii. 4, ix. 44, xvi. 51, xviii. 45) except at ix. 35, where the length of the vowel in the first syllable cannot be determined.

Translation, p. 83, vi. 15, line 2. For 'birth' read 'old age', in accordance with the correction in Part I above.

p. 190, note on xiii. 11. It is probable that the figure on which Kāmadeva is standing in the Kushan terracotta plaque at Mathurā, reproduced in Ann. Bibl. Ind. Arch., IX, plate IV d, is to be identified with Śūrpaka.